# In Doig People's Ears: Portrait of a Changing Community in Sound

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Le travail effectué sur le terrain parmi les indiens Beaver de la Colombie Britannique, au Canada, a permis de recueillir, depuis plus de 20 ans, des archives sonores qui documentent sur le processus de transition d'un mode de vie basé sur la chasse et le trappage, à un mode de vie intégrée à l'économie industrielle moderne. Cet article décrit les techniques qui permettent d'utiliser l'enregistrement sonore des événements courants pour créer des programmes documentaires qui illustreront ces changements. L'article compare les systèmes symboliques d'une société fondée sur la chasse et la cueillette avec ceux des cultures contemporaines et suggère que l'on peut tirer des leçons profitables de l'étude des renseignements dont on dispose sur la vie des chasseurs et des trappeurs.

Fieldwork among the Beaver Indians of British Columbia, Canada over a period of twenty years has produced an archive of audio tapes documenting the process of transition from a life based on hunting and trapping to one which is integrated into the modern industrial economy. This paper describes techniques for using aural actualities to create audio documentary programs that illustrate these changes. It compares the symbol systems of hunting and gathering people with those of people in contemporary cultures, and suggests that we may learn valuable lessons from the available information about hunters and gatherers.

## INTRODUCTION

Culture is revealed as much through the ordinary, taken-for-granted sights and sounds of everyday life as through peak experiences which occur infrequently. When I first began to make audio recordings among Beaver Indian people in the mid-1960s, I neglected ordinary sounds in favor of what seemed extraordinary. My choices of important events which seemed worth recording reflected a preference for high-profile ceremonies and performances over periods of informality when, in my view, "nothing was happening." In addition, I was constrained by a very limited supply of reel to reel tape. Thus, recordings from that period contain invaluable documentation of prophetic songs, oratory, and narrative, but very little documentation of conversations, environmental sounds, or the punctuation created by moments of silence.

After an absence from the Peace River country in the mid-1970s, during which time the shaman or dreamer with whom I had worked passed away, my wife Jillian Ridington and I returned in 1979 with an audio documentarian named Howard Broomfield. Broomfield had recorded with composer R. Murray Schafer on the World Soundscape Project, and wanted to collect material for an audio portrait of a particular community undergoing rapid cultural change. This time, thanks

to an urgent ethnology contract with the Canadian Ethnology Service, we were well-supplied with tape. During the course of this and subsequent fieldwork supported by the Canadian Ethnology Service, we accumulated an archive containing hundreds of hours of recorded material. From this archive, we have produced a series of audio documentary programs on various aspects of Beaver Indian life. These programs have been aired on the Vancouver community radio station CFRO, on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Radio's "Our Native Land," on the CBC Radio's "The Hornby Collection," in classrooms, and at academic conferences. They have also been presented to the native communities in which they were made.

## FROM DOCUMENT TO DOCUMENTARY

The Beaver Indian audio archive is a collection of research documents. The fact that it contains particular sounds and settings reflects a complex and often opportunistic pattern of contact between ourselves and the people whose lives we wished to document. Sometimes, recording sessions became formal occasions during which people told us stories, recorded songs, or granted interviews on particular topics of interest. At other times, our presence as documentarians had little or no effect on the pace or content of events. Because we recorded extensively, we were able to document many conversations and ordinary interactions with a minimum of interference, once people became accustomed to our presence.

The overall objective of this research was to record a wide range of soundscapes, settings, events, and interactions. Recordings made during the research were primary documents. They documented what the language of radio production calls "actualities." At the time they were collected, these sounds were embedded in the context of ordinary life at a particular time and place. Although taken for granted by the people who were living and experiencing them, they were important pieces in the on-going flow of experience that defined cultural reality for those people at that particular moment.

Since echoes of the traditional soundscape were still present during the time of our fieldwork, we recorded them whenever possible. For instance, the documentary which we produced for the CBC Radio's "Our Native Land" begins with the dawn chorus of birds on an early summer solstice morning, and is punctuated by the conversations of camp dogs calling back and forth to one another against the steady background of moving water in a river. These sounds are subtle, and they blend to create the unmistakable signature of a particular time, place, and season. Yet these ordinary sounds of an early summer morning in a northern Indian village seemed quite extraordinary to Howard Broomfield, for whom they were a new and different world.

Rather than impose a judgement that some actualities were more important than others, we attempted to collect an archive which would include a representative sample of sounds that people in the community recognized as being in the public domain. For ethical reasons, we did not attempt to record events which were clearly private and privileged. Nothing was ever recorded in secret, and we always responded to requests that particular events not be recorded. Within

these constraints, we documented the significant sounds of the aural dimension of Beaver Indian culture during the time of our fieldwork.

By its very nature, the process of recording culturally significant sounds removes these sounds from a context that is taken for granted. Sound recordings of a culture's aural dimensions create documents that must be recontextualized if they are to be meaningful. An anthropologist's job is to create this recontextualization. If fieldwork documents are to be presented in an aural rather than a written medium, then recontextualization must be created through juxtaposition of the sounds themselves. This new context transforms the documents of ethnographic field recording into a documentary which uses them as actualities of the culture.

## IN DOIG PEOPLE'S EARS

To illustrate the range of material in the Beaver Indian audio archive, Howard Broomfield produced an audio documentary titled *In Doig People's Ears*. Doig River is the name of a Beaver Indian reserve community located northeast of Fort Saint John, British Columbia, Canada. The audio documentary was produced entirely from actualities taken from the archive of primary documents. It was an aural catalogue or sampler designed to accompany the written catalogue of tapes which we compiled for the National Museum of Man in Ottawa. However, this audio documentary was organized according to categories significant to Beaver Indian culture rather than to the usual reference categories used by museums. It was especially designed to give Doig River people a feeling for the archive and its possible uses.

Unlike a conventional catalogue which presents information piece by piece and in a set order, *In Doig People's Ears* is a montage of sounds. It is a documentary piece rather than a collection of documents; a story, not a list. As such, it speaks to the sensibilities of people whose lives span preliterate and post-literate oral traditions. This documentary may be experienced at an intuitive level of consciousness, and may be received in the way that Beaver Indian dreams are received, to be analyzed later and by different techniques.

*In Doig People's Ears* was created as much for Beaver Indian people as for anthropologists or the general public. In the traditional culture of these people, songs were "brought down from heaven" by shamans known as dreamers. The documentary begins by creating a sense of the context in which life took place when the Beaver people were hunters and trappers. It juxtaposes soundscape actualities and recordings of cultural events in a way that both facilitates and reflects deeply-entrenched ways of listening and communicating. In addition, it presents soundscape information that formed the traditional basis of mutual understandings.

During large summer dances, Beaver Indian singers sang the dreamers' songs and played hand drums. As their songs reverberated deep into the bush, their chorus of voices and drums extended the community's soundspace far beyond

the normal range of camp life. Dreamers presided over these gatherings. They told of journeys taken in their dreams to the place beyond the sky, and spoke of the future. They sang new songs learned during the course of their journeys, and joined in the singing of songs brought down by dreamers before them.

After contact, the Beaver Indians visited non-Indians at stores and trading posts. Until the 1950s, most people lived in isolated bush communities which were inaccessible to non-Indians and their machines. Although they worked and sometimes socialized with non-Indians, they did not live with non-Indians on a day-to-day basis. *In Doig People's Ears* tells the story of the Beaver Indians before the 1950s in both their own words and those of non-Indian old-timers who looked in on their world from outside. Recollections of the past by non-Indians serve as a bridge to the introduction of actualities from the world in which the two cultures were in constant contact.

Occasionally, strangers listened at the edge of the soundscape defined by dreamers' songs. One of these people was a horse wrangler named Slim Byrns who recalled his first meeting with Beaver Indians in 1929. A friend at Doig took us around to visit Byrns and record his story. As a young white man who was new to the Peace River country, Byrns found a strange and different scene. To the Beaver people, this scene was as ordinary as the taste of moosemeat or the sound of footsteps squeaking on very cold snow. The sound of people singing, drumming, and dancing together was as predictable as the turn of the seasons. At that time, they did not suspect that their life in the bush would be threatened by machines and social forces beyond imagination. Slim Byrns recalled:

> That whole valley down there below Clark's was filled full of tipis and there must have been about a hundred head of horses and it was in midsummer and it had been a very productive summer and the horses were fat and shiny. And after they built their campfires down there and started playing their drums, in 1929 which is fifty years ago, it done somethin' to me that I shall never forget...with kinda mixed feelings. And we stayed up there at the top of the hill and grazed our horses and looked down into the valley and watched the campfires and seen them dancing around the fires. And that was my first really big experience with the Indians. They called it a tea dance.

The sounds of day-to-day life are taken for granted only as long as they are ordinary. In a community undergoing rapid change, ordinary sounds which were heard at one stage in a person's life may become exotic at a later stage. Beaver people who are alive today grew up within a soundscape dominated by the sounds of wind, running water, squeaking snow, rustling leaves, and the soft rhythm of moccasin-clad feet on the trails of their country. Against this background of natural sounds, they listened carefully to the voices and movements of animals. They also listened carefully to the voices of the people they knew and called by terms of relationship.

In this previous world, voices rose and fell in song and blended with the complex sounds of drums to become a single instrument of many textures. Dreamers' songs were a metaphor for the soul's journey from the ordinary reality

of the everyday world to the spirit world of dreaming. Singers held their drums close so that others could not see inside their mouths. They sang strongly toward the snares that were stretched across the inside of drum heads. The soundscape where these two patterns of vibration met was highly charged and constituted the center of a sacred circle of sound. From this highly concentrated point where complementary waves of sound came together, the dreamspace of the dreamers' songs spread out in a circle from the camp to the surrounding and sustaining bush.

Dreamers' songs were known as signs of the "trail to heaven." The regular rhythm of the drum beat was like the rhythm of feet on a trail, and a song's "turns" of melodic contours were like the turns of a trail on the earth. Dreamers were people who had gone through the experience of dying and following a trail of song to heaven. They were able to describe this trail because they knew it from personal experience. In traditional Beaver philosophy, the soundscape created by singing and drumming represented a conceptual landscape connecting heaven and earth. Song trails followed by dreamers were trails of the mind. Dreamers were people who were adept at following these spirit trails and then returning to the body's earthly sanctuary. Their songs were trails of connection between mind and body, spirit and substance. When bands of related people who had been dispersed over the long winter came together to sing and dance during the easy days of mid-summer, they created a soundscape that was large enough to surround and sustain the entire community.

Standing at the edge of such an acoustically defined cultural space in 1929, Slim Byrns was so moved that he recalled, "it done somethin' to me that I shall never forget." In 1965, during my first dance close within the center of the soundscape created by Beaver people who were drumming, singing, and dancing around a common fire, my own perception of the world was also changed. In 1969, I made an audio recording which began at the edge of the village, perhaps a tenth of the distance between the acoustic center of crackling fire, voices, and snared drumheads, and the outermost extremity of the soundscape in the dark, surrounding bush. This recording evoked the same scene which was described by Slim Byrns. It represented a soundwalk toward the center of a sacred space. The circle of sound that I captured on tape is now a treasured document from which a new context can be constructed in the form of an audio documentary.

As I walked slowly toward the center of the sacred space, higher frequencies of sound began to emerge from the low-booming carrier wave of drumbeat vibrations. At the center of attention was the powerful, wailing chant of a remarkable lead singer named Billy Makadahay. Other voices began to emerge from the chorus, and finally, the sound of people talking and laughing, mixed with the hot, explosive staccato of a flaring fire emerged to complete the acoustic portrait of this ceremonial event. Within this soundscape, an entire community had come together at the center of a dreamer's songs. In so doing, they evoked the spirits of those who had gone before. My audio recording documented a social setting which has passed into memory, along with a communal focus and intensity that I have not experienced among Beaver Indian people in recent years.

When I first began to record the sounds of Beaver Indian life, voices rising and falling together in song were still ordinary events. In the 1960s, dances I recorded were presided over by Charlie Yahey, the last dreamer of a hunting and trapping way of life. Because my observations were made from the center of the soundscape, my perspective was different than the one described by Slim Byrns. My recordings of dreamers' dances document the last moments of an ancient tradition. Even the very act of making these recordings affected the order of that tradition. During hot afternoons when people were resting between all-night dancing and singing, they asked me to play recordings of the previous night. The Beaver people were and are quick to recontextualize innovations. In this case, the innovation was a document already abstracted from the context in which it was originally produced.

*In Doig People's Ears* opens with the voice of a very old man named Jumbie whom I knew well when he was still an active hunter. Jumbie is one of the last Beaver Indians to have lived most of his long life in the bush. He is singing feebly, but with the intensity of someone recalling the empowering dreams of his childhood. The sound of his voice recalls a time when Beaver Indians trained their children to listen carefully for the sounds of animals in the bush. His song signifies a power which he gained from the animals when he was a child living far away in time and space from the white man's town where he now spends his last days. What was ordinary in his childhood had become an extraordinary sound when recorded for the audio archive. When I took him out of the Peace Lutheran Care Home and back to one of the reserves for a visit, he remembered the place as it had been when he was young. He said it "looked like a white man's town now." Then, he cupped his hands to his mouth and called out to his long dead relatives. He addressed them by kin terms and called to them and to the world that he once held in common with them. To reconnect himself with that place, he called out the proper terms of relationship. Although he did not recognize the place by sight, Jumbie trusted an evocation of its soundspace to connect him to his relatives in heaven. He listened for a reply from his relatives in the sounds of wind and water. Howard Broomfield was able to record that very special moment on tape, while I captured it on film.

## SOUNDS OF THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

In the 1980s, the soundscape that Beaver Indian children now find familiar reverberates with vehicle engines, chain saws in the bush, the buzz of fluorescent lights and teachers' instructions in the schoolroom, canned laughter and saturated sound tracks from television sets at home, and country and western music. The latter is as constant and pervasive as drumming and singing were to elders in a previous generation. Both newer sounds and the echoes of a previous, ordinary reality which now seems like a distant dreaming of the old people were recorded. At one time, the old people were children who took the world of bush and animals for granted, just as today's children accept their own world without question. In years to come, the reality of today's children will seem like a dream to other children as yet unborn.

Recordings for the Beaver Indian audio archive which were made in 1979 covered the entire tapestry of the people's lives. Conversations, interviews with band officials, and informal narratives were all recorded. We accompanied Doig people to collect stories by old-timers like Slim Byrns in the white community. Children were recorded while talking, playing and singing songs taught by missionaries. We even recorded silences. The Beaver Indian audio archive is a stratified series of documents which reflects the sounds, language, and styles of people from different generations and with a wide range of knowledge and experience. Some of the sounds in Doig people's ears are delicate and subtle. Others take up the entire acoustic field. Some evoke the world of the bush and its animals. Others place the listener in the midst of an industrial civilization.

In years to come, Doig people may turn to their audio archive to hear themselves as they were at a particular moment in time. Eventually, the once ordinary world documented by the audio archive will be extraordinary to the ears of people in other times and places. Doig people may turn to recordings of today's ordinary sounds with the nostalgia and curiosity they now feel for recordings of Charlie Yahey in the 1960s. Unlike the recordings from that period, recent recordings document the full range of familiar acoustic environments. *In Doig People's Ears* is a documentary montage of sounds familiar to Beaver Indian people. It is a sampler of history as they have experienced it, as well as a history of how the Doig people were experienced by the settlers who took over much of their land.

Different generations of people at Doig River are sharply divided in their use of language. Although the oldest people on record in the audio archive speak little or no English, the youngest speak English in preference to Beaver. People of the middle generations are most comfortable in Beaver, and speak distinctive forms of "reservation English" according to their age, sex, and life experience. Characteristically, speech patterns which seem ordinary at a particular moment in time are the transient artifacts of a rapidly changing culture. *In Doig People's Ears* blends these voices and their different ways of speaking into a portrait of cultural change. Even non-Indian old-timers speak a language of horses, trails, and the fur trade that is far removed from the contemporary scene.

Before contact, the Peace River country supported the Beaver people and their ancestors for thousands of years. Even in today's world, the Beaver retain a sense of belonging to their country. They are still hunters, and the sounds and rhythms of the land provide them with security and identity. The land is large enough to swallow up the sounds of machines; snow still squeaks underfoot when it is very cold. Brash young men still whistle to dare the spirits that are the northern lights to dance down toward them. A style of speaking and singing has survived even the change of language.

The sounds of Beaver Indian drumming and singing are muted, but not gone, and it is not unusual to hear traditional music coming from a home or summer arbor. Upon approaching closer, one discovers that the music is being produced by a tape recorder, and the recording is one which I made of Charlie Yahey in the 1960s. In part because of my presence in the life of the Beaver people, what once seemed to me an extraordinary sound has now become part of the ordinary

acoustic environment. Cassette copies of my original tapes are in constant demand. With true Northern Athapaskan adaptability, people use the newly-available technology to preserve a tradition that remains important. They have even found a useful purpose for the resident anthropologist who would otherwise be quite useless in the bush.

## DOCUMENTARY TECHNIQUE AND ANTHROPOLOGY

The audio documentary pieces which have been produced from the Beaver Indian archive of primary documents tell the story of an Indian community's changing ways of listening to the world around them. The pieces speak to both members of the community and to outsiders. They use a medium that respects the sensibilities of people who are still operating within an oral tradition, and they attempt to communicate a feeling for this oral tradition to people in our own culture who are conditioned to learn through the sequential ordering and authority of the printed word.

Ordinary life is synesthetic. It blends experiences from different senses, different times, different places, and even different cultures into a coherent and meaningful whole. The human mind blends and mixes information which is stored in personal memory and cultural codes. As it becomes integrated into successive contexts, past experience takes on different meanings. Audio documentaries are able to blend sounds from a particular cultural field in much the same way as the human mind blends experiences from a particular personal field. We make sense of our present experience by reference to the past, and we modify our interpretations of past events by reference to the present.

The medium of audio documentaries allows an anthropologist to present a montage of actualities which tell a story about a culture's past and present. These actualities modify each other's meanings within the context of the documentary. They can evoke the past to modify present experiences, and they can suggest alternative perspectives on the past. This montage has a synergistic effect. It creates a momentary, singular experience that gives the listener an opportunity to form a mental image of the events and settings being represented. Anthropologists must be responsible for using this medium to convey understandings that derive from sound anthropological thinking. The medium must not be used merely for dramatic effect. Rather, dramatic effect must be brought to the service of anthropology. Audiodocumentary techniques are particularly effective for communicating a sense of how a moment in the life of a person or culture is part of an ongoing process of culture change.

An old cowboy tells about how the Beaver Indians came together to sing and dance in the 1920s. His story rings true because of his recollection of their fat and shiny horses. A young Beaver Indian boy talks about wanting to become a lawyer. He knows that the world in which he grew up will not exist when he is mature, and says, "There isn't going to be a Doig here forever." The sound of singing and drumming continues to be part of the land and its people. An old man calls to his relatives in heaven and listens for a reply in the sounds of wind and water. Together, these separate documents create a documentary reality.

In all cultures, old and new blend into the experience of the moment. Traditionally, Beaver people consolidated their personal powers through dreams, and they have not given up this way of organizing their experience. Dreams allow the integration of personal experience with cultural form, and they permit both a reinterpretation of past experience and a prefiguring of what may be experienced in the future. Culture is an important template in the structuring of both of these processes. In vision quests, Beaver Indian boys and girls encounter giant animals which are already known to them through many stories. A Beaver Indian dreamer negotiates the trail to heaven because he is able to "grab hold of" a trail of song with his mind.

In the past, the individual experiences of Beaver people could be interpreted as personal manifestations of a timeless and enduring truth. Through vision quests, individual children came into contact with the powers of mythical time and space. Beaver Indian children came to know the stories of their culture as stories of their own lives. Myths that were relevant to the particular powers which they encountered in the bush served as guides throughout the rest of their lives. During the course of a lifetime, individuals could expect to grow into full realization of the medicine powers which they had encountered as children. In later life, the meaning of that childhood time out of time came into focus through dreams.

In all cultures, the meaning of any particular experience changes as it becomes recontextualized throughout the various stages of an individual's life. When the Beaver Indian people lived in isolated bush communities, they could understand individual experiences by reference to a common culture and the mutual understandings that come from knowing a common world of nature. Their dreams brought them together as people of a common mind, just as their dreamers brought them together as people of a common ceremonial order. They shared a mutually-understood, everyday reality of sights and sounds. The old man, Jumbie, was seeking this reality when he called out toward the sky to locate himself by reference to his departed relatives.

Today, Beaver people continue to share their mutually-understood, everyday realities of sights and sounds. Actualities of their everyday life are blended in our audio documentary to create the distinctive sound signature of a reserve community as it exists in the 1980s. Part of that sound signature is an echo of the past. Occasionally, people still sing the dreamers' songs, and every household regularly listens to these songs on tape. Beaver Indian people still hunt, trap, scrape moosehide, and make moccasins.

Another part of the everyday reality of contemporary Beaver people is the world of machines. Young people know cars and trucks as their parents knew horses and wagons. Nearly every household has a radio and tape deck, and many have a television. The sounds and sights of the world beyond the Doig River Reserve have become signatures of their day-to-day lives. Today, the reserve is surrounded by oil and gas installations, and pipeline pumping stations and wells fracture the stillness of the bush. We recorded both machines and the electronic media as part of the contemporary soundscape.

Beaver people now communicate with non-Indians on a regular basis, but

their world is still distinctive and very different from that of surrounding non-Indian communities. Although they retain a style which outsiders seldom encounter, our audio recordings document them as they are to one another. The audio documentary form of presentation assembles actualities from a cultural soundscape and creates an aural portrait of a community.

## CONCLUSION

It is normal for human beings to experience the present as authentic and real. This is because sensations are more immediate than recollection. Although we know and even remember times when various details of life were different from the way we experience them at present, we usually accept the way things are no matter how we choose to compare them with the past. As members of the human species, we are biogenetically programed to accept developmental changes in the individual life cycle. Through symbol systems which integrate an individual's experiences at various stages in life, hunting and gathering cultures have traditionally reinforced this programing. These cultures also facilitate communication between people of different generations. On the whole, other human cultures are probably less well-programed to accept continual changes in the cultural instructions by which we attempt to make sense of our lives.

Traditional Beaver culture was rich in symbols for integrating a person's experiences at various stages in her or his life cycle. Vision quests, traditional myths, and dreaming were the principal channels through which people made contact with their own past and future selves. Because the developmental cycle could be expected to repeat itself from generation to generation, Beaver culture had time to develop subtle symbolic pathways to connect the experiences of children with those of mature adults and elders. Beaver names, particularly those of dreamers, were sometimes composites which meant something like "old person—young person." Old people looked to their childhood vision quest experiences as a source of empowerment. Children experienced these same vision quests as directing forces in their lives.

Culture change is a way of life for people in the modern industrialized world. The institutions and symbol systems of industrialized cultures emphasize changes in culture rather than cyclical, developmental changes in individual life cycles. Today, Beaver Indian people are experiencing the transition from being relatively autonomous, nomadic hunters and gatherers to being a settled minority within an industrial state. They are moving from relatively stable living conditions to ones in which unthinkable changes are the norm. The current rate of change within their own culture is enormous, and the generations of Beaver people who are now experiencing this change are unique. Their transition from hunting and gathering to participation in an economy based on food production and industry is a highly transient phenomenon which is occurring in only a few parts of the world today. The present process of social and economic change which is affecting Beaver people almost completes a global transformation that began shortly after the end of the last major glaciation.

The Beaver Indian audio archive of aural actualities documents a very special and distinctive process in human cultural history. Information in this archive may well be of theoretical significance in ways beyond those which are obvious at the moment. The changes in Beaver Indian culture which are recorded by the archive happen only once in a culture's history. They are unique to the generations of Beaver Indian people on record, and they are irreversible. Although Beaver people are as aware of their situation as we are, they are reacting to cultural change in ways that are distinctively their own. Even in the midst of the modern world, these people retain a flexibility, pragmatism, and sense of their own individual and communal worth that is a legacy of their nomadic, hunting past.

The Beaver Indian audio archive describes a poignant moment in human history. Because modern techniques of audio editing and mixing allow patterns and connections to be suggested in listener's minds, these documents speak to the dream-thinker within each of us. Nevertheless, Beaver people have accepted much of our work as ordinary. The reason for this is that they have experienced our work as they experience their own, everyday lives. In the process, we have become part of their taken-for-granted reality, as well a resource base from which they draw documentary information about their own past. At the same time, we have been able to give them certain insights about the intricacies of the modern world.

People from other cultures may perceive the world of our documentary productions as extraordinary. These productions attempt to create a synesthetic blend of ideas and experiences from actualities recorded among the Beaver people. As researchers, we are like Slim Byrns in 1929 as we graze our horses at the edge of an alien soundscape that has already "done somethin" to us. Perhaps both the original documents in the Beaver Indian audio archive and our documentary productions will contribute to an understanding of cultural changes which now threaten the very survival of our species in the nuclear age. Today, all people are part of the aboriginal population of this planet. We and the Beaver people are members of a common species facing a common peril. In times gone by, intelligent human beings moved away from situations which were life threatening. Today, although our entire species is at risk, we can no longer move away because we are people of the entire biosphere rather than of a particular territory.

If we survive the present nuclear crisis, soundscape documents of a people undergoing the transition from hunting and gathering to an industrial way of life may be valuable for planning the future through an understanding of the past. Upon maturity, Beaver Indians dreamed back to their childhood vision quest experiences for guidance. If our species achieves maturity, it may look back to its hunting and gathering heritage as a source of enlightenment. Although electronic media make it possible to preserve actualities from other times and places, without the intelligence of human understanding, these sounds lose all meaning and value. Human intelligence and understanding evolved with the hunting and gathering way of life. As hunting and gathering passes from actuality into memory, members of our species must adapt human intelligence to vastly different cultural conditions. In the nuclear age, failure to make this adaptation may terminate our entire

species. The intelligence of hunting and gathering ancestors is a resource we cannot afford to ignore.

## NOTES

**Material Relevant to the Beaver Indian Audio Archive which is on file with the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada:**

*A. ORIGINAL AUDIO DOCUMENTS*

1. Reel-to-reel tapes recorded on a Uher 4000 Report L tape recorder between 1964 and 1971 (30 hours).
2. Reel-to-reel tapes recorded on Uher 4000 series mono and stereo tape recorders in 1979 (95 hours).
3. Cassette tapes recorded on JVC KD2, Sony TCD-5M, and Superscope CD-330 tape recorders between 1980 and 1983 (130 hours).

*E. COMPLETED AUDIO DOCUMENTARIES*

Broomfield, Howard

1983 In Doig People's Ears (42 minutes). Audio Documentary presented at both the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Canadian Ethnology Society, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Québec, May 11-13, 1984, and on CFRO Radio, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Broomfield, Howard, and Jillian Ridington

1981 Suffering Me Slowly (60 minutes). Produced for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio Program, "The Hornby Collection." Vancouver, British Columbia: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio.

Broomfield, Howard, Jillian Ridington, and Robin Ridington

1980 Trails of the Dunne-za: A Suite of Four Radio Pieces. Four five-minute programs produced for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio Program, "Our Native Land." Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio.

Broomfield, Howard, and Robin Ridington

1979 Soundwalk to Heaven (50 minutes). Vancouver, British Columbia: CFRO Radio.

1981 Nextdoor Neighbors (30 minutes). Vancouver, British Columbia: CFRO Radio.

1982 Old Time Religion (60 minutes). Slide-tape "docu-drama" presented at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Ethnology Society, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, May 7-11, 1982.

*C. CATALOGS*

Broomfield, Howard

1979-1981 Catalog of Audio Tapes in the Beaver Indian Audio Archive: 1979-1981.

Ridington, Robin, and Myrna Cobb

1984a Catalog of Beaver Indian Slides.

1984b Directory of Audio Tapes in the Dunne-za Archive.

*D. FINAL REPORTS ON RESEARCH CONTRACTS WITH THE CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY SERVICE*

Ridington, Robin

1. Beaver Indian Aural History: Final Report on Contract No. 1630-1-053.
2. Beaver Indian Aural and Musical Traditions: Final Report on Contract No. 1630-1-481.

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1976 Wechuge and Windigo: A Comparison of Cannibal Relief Among Boreal Forest Athapaskans and Algonkians. Anthropologica 18:107-129.
1978 Swan People: The Prophet Dance Among The Dunne-za. National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 38. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museums of Man.
1982a When Poison Gas Come Down Like a Fog: A Native Community's Response to Cultural Disaster. Human Organization 41:36-42.
1982b Technology, World View and Adaptive Strategy in a Northern Hunting Society. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 19:469-481.
1983 From Artifice to Artifact: Stages in the Industrialization of a Northern Hunting People. Journal of Canadian Studies 18:55-66.