Anthropological Reflections / Réflexions anthropologiques

Boyce Richardson: Reflections on Journalism, Activism and Filmmaking among the Crees of Northern Quebec

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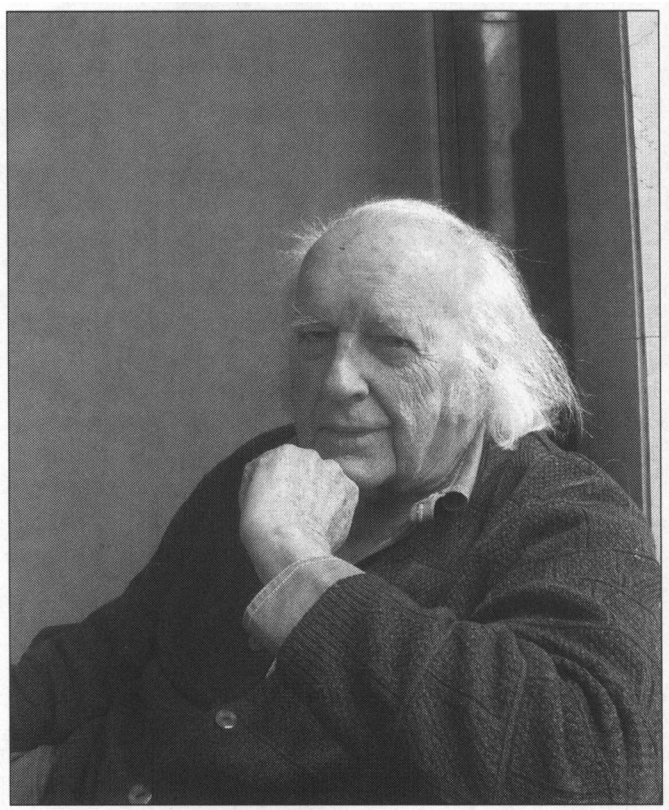

Boyce Richardson, Ottawa, 2012. Photograph by J.Habib.

Introduction

Boyce Richardson has had a long history of engagement with the James Bay Cree of Northern Quebec. The citation for the Order of Canada in 2002 reads in part: "he has used his creativity to draw public attention to social issues, engendering compassion through mutual understanding and giving voice to the concerns of his subjects."

In this interview, conducted in his Ottawa home in the autumn of 2009, Boyce Richardson reflects on his experiences as a journalist, researcher, author, and filmmaker. After reading *Strangers Devour the Land* (1974/2008), I approached Boyce Richardson for a discussion about the role of advisors, consultants and other allies in the course of my research on "Ethnography and Indigenous Co-Authorship: Multi-vocal texts and a monograph on James Bay Cree visions and practices of relational co-governance" (with Harvey Feit). In *Strangers Devour the Land*, Boyce Richardson offers a much-cited account of the court proceedings that led to the James Bay and Northern Quebec Cree Agreement (JBNQA) in 1975. A brief summary is provided here to offer the reader both a context for understanding his engagement with the Crees in that moment, as well as for some of his comments below.

In May 1972, just over a year after Quebec initiated the James Bay hydro-electric project without involving the Cree in the decision or the planning, an exclusion of aboriginal peoples that had been the practice in all earlier Hydro-Quebec developments, the Cree with the Inuit of Northern Quebec and the Indians of Quebec Association (IQA) initiated a court case against Canada, Quebec, Hydro-Quebec, Crown Development Corporations, and the construction contractors. At the time there had been no definitive Canadian court rulings on the legal concept of enforceable aboriginal rights. After several meetings with the Government of Quebec in the fall of 1972, in which Quebec's Premier indicated a refusal to recognize any aboriginal rights or to negotiate or substantially

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discuss the hydro-electric project, the Cree, Inuit and IQA asked the courts for an interlocutory injunction. An interlocutory injunction would rule on whether the project should be stopped while the main court case slowly proceeded in order to consider the existence and character of Canadian legal recognition of aboriginal rights and of their effect on the development. It was claimed in the interlocutory injunction case that, whatever the final ruling, the damages being suffered by the aboriginal groups, while that main case proceeded through the courts would be irreversible. Justice Albert Malouf ruled quickly that there were apparent rights that warranted hearing the interlocutory injunction. The hearings were documented by Boyce Richardson (and others), and Malouf's final ruling was delivered in November, 1973. He concluded that aboriginal groups had rights to lands, which had been recognized by the Government of Canada in earlier legal actions, and that "it appears that the Province of Quebec cannot develop or otherwise open up these lands for settlement without... the prior agreement of the Indians and Eskimo" (Malouf 1973b:38).

Malouf noted that the Crees and Inuit "have a unique concept of the land, make use of all of its fruits and produce including all animal life therein and any interference therewith compromises their very existence as a people" (1973b:54). He went on to rule that "if the works continue, irreparable harm and injury will be caused to the petitioners" (Malouf 1973b:146). In conclusion, Malouf ordered a stoppage to the construction of the hydro-electric project while the main legal case was heard, ordering the developers and contractors to "cease, desist and refrain from interfering in any way with petitioners' rights, from trespassing in the said territory and from causing damage to the environment and natural resources of said territory" (1973b:170). While the interlocutory hearings had proceeded, the Supreme Court of Canada had ruled in the widely cited case of "Calder et al. v. The Attorney General for British Columbia" that essentially aboriginal rights continued to exist, unless specifically extinguished. But the Malouf ruling was the first time aboriginal rights were enforced by injunction (O'Reilly 1985).

One week after Malouf's ruling, the Quebec Court of Appeal suspended the injunction while it heard an appeal of his ruling (which it later overturned). But Quebec was now faced with future delays to the project while aboriginal groups pursued their legal options, which Malouf had made clear were substantial, or with negotiating with the aboriginal groups. And aboriginal groups who had forced Quebec into the possibility of negotiations were faced with having to negotiate as the project construction rapidly proceeded. Over the next few months, a series of government proposals for settlements followed by aboriginal rejections, lead to serious and extended negotiations. These resulted in the November 15, 1975 JBNQA. It has been called the first modern Canadian treaty, it had broad Cree support, but it has also been controversial in some northern Quebec Inuit communities and among other aboriginal and non-aboriginal people.

Boyce Richardson's account in *Strangers Devour the Land* has also been the source of interesting anthropological discussions on the postmodern and the meanings attributed to indigenous speakers (see, for example, Clifford 1986; Stonebanks and Wooten 2008). His award-winning National Film Board of Canada films, including *Cree Hunters of Mistissani* (1974), *Our Land is Our Life* (1976) and *Flooding Job's Garden* (1991/1973), have been watched in anthropology, political science, history and indigenous studies courses as well as at film festivals and events around the world. Still active in his mid-80s, he maintains "Boyce's Paper," a daily blog, at http://boycerichardson.blogspot.ca/.

The Interview

Jasmin Habib: You've had a long history of engagement with the Cree. How did you come to learn about the community?

Boyce Richardson: First, I was a newspaperman working for the *Montreal Star*. I was assigned to go to Armstrong, located north of Lake Nipigon in Ontario, to look into the housing problems, which were intense. The editor was Frank Walker. He suggested that we follow this up. I don't think he meant for 30 years. He meant for six months or so. [Chuckle]. [Soon after] I got a letter from Reverend Muller, the Anglican priest in Mistassini who said, "You don't have to go to other parts of the country. You should come up here and see what's happening." On the first visit I made to Mistassini there was no road. We had to take a boat across to the village. I came back and wrote two articles and one was [headlined] in the *Montreal Star*. What it said was that the Crees had land rights and that those rights had never been dealt with. I had in mind the Royal Proclamation [1763]. This was pretty scandalous. That was 1969. Then, in 1971, *the* [Quebec James Bay hydroelectric] Project was announced and I suppose I was about the only journalist who knew [about the] Cree so they asked me to go on television. The following week I wrote an article for the *Montreal Star* and they wouldn't use it, because there had been the events of 1970 [i.e., the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) Crisis and the deployment of the army on Montreal streets by the federal government] and the paper had become very hysterical about that. I had not. [Chuckle].

JH: How did your relationship to the community and its leadership develop and grow?

BR: After the Project was announced, I met Philip Awashish [whose efforts to gather the communities helped lead them through the court battle]. A few months later, I was hired by the Sierra Club to write a book on the James Bay Project [which became *James Bay: The Plot to Drown the North Woods*, 1972]. There was very little known about the Project. [Quebec's Premier Robert] Bourassa raved on about how all these rivers are wasting away to the ocean and there is this empty land. I [then] met Job Bearskin, a very distinguished, reserved hunter. I interviewed them and wrote a series of articles [and made an independent film, *Job's Garden*, 1973]. We then set up the "Save James Bay Committee" to raise money to help in their defense. To my astonishment somebody told me some years later that I was regarded as the leader. I never regarded myself as the leader of anything. I still don't.

JH: So, besides Phillip Awashish and Job Bearskin, who else was there?

BR: I met Buckley Petawabano [a Cree actor and later filmmaker]. I made two or three trips up and then the *Montreal Star* cancelled my freelance contract. By this time, the Indians of Quebec Association (IQA) had sort of taken over the defense of the Crees. [They] came around and asked if I was interested in hiring and heading up a research group, and I said, "No, I'm not an organizer." I could no more organize than fly. So then they got John Spence [a biologist] of McGill University to head it. Anyway, they came around to me and asked would I be interested in making a film on this little group.

So, we took off on this farcical trip and then the [National] Film Board [NFB] hired me. They had an Indian crew in those days [including] Mike Mitchell from Akwasasne; Bob Charlie from Whitehorse; Noel Starblanket and Gilbert Herodier from Fort George. I met Colin Low who was running [the NFB program] Challenge for Change. What came out of that whole thing, to make a long story short, was a proposal to make a film about Aboriginal rights. This was at the time when [Prime Minister] Trudeau didn't believe in Aboriginal rights. I had to go to the Justice Department as part of the research, which I did very reluctantly. One day, the Director of Research for the Justice Department, a friend who'd been to Trudeau's house the night before, came in at six o'clock in the afternoon, and said, "I came in especially to meet you because I have to tell you it is not a good idea to make a film about this." I said, "Why not?"He said, "Because there isn't a smidgen of validity in this whole business about Aboriginal rights."

I said, "This is very strange 'cause, I've just read a book called *Native Rights in Canada* (1970) which is put out under the aegis of the Dean of Osgoode Hall [Law School], so if there's not a smidgen, what the hell's he doing putting out a book?" I got back to the office, and word came from the highest authority in Ottawa that the film was not to proceed [see Weaver 1981 on this period]. Who's the highest authority in Ottawa? Mr. Trudeau. Everything stopped. Then the Calder Case [which established that there was continuing recognition of aboriginal title to land] came and Colin Low said, "Let's recast this as four films, about the place of Indians in Canadian society."

JH: Only this time you had a lot more film and you had all the experts on hand. Made a huge difference?

BR: I had the finest equipment, the best soundman and cameraman.

JH: It's a great film.

BR: *Cree Hunters*? That was a spin off of my original intention which was the one called *Our Land IS Our Life*. We made *Cree Hunters* first because everyone was so fascinated by the hunting aspect. I should think it is very possibly, the most popular Indian film ever made.

JH: It's still being used.

BR: ...used around the world.

JH: How would you define or describe your relationship to the Cree: expert, consultant, collaborator, friend, advisor...?

BR: I was an observer. I don't think I was anything else but I wasn't a detached observer.

JH: Do you think it's possible to be "detached"?

BR: Nah, of course not. It's one of those ridiculous journalistic myths that journalists believe.

JH: Many of the books and articles about indigenous politics do not grant indigenous people any agency; yet, people come alive in your books. They are actively engaging in these politics. They're not simply victims of this, that or the other thing.

BR: Yeah. I don't think I've quite got to the point where I've made the film yet? When the hydro project came up, *Challenge for Change* was ready to hire an Indian to use the video cameras, because none of these communities had ever had a political meeting between themselves. Never. So, Phillip [Awashish] was going to go around to various communities, recording what people thought of the project and take it to the next community and so on. I went back after two weeks or so and said "how this whole thing with Phillip going?" "Ah, it's finished. It's not taking place." I said, "WHAT!?" "I'm afraid we had word from Ottawa and we're not allowed to do that." The federal government was so terrified of offending the Quebec government that they didn't want to have anything to do with the Cree.

JH: Document their voices?

BR: Amazing, eh? Anyway, when we got the aboriginal rights business under way, Colin Low suggested maybe I'd like to co-direct it. What the hell! I don't know one end of a camera from the other. I still don't. [Laughter] He said, "I'll get you together with a skilled cameraman director and you can work with him." They got Tony Ianzelo, who was a superb cameraman. I discovered that my journalistic background was of some use with making documentary films. I knew how to...tell a story, how to marshal facts. So I had made this film, and then we started on *Cree Hunters*. We went up [to the hunting camp], back and forth to Mistassini, which is the place that I knew best. We had this *Challenge for Change* mantra that had been developed by Colin Low in Fogo Island in Newfoundland. We told them, "We'll show it to you first. You'll judge it. If there's something you don't like we'll throw it away. Guaranteed." That was basically how we established that we weren't about to screw them. When we showed it first, they just sat and laughed, seeing themselves on the screen. However, we were ready to throw it away if they didn't like it. We would have done it. I guess in that sense, getting back to your question, we were the experts. We went up [to the hunting camp] for three weeks. We carefully organized to be there when the Hudson's Bay Company guy arrived. The day before, the generator broke down [laughter] so we got one bulb hanging above his head when he came to look at the furs. It's amazing what can go wrong when you're making a film!

JH: You haven't really been involved in the governance issues have you? Or institution-building?

BR: I think I've always succeeded in making clear that, No, I've never, ever, talked *for* the Crees.

JH: What is it about Cree practices that you believe non-Cree need to understand, know, or appreciate?

BR: I went through a learning process. I am an urban guy. I was a member of the board of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Native People, which came up out of the Indian-Eskimo Association. Harold Cardinal [Native activist and founder of the National Indian Brotherhood] came at a fairly early stage and basically said, "We don't need you." So, I quit. At a fairly early stage, as a journalist going around various communities, I went to B.C. and northern Alberta, to the Northwest Territories and everywhere. I [came] to realize what Harold Cardinal talked about: The problem [for indigenous communities and people], of always being regarded as a problem, which you brought up earlier.

I began to realize that I wasn't really getting in touch with these communities at all, just because I was talking about all their problems. I started to hire an interpreter, and I'd get a young guy and say, "Could you take me to see some old men, or old people?" He would take me to an old hunter who was retired. Suddenly, I discovered when I sat and talked and asked them how they go about killing geese and what they do with the bones when they finish, and all that stuff, I found these supposedly "taciturn Indians" well, you couldn't shut them up!! [Laughter]. Gradually, I began to understand that they had very profound knowledge of biology, behavior and respect for the animals. Still, I'm a rational socialist. That doesn't exactly sit very well with the Native spirituality.

The other interesting thing is their basic argument that somebody is born on a piece of land and, therefore, it's their land. I don't think that's a viable argument. In the modern world there are all sorts of people like me, like my parents, like my grandparents who were born in Northern Ireland, and went to New Zealand. So, which is their piece of land? If this is yours, which is ours? However, since the Crees were obviously being shafted, I accepted their argument and I propagandized for Aboriginal rights. I think that's their right, and the fact that I basically don't agree, as a general principle, is something else.

JH: Do you think that's true of a lot of people who work alongside the Cree?

BR: I don't know. There's a hell of a lot of people who really want to be Indians. I've never been a wannabe. The first time I went up to Mistassini I met Edna Neeposh, and she told me she was just back from the bush and how wonderful it'd been to be in the bush ... it was forty degrees below, living in tents and I thought, "It must be

awful." That was my attitude. I didn't understand it at all. A couple of years later, Phillip took me to his father's place, northwest of Mistassini Lake. We flew in. We trudged up this slope from the lake where we'd landed on the ice. We took aside the flap [of the tent] and walked in and suddenly I knew what they'd been talking about. They had a beaver roasting all day and they had fresh spruce bows on the floor. The atmosphere in there was just absolutely amazing and suddenly I knew: "Wow, this is what they're talking about!"

JH: It all actually made some sense?

BR: It did. So, over the years I began to appreciate the belief systems, which ... as [anthropologist] Adrian Tanner once said, "their beliefs, on examination, turn out to be a set of ecological principles." I have a great admiration for that. When Job Bearskin said, "this whole country here is like garden." He didn't say it was a garden, he said it was *like* a garden.

JH: *Like* a garden?

BR: This is where everything grows, dies and is reborn. Although Sam Blacksmith was a jokey kind of a guy, he was very profound as well. When we asked him, "Which season do you prefer?" he said: "All seasons are good." Right in the middle of the whole thing about the ownership of the land, I said, "Do you own this land?" He said, "Well people tell us we own it, but actually everybody dies, so, nothing can be predicted." I would never have got that answer from an anthropologist! A couple of years later PBS were using the film in a series on disappearing peoples. They were writing a new commentary for it, and two days before it was to be broadcast, they rang me up and said, "There's no anthropological backing in this film." So, I said, "I know." [laughter]. We did it deliberately because my whole intention was this is for the Crees to say their piece.

JH: Did you observe the legal battles as well?

BR: Oh yeah. I sat there for, I think for about two months.

JH: Did you use your own transcriptions and descriptions of the trial in your publications, including *Strangers Devour the Land*?

BR: Yes. There's [a point in the trial] where Francois Mianscum was asked to tell truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth; and he said, "I can't undertake to do that. Let me tell you what I know." Well Christopher Stonebanks, along with Kathleen Jolly, who's now Kathleen Wootton, the deputy chief in Mistassini [in 2012, the Chair of the Cree School Board] [worked] on a longish academic paper about the meaning of this statement by Francois Mianscum, [a statement which] I found to my astonishment was only reported in my book (Stonebanks and Wooten 2008). It wasn't reported anywhere else. [Laughter]. Isn't this strange?

JH: So, in terms of what non-Cree need to understand, you believe there's a Cree worldview, and Cree spirituality that we may not necessarily want to adopt, but that we need to appreciate for its meaningfulness.

BR: I think this is very, very important. One of the ironies of it is that we deliberately destroyed it basically at a time when we needed it most.

JH: What is it about your relationship to the Cree that you believe other Cree and non-Cree experts, consultants, lawyers, anthropologists should know?

BR: I think that's what they should know.

JH: There has been a great deal said and written about the role of consultants, advisors, lawyers and anthropologists working within and for indigenous communities. Some of these criticisms have been leveled by indigenous scholars and writers, for example, by Taiaiake Alfred (2009) and Vine Deloria (1988). Others have been leveled by academics, for example, Widdowson and Howard's *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry (2008)*, and journalists. How would you respond to mostly negative commentaries like these, or others you have heard?

BR: With the election of [Prime Minister] Harper there was an outburst of sudden experts, right-wing experts, like [journalist] Jonathan Cave in the *National Post*. There were various others, like Tom Flanagan [political scientist, member of the Fraser Institute, and former consultant to the Conservative Party of Canada] (see also Scott 2004). He has written two books about the subject of Native governance, and he admits that he's never been in an Indian community; [yet, he] suddenly realized that there was a solution at hand. The solution was assimilation! They trumpet this as if it had never been thought of before. This is one of the triumphs of the academic attitude to life.

JH: What do you think of the James Bay and Northern Cree Agreement and how it came about?

BR: Well; I agree with the Cree perception of it, which was it was negotiated under duress and the Crees were extremely lucky when they did go to court to find the Lebanese judge...

JH: [Justice Albert] Malouf?

BR: I've got a lot of admiration for him. He had the imagination to know that what he was doing was unique; that it was probably the first time anybody had ever gone to court to argue the integrity of the environment, and that their life depended on it. His judgment, which was written in this slightly poetic legal language, about how they depended on all the land and all the fruits thereof, it was really well put [Malouf, 1973a]. I heard a lawyer, a couple of days after his judgment, [say] this judgment has thrown an absolute shockwave into the legal establishment of Canada because the legal [arena] is basically directed in defense of property. So that's how [the JBNQA] came about. It was entirely because of the Malouf judgement. It was a fantastic event.

JH: Then the decision was overturned, of course...

BR: Uhh [grumble]. There's one other thing: [The] undeniable fact that the lawyers for the Quebec government ... went to court convinced that they didn't have a case to answer. Whatever people say about James O'Reilly [the lead lawyer for the Cree], his dogged insistence on producing the case the [government] had to answer to, really paid off. He's sort of controversial, you know? Dissenting Crees, of whom there are a few, don't have any time for him, but it's the usual thing: "Made a lot of money on Crees." When I first got into this I was very, very reluctant ever to take a job that I thought came from Indian money. I was asked quite often to do it, and I refused, but I can't deny I have made money out of the proceedings. I wrote a book, which they didn't put my name on, called *Never Without Consent* [1998] [based on] the Cree legal document about separation. What was it called? Sovereignty and Justice? [Sovereign Injustice, 1995].

JH: I didn't know you'd written that.

BR: Well, it is still fairly popular in its approach. Do you know Neil Diamond? He's a fantastic filmmaker. He made this wonderful film called *Reel Injun* [2009]. It's fantastic. Neil is also a terrific writer. He's the best writer that [the Cree publication] *The Nation* ever had. He's delightful, but the Grand Council hates his guts. I wrote an editorial when they hired this woman who was doing the historical reflections. She came to me and said she'd been hired. I thought, they've got this guy who's made some terrific films and they didn't even ask him.

JH: Why is it a non-Cree person is making this film?

BR: Yeah, that was my question.

JH: I understand. I don't have an answer for that.

BR: I can tell you the answer. Basically they hate his guts. He's critical of the Grand Council.

JH: Why is he critical of the Grand Council?

BR: 'Cause there's a lot to criticize. [Laughter]

JH: Name one thing. Is it the agreement? Is it the way the agreement's been implemented? Is it leadership? Is it the way that the money's distributed? What is it?

BR: Well, I think it's the way that they've developed into regular politicians. I mean, [for example] the "Paix de Braves" [the Agreement Respecting a New Relationship Between the Cree Nation and the Government of Quebec, 2002]. When the original Agreement was put to the people, they went to terrific lengths to insure that everybody, even people way the hell out in the wilderness, had a chance to vote on it. It wasn't just a formal thing. But when they did the "Paix de Braves," they just whipped it through, just like any other politician would have done.

JH: Because they were afraid of the criticisms or...?

BR: Because they knew that there was opposition. They didn't want to give them a chance to really express anything.

JH: As I understand it, the opposition states that things that were to have been protected—the land and the hunters—have not been fully protected.

BR: Yeah. I was thinking... [long pause]. You asked me about the Agreement. I remember the night they had a dinner in Montreal. It was 1974. I was getting drunk at the back of the hall. I was sitting there with my wife, and [Cree signatory to the Agreement] Billy Diamond started talking about "our friends in the Quebec government" and I remember shouting out, "you've got no friends in the Quebec government." [Laughter]

Somebody picked it up and there was an item in *The Gazette* [Montreal] the next day.

This whole "Paix de Braves" and the later one that they signed with the Feds [2007], this is the payoff. They

got a cheque [from the federal government] for one billion and fifty million dollars on the 31st of March [2008]. That was in recognition of the fact that so much of original agreement was not implemented. They were now handing it over [to the Cree] and saying, "Here, YOU do it." Is that what our [government's] word is worth? [They] sign an agreement and just don't bother to implement it? To me, that billion dollars is like the kiss of death [sad chuckle].

JH: Tell me why?

BR: [pause] Well, because along with it goes the destruction of their traditional way of life, [and] along with that goes the undermining of their value system. Read Bruce Trigger's book [The Children of Aataentsic, 1976] about the Huron after the Jesuits got to them in 1621 and the lack of capacity to resist the Iroquois in 1640. That's the story. It's already been written. They were totally undermined in their value system.

JH: You think it also plays into the racism of Canadians who say "This is all about money after all; it isn't about rights, it isn't about, land, ecology." We hear that, even within the environmental movement. Activists have "given up" on the Cree on the notion that there is a sense of balance. There have been academics who've written books making similar arguments. The pendulum has swung and that swing is very critical of Native communities. Politically I think the ground has shifted right from under us...

BR: There was a guy called... Paul Bertrand, was it? Anyway, he was an anthropologist hired by the Quebec government when the whole thing first came up and his argument was that the challenge that would be posed by this great James Bay Project would bring the Cree to life. I suppose you could say in one sense it did. I think this guy worked in South America. I didn't agree with him, to the point that I wouldn't even talk to him. [Laughs] But, I don't know. It's a very complicated thing. I've always just regarded myself as an observer. Mind you, I have opinions, but I've always tried to keep them to myself. Never wanted to get involved in arguments within the Native communities.

When I first went to Mistassini in 1969, they had these little [Department of] Indian Affairs houses, which didn't have any water or electricity or anything like that. When they went into the bush in August or September, they'd leave them. There was no problem. They didn't pay for them. There was no rent or anything to pay. When they signed the Agreement they started to build houses, which they had to pay rent for. To pay rent, they needed money, and so they had the opportunity to work as carpenters on the houses for which they got paid. So what would you do if you were confronted with go off to live your subsistence life in the bush, earning the money that you need to pay the rent on your house? They all did that. So that's how they destroyed the basic fundamentals. I mean that's been going on ever since white people arrived here.

JH: But Crees have resisted or managed to maintain their bush life for a much longer period of time than a lot of others.

BR: The Cree have, yeah, through an accident of history, which is that they never really joined with Canada. I probably touched on this, but [pause] I've been asked why I got involved? I got involved because of what I'd describe as human rights violations. It wasn't because I agreed with the Indian prescriptions or anything like that. It was because I was outraged by the way that they were being treated. I spent a good part of my life since then trying to tell Canadians just the way they have been treated, which is not that easy to get across although I've done work in every possible medium. I've never agreed with people who said that you're only preaching to the converted. Not in the slightest. Most of the unconverted, you're never going to get through to anyway. I wouldn't want to set out my shingle to try and convince a bunch like Harper and his gang. Boy, life's too short for that!

JH: But, I think you're right. This work is about appealing to those who are open to thinking about these things. I think most Canadians are outraged when they hear these stories of displacement, extreme poverty, and the loss of sovereignity.

BR: Yeah. I was constantly hearing from people who had never heard of the Cree but now that's pretty rare.

JH: Thank you for your time, Boyce.

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2003 Memoirs of a Media Maverick. Toronto: Between the Lines.
1993 People of Terra Nulius. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.
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A Partial List of Films Directed by Boyce Richardson

1974 Cree Hunters of Mistassini (co-directed with Tony Ianzelo), National Film Board.
1975 Niagara For Sale, National Film Board.
1976 Our Land Is Our Life (co-directed with Tony Ianzelo), National Film Board.
1985 For Future Generations, National Film Board.
1990 Blockade: Algonquins Defend the Forest, National Film Board.
1991/1973 Flooding Job's Garden, Tamarack Films. Distributed by National Film Board.