

LIVING IN THE SHADOW OF GREATNESS:
LOUIS SCHMIDT, RIEL'S SECRETARY

by Raymond J.A. Huel
Department of History
The University of Lethbridge

It has often been argued that history is the work of great men. If this were so, Louis Schmidt would be relegated to an even more abysmal obscurity than that which posterity has accorded him. His misfortune was that he lived in the shadow cast by Louis Riel, a schoolmate, friend and political colleague in Manitoba. Louis Schmidt became the small tree in the forest, deprived of the elements that are indispensable to growth and development.

It would be an understatement to affirm that Louis Schmidt has been accorded a bad press. George Stanley, for example, has described Schmidt as a pathetic and unimaginative person "who lacked the ability to write in any other than the simplest and baldest fashion."¹ In his moving biography of Gabriel Dumont, George Woodcock affirms that Schmidt was "a man of un-decisive character" whose fear of losing his position in the Prince Albert Land Office kept him "on the verge of events throughout the coming period of agitation and rebellion" in 1884-85.² For his part, Rudy Weibe in *The Scorched-Wood People* makes Schmidt appear as a dude in the midst of the other Metis, "a washed fancy bastard," . . . "dressed in cloth like a [Hudson's Bay] Company big shot."³ He also needed a drink to bolster his faltering courage. According to Weibe, Schmidt was timid in 1884-85 and he was perhaps a not too reluctant militiaman in Prince Albert.⁴

There is an equal amount of controversy surrounding Schmidt's ancestry. His paternal grandfather Nicolas Andrews, a clerk in the Hudson's Bay Company post at Old Fort Chippewayen, married Anne Généraux. He later abandoned her, leaving one son behind and taking the other with him.⁵ She later remarried Pierre Laferté and Schmidt stated that his father was known by that name. The baptismal records, however, clearly indicate that the father's name was Alfred Smith and that the son was baptised Louis Smith.⁶ In 1858, Bishop Taché of St. Boniface altered this to Schmidt in the belief that it was his real name. All of Louis Schmidt's children bore the hyphenated surname Schmidt-Laferté.⁷

Born in Old Fort Chippewayen Schmidt moved to St. Boniface in 1854 when he was ten years old. In 1858 Schmidt, along with Louis Riel and Daniel McDougall, was selected to continue his education in Québec. While these young men were promising individuals who would benefit from advanced education, their selection was no doubt influenced by Bishop Taché's desire to recruit a Native clergy. Schmidt attended the College of St. Hyacinthe where he attained excellent grades.⁸ Because his health suffered as a result of the cold damp winters he was forced to abandon his studies in 1861. Schmidt always regretted having had to take that action and he felt that this misfortune had caused great grief to Taché.⁹ More serious, however, were problems associated with Schmidt's drinking after returning to St. Boniface. In a letter to Taché dated May 31, 1869, Schmidt swore on the little honour that remained to him to never again consume alcoholic beverages

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except for medicinal purposes. He affirmed that this tardy repentance "sera peut-être une légère compensation aux nombreux déboires que vous a causés jusqu'à aujourd'hui ma conduite déréglée." With the assistance of Taché's fervent prayers, Schmidt hoped to eradicate his "affreuse passion."¹⁰

When Riel returned to Red River in July, 1868, he asked Schmidt to come and live with him in St. Vital. Schmidt accepted and they discussed the changes that were taking place in Red River and resolved to become involved in public affairs at the appropriate time. In November, 1869, Schmidt returned from St. Paul a few days after the capture of Fort Garry by the Métis. After putting his affairs in order Schmidt went to the fort to stay with Riel. When the National Committee of the Métis was reorganized on December 27 and Riel replaced John Bruce as president, Schmidt became secretary. Schmidt was elected as one of the delegates from St. Boniface to the Convention which met on January 19-20 to consider Donald Smith's commission and the best course of action to follow. Schmidt became French secretary to and one of the members of a committee of "natives of the country" whose responsibility it was to review the List of Rights. On February 10, 1870, when the English residents agreed to join the French in the creation of the Provisional Government of Red River, Schmidt was elected Assistant Secretary of State. In this capacity, Schmidt issued orders and proclamations on behalf of the Provisional Government, and sent despatches to the Quebec press. From his official correspondence it is not possible to ascertain Schmidt's influence in the Provisional Government. His views were so similar to those expressed by Riel that there is a tendency to regard Schmidt as a mere clerk faithfully reproducing the commands of his superior.¹¹

The execution of Thomas Scott presents a good example of this similarity. In his memoirs published in 1911-12, Schmidt described Scott as a person who lacked good dispositions, who constantly ranted and raved and, hence, had to be firmly dealt with. Schmidt echoed Riel's sentiments when he stated that the Provisional Government was the only one in the land, and that it had been created and accepted by the people. Furthermore, governments had the right to condemn to death those who were seditious.¹²

In the meantime, however, relations between Schmidt and his associates became strained. On May 31, 1870, Schmidt complained to Riel that he had been poorly treated by the servants and that others were receiving preferential treatment. Schmidt added that his drinking had not caused this state of affairs. Schmidt felt that Riel held him in such low esteem that he would not speak on his behalf.¹³ The following day Schmidt again wrote Riel to complain about the servants. Schmidt declared that he had asked to have breakfast at 9:00 a.m. but did not receive any because it had been served at 8:00 a.m. O'Donoghue and other favorites, on the other hand, could arrive at 9:30 a.m. and be served. A proud man, Schmidt stated that he preferred to be an independent person rather than continue being humiliated by a title which no one took seriously.¹⁴

When Colonel Wolseley's troops arrived on August 24, Schmidt prudently went in the opposite direction until tranquility returned. He kept in touch

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with Riel and indicated his concern over the lack of discretion of those Métis who spoke openly about Riel's visits to Canada. For his part, Schmidt complained that he was living in isolation, that he had no money or means of transportation and, hence, had been unable to meet with Riel.¹⁵

In the first provincial election held on December 30, 1870, Schmidt was elected MLA for St. Boniface-Ouest. Shortly after the election he accompanied Ambroise and Maxime Lépine to St. Joseph to visit Riel. Schmidt was saddened to see Riel in exile, a powerless spectator insofar as events in Manitoba were concerned. In the legislature Schmidt was the intermediary between Riel and Joseph Royal and Joseph Dubuc although it appears that Schmidt did not possess unlimited confidence in these two French Canadians. Schmidt was convinced that Riel was the natural leader of the Métis and that decisions affecting the welfare of the Métis could not be made without consulting Riel. Schmidt was so bold as to inform ministers that they could not act independently of Riel.¹⁶ In this early post-insurrection period Schmidt kept Riel informed of local events and problems. Schmidt described his letters as "un mot du pays, et l'expression du coeur d'un ami qui souffre véritablement de vous voir éloigné, la patrie vous requiert cependant."¹⁷ In September 1873, Schmidt was one of the speakers who addressed a large assembly of French parishes in St. Boniface to protest against the arrest of Ambroise Lépine. After the trial Schmidt, along with Charles Nolin, was selected to thank Joseph Royal and Adolphe Chapleau for their valiant defense of Lépine.¹⁸

In 1874, St. Boniface-Ouest was annexed to St. Charles and in the elections that year, Schmidt was defeated. In 1878 he contested St. François-Xavier East and narrowly defeated the incumbent Maxime Lépine. In the session that followed, Schmidt criticized Premier John Norquay for his attempts to eliminate the publication of official texts in French and to change the way in which funds for education were allocated. Schmidt did not take part in the election of 1878.¹⁹

In the meantime, Schmidt married Justine Laviolette in 1872 and claimed his scrip. In 1873 he became an issuer of provincial licenses. He was the first secretary of the Société St.-Jean-Baptiste in St. Boniface, secretary of l'Union St. Alexandre and secretary-treasurer of the St. Boniface School District. It would appear that he had been unable to come to grips with his drinking during this period and by 1880 he had decided to leave St. Boniface and rehabilitate himself in the North West Territories. His departure was delayed by the fact that he could find no one to look after his mother and sister. Bishop Taché had advanced money for the purchase of an ox and carts but, as Schmidt had to point out, the sum had not been sufficient.²⁰ On June 19, 1880, Schmidt left St. Boniface accompanied by his wife, three children and a cousin, Michel Dumas. In September, Schmidt, describing himself as an "unworthy protégé," informed Taché that he had begun to rehabilitate himself in his new home. His land was located on the east bank of the South Saskatchewan River some six miles below the church of St. Laurent. Schmidt looked forward to building a new home and breaking his land.²¹

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In 1883 Schmidt moved to Prince Albert where he obtained a position as a clerk in the office of W.V. MacLise, a lawyer. The salary was not princely and Schmidt felt that his employment was precarious given the difficult times. He informed Taché that it was a severe blow to his pride to have to work for a buffoon who treated him impertinently in order to appear important.²²

A year later in February, 1884, Schmidt asked the bishop to use his influence in order that he might obtain the position of French-speaking assistant in the Prince Albert Land Office. The Métis of the district had already petitioned the authorities to have Schmidt appointed but even the intercession of Joseph Royal, M.P. for Provencher, had not brought about the desired result. In the meantime, Schmidt looked upon his present miserable employment as a means of atoning for his past sins and he looked forward to a better future.²³

During this time, Schmidt became involved in the attempts to have survey and homestead requirements modified to suit the needs of the Métis in the District of Saskatchewan. In the winter of 1881, for example, he addressed a petition to the Minister of the Interior requesting that river lot surveys be permitted on the south fork of the Saskatchewan River. He sent a second petition on behalf of the residents of Batoche in the fall of 1882. A third petition was sent in December 1883.²⁴ In the summer of 1883, a large meeting was held in St. Laurent to voice dissatisfaction in the district and Schmidt acted as secretary.

While Schmidt was moving his family to Prince Albert in January, 1884, he met Baptiste Arcand who was on his way to attend a meeting to voice the concerns of English-speaking mixed-bloods. In conversing with Arcand, Schmidt suggested that Riel should be asked to champion the Métis cause. According to Schmidt, Riel's presence would unify the Métis and their grievances would stand a better chance of being redressed.²⁵ Schmidt was secretary of the May 6, 1884, meeting at Lindsay School which decided to extend an invitation to Riel to take up the cause of the North West.²⁶ Schmidt was also secretary of the committee to select delegates to send to Montana and he was chosen as a member. On May 12, however, Schmidt received his appointment at the Land Office and, while he was determined to accompany the others, Father Alexis André, o.m.i., dissuaded him on the grounds that his family could not do without him.²⁷

Forced to remain in Prince Albert because of personal circumstances Schmidt, nevertheless, continued to lend his support to the discontent in the region by contributing articles to Le Manitoba in St. Boniface. In an article published on May 29, for example, he enumerated Métis grievances and castigated the government for having done nothing to remedy the situation. After Riel's arrival, Schmidt obtained leave from his superior to visit his old friend and associate. He offered his services to Riel but the latter replied that Schmidt could render more effective aid to the Métis by remaining at the Land Office.²⁸ For his part, Riel informed T.E. Jackson, a Prince Albert pharmacist, that the eastern press carried no news of the

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protest movement in the West and, that if it were not for Schmidt's articles, the French-speaking population also would be ignorant of the situation. Riel asked Jackson to give credit to Schmidt without compromising his position in the Land Office where "he will do good services to all classes equally."²⁹

By September, however, Schmidt's collaboration with and admiration for Riel began to wane. Riel had sent Schmidt a memorandum on Métis demands and asked him to publicize it. Schmidt, who felt that the demands were excessive, returned the document stating that he was not disposed to comment on it. Furthermore, he stated that everyone knew he was contributing articles to the press and hence it was prudent to remain silent.³⁰

This change in attitude is evident in a lengthy manuscript entitled "Movement des Métis à St. Laurent, Sask., T.N.O. en 1884" which Schmidt began preparing in August and sent to Bishop Taché in April 1885.³¹ Schmidt began his account by describing the grievances of the Métis and residents of the North West and the attempts to organize a "movement général" to force the government to act. Initially Schmidt was sympathetic to Riel and his cause but this sympathy began to fade as a result of a heated encounter between Riel and Father André in Schmidt's home on August 17, 1884. According to Schmidt, Riel openly professed revolutionary and heretical ideas and, when challenged by André, Riel replied that he was a statesman entrusted with a providential mission.³²

In the pages that follow, Schmidt became even more critical of Riel and his motives. Much to his dismay, the Riel that Schmidt observed was not the hero of 1869-70 but an opportunist who had donned the mantle of a prophet. Schmidt was not convinced that Riel's religiosity was sincere; it was a facade to manipulate the gullible Métis. To Schmidt, a devout orthodox Catholic with a profound admiration for the clergy, Riel had become an anti-Christ leading the Métis into apostasy. Consequently, Riel became a person whom Schmidt virtually eradicated from his memory other than in the context of 1869-70.

Schmidt made no attempt to conceal his disgust for Riel nor did he refrain from condemning the recourse to arms in 1885. Schmidt reiterated his feelings in the polemic which appeared in the Québec press after Philip Garnot, secretary to Riel's council, was released from prison in August, 1886. In a letter published in *La Patrie*, Garnot argued that Riel had given his life for the French cause and that it was an honour to have been associated with him. In the pages of *La Minerve* Schmidt denounced the Liberal press for having grossly exaggerated Métis grievances for partisan purposes. Furthermore, Schmidt stated that the government could not be blamed for Riel's execution.³³

After the Rebellion, Schmidt continued to interest himself in Métis affairs, especially matters relating to land ownership. He supported, for example, a proposal that the Métis give up their right to scrip in exchange for a reserve because the latter offered more security. He was

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disappointed when a large meeting to consider the matter opted for scrip.³⁴

In late 1890, Schmidt was selected as a Métis representative to accompany a federal immigration agent on a tour of Québec. In February, 1891, he presented a series of talks on the advantages of the West in various centres in Québec. There was no lack of interest in the conferences especially in those areas where the soil was exhausted. An astute Schmidt noted in his journal that many of those present would immigrate if only someone from the locality set the example by coming out West.³⁵

Schmidt also took advantage of this trip to visit old acquaintances from his college days and to meet prominent French-Canadian politicians and statesmen. Senator Joseph Tassé, for example, introduced him to Sir Joseph-Adolphe Chapleau, the federal Secretary of State, who provided him with a letter of introduction to John A. Macdonald.³⁶ In the meantime, the money for Schmidt's expenses was sent to Montreal and Schmidt had no need to go to Ottawa. He regretted the fact that this denied him the privilege to meet the Prime Minister.

In terms of politics Schmidt was a staunch Conservative, an affiliation that might appear strange considering the consequences of 1869-70. In 1891, Schmidt worked among the Métis of Prince Albert on behalf of the Tory candidate D.H. Macdowall but he had a difficult task in convincing them to support the Conservatives.³⁸ In the 1896 election Schmidt noted that there was an "animation extraordinaire" and that with the exception of the west section of Prince Albert, Wilfrid Laurier carried the constituency as well as the country.³⁹ At the territorial level, however, Schmidt was not impressed with F.W.G. Haultain as a result of the latter's role in the abolition of French as an official language and school legislation limiting Catholic educational privileges. In commenting on the results of the 1902 territorial election Schmidt referred to Haultain as le "maudit."⁴⁰ Schmidt's political activities may have been the reason why he was informed in the summer of 1897 that his services would no longer be required at the Land Office. He resigned on July 7 and returned to his farm in St. Louis.⁴¹

As a result of his experience and education Schmidt became very involved in the affairs of his district. He was at one time or another secretary-treasurer or trustee of School District No. 14, secretary-treasurer of Rural Municipality No. 341, choir master for the parish and a member of the executive of local associations. Such a dominant role, however, was not without its problems. The municipal elections of 1908, for example, returned a council containing two members who were Schmidt's avid enemies. These two individuals had asserted that he was responsible for higher taxes in the district. Furthermore, there were others who coveted Schmidt's position.⁴² As could be expected, the first meeting of the new council dismissed Schmidt on the pretext that it could not afford his services.⁴³ Two years later, in 1910, he was rehired as the municipality's secretary-treasurer.

Sentiments associated with the Rebellion created personal animosities between Schmidt and members of the Métis community. In December, 1909,

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Schmidt felt compelled by circumstances to vindicate his honour and that of his family. It seems that many Métis were convinced that he had abandoned and betrayed them in 1885 and were perturbed at the strong language he had used to condemn Riel. To set the record straight, Schmidt composed a document, which he regarded as solemn as a "déclaration ante mortem," outlining his role in the events of 1885. In it he demonstrated that the English in Prince Albert considered him to be a Métis spy and that he had joined the local volunteer militia on the advice of close friends. According to Schmidt, his detention on March 26-27, 1885, clearly indicated how the English viewed him. Schmidt also reiterated the fact that he had always denounced and would continue to denounce the recourse to arms in 1885 because there had been no justifiable reason for doing so. 1885 was a catastrophe for which Riel was responsible.⁴⁴

Some time later, Schmidt was also taken to task for comments contained in his memoirs published serially in Le Patriote de l'Ouest, 1911-12. Some people took exception to the fact that the author, a French Catholic writer, had used the term "revolution" to describe the events of 1869-70.⁴⁵ A similar critique was made by A. Goulet, son of Elzéar Goulet, a member of the court martial that had tried Thomas Scott. Goulet was also upset over allegations Schmidt had made concerning his father's character.⁴⁶

While these memoirs were being published, French-speaking Catholics in Saskatchewan were attempting to form a provincial association to enhance and protect their religious and ethnic interests. Schmidt was a member of the organizational committee and presented an address on the rights of the French language in the province at the Duck Lake convention in February 1912. Recalling the constitutional history of the North-West Territories, Schmidt stated that the French language once enjoyed "the freedom of the city" in the West. He argued that the situation in which French Catholics presently found themselves was not due to chance but rather to the passion and fanaticism of a small minority who ruled the country. Moreover, the constitutional rights of the French had been violated. Casting aside his customary caution, Schmidt advised the delegates to follow Daniel O'Connell's example and "agitate agitate agitez-vous, faites du bruit (Appl.)."⁴⁷ Schmidt was later selected as one of the delegates to represent Saskatchewan at the first congress of the French language in Québec City in June.

Schmidt was very concerned with the status of the French language in society. On one occasion a thoroughly disgusted Schmidt wrote in his journal that there were six French priests and a French bishop in the church in Prince Albert, yet the sermon was in English.⁴⁸ Later, while commenting on the changes made to the boundaries of Duck Lake constituency Schmidt noted that, given the number of French centres in it, it should have a French-speaking member.⁴⁹ Schmidt also used his position on the local school board to make certain that French language instruction was not neglected and, as a member of the executive of the local chapter of the A.C.F.C.,⁵⁰ he attempted to enhance and extend that instruction.

As could be expected, Schmidt was in great demand as an orator on

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patriotic occasions. Shortly before leaving Prince Albert in 1897, he presented an address on behalf of the French-speaking population at the celebration of Queen Victoria's 60th jubilee.⁵¹ In 1901, a monument was unveiled in Batoche to commemorate the victims of 1885 and Schmidt delivered the main address. Unfortunately, what he said was not recorded for posterity.⁵² Schmidt also spoke at St. Jean Baptiste day celebrations. He was also the centre of attraction for the 1925 visit of Québec's Liaison Française who stopped at nearby Hoey on their tour of French centres in the West. Schmidt was sent for and was the main attraction at the banquet. It was a proud Schmidt who wrote: "Je suis entouré par la plupart des voyageurs qui aiment à connaître le secrétaire de Riel."⁵³

It is within this context that Schmidt wanted to be remembered. Unfortunately, history has not been as kind to him as it has been to Riel who became a martyr or to Gabriel Dumont who became a rustic folk hero. For his part Schmidt has been largely ignored, forgotten, and scorned. There has also been a tendency to impute to Schmidt motives that were similar to Riel's on the grounds that they had similar backgrounds and educations. Consequently, when Schmidt failed to achieve these expectations he was deemed to be indifferent and apathetic, a man who lacked imagination and strength of character. Some of his own compatriots were more severe in their judgement and regarded him as a betrayer of Métis interests.

In the final analysis none of these evaluations is correct. Schmidt was not indifferent or apathetic as his efforts on behalf of the Métis and their problems indicate. His aspirations and lifestyle were not those of a visionary Riel attempting to establish a kingdom for a covenant people, nor those of Gabriel Dumont who attempted to live out the traditional semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Métis. Schmidt represents the Métis who had adapted to the new order of things in the West. In this respect he was probably more successful than Riel who was continuously frustrated by contemporary society or Dumont who would be swept away by the agricultural frontier. Schmidt paid a high price for this qualified success because in the eyes of those who supported Riel and the concept of a district Métis nation, Schmidt had ceased to be a true Métis.

For all practical purposes Schmidt had passed into the ranks of the French Canadian community and it accepted him as a member. He was able to do this because of his education and the fact that he was Catholic. Schmidt's own views on the Métis identity reflect this state of affairs. Schmidt never denied that he was Métis and took great pride in his mixed-blood ancestry. Nevertheless, Schmidt did not make the distinction between French Canadian and Métis that Riel did. According to Schmidt, the French and Métis were brothers equal in every respect except education. The Métis were not well educated because of their nomadic ways. If the Métis were to be a factor in Confederation, Schmidt argued, they had to unite with the French Canadian element. For their part, the French should not look upon the Métis as an inferior race but "as their equals, their brothers."⁵⁴

There is nothing in Louis Schmidt's life and character to indicate

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that he ever aspired to possess the motives which others found lacking in him. He was not an overly ambitious person who sought to achieve high goals. While his services and expertise were sought out, he was too modest to equate this with potential leadership. Schmidt was extremely critical of Riel's motives and leadership, but he never presented himself or his own views as an alternative. Schmidt's greatest handicap was that ever since his association with Riel in 1869-70 he always lived in the shadow of greatness. Throughout his life, he was always secretary and never president.

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NOTES

- ¹G.F.G. Stanley, Louis Riel (Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson, 1972), p. 22.
- ²G. Woodcock, Gabriel Dumont: The Métis Chief and his Lost World (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1975), pp. 120, 137.
- ³Ibid., p. 12.
- ⁴Ibid., p. 273.
- ⁵Journal de Louis Schmidt, 11 mars, 1886.
- ⁶Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Archives, C.II 103, "Baptême et Mariages dans les Missions des forts des prairies, 1842-51," No. 1201.
- ⁷Le Patriote de l'Ouest, "Les Mémoires de Louis Schmidt," 8 juin 1911.
- ⁸Archives du Séminaire de St. Hyacinthe, Régistre des étudiants, Versification, Examens de l'été, 1860-61.
- ⁹Archives de l'Archidiocèse de St. Boniface [hereafter cited as AASB], Fonds Taché, T1088-89, Schmidt to Taché, 1 jan. 1869.
- ¹⁰Ibid., Schmidt to Taché, T6571, 31 mai, 1869.
- ¹¹Lettre de Louis Schmidt à "Monsieur," le Courrier de St. Hyacinthe, 28 juin 1870.
- ¹²Le Patriote de l'Ouest, "Les mémoires de Louis Schmidt," 4 avril 1912.
- ¹³Public Archives of Canada, MG27 I F3, Vol. I, No. 30, Schmidt to Riel, 31 mai, 1870.
- ¹⁴Ibid., No. 31, Schmidt to Riel, 1 juin, 1870.
- ¹⁵Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG3 D2, 2, 5, Schmidt to Riel, 26 sept., 1870.
- ¹⁶Ibid., MG3 D1, No. 133, Schmidt to Riel, 3 fév., 1872.

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- ¹⁷Ibid., No. 154, Schmidt to Riel, 28 avril, 1872.
- ¹⁸D. Frémont, Les Secrétaires de Riel (Montreal: Chantecler, 1953), pp. 65-66.
- ¹⁹D. Frémont, Les Secrétaires de Riel (Montreal: Chantecler, 1953), p. 69.
- ²⁰AASB, Fonds Taché, T 2369-72, Schmidt to Taché, 5 juin 1880.
- ²¹Ibid., T 24448-51, Schmidt to Taché, 11 sept., 1880.
- ²²Ibid., T 28830-33, Schmidt to Taché, 18 fév., 1884.
- ²³Idem.
- ²⁴Ibid., T 31401-04, Schmidt to Burgess, 26 mai 1885. (copy)
- ²⁵Le Patriote de l'Ouest, "Les mémoires de Louis Schmidt," 16 mai, 1912.
- ²⁶Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG3 D2, 2, 18, "Meeting Lindsay School House."
- ²⁷D. Frémont, op. cit., p. 80.
- ²⁸Le Patriote de l'Ouest, "Les mémoires de Louis Schmidt,"
- ²⁹University of Saskatchewan Archives, A.S. Morton Manuscript Collection, C555/2/13, Riel to Jackson, Aug. 29, 1884.
- ³⁰Archives of Saskatchewan, R298, No. 14, Schmidt to Riel, 29 sept., 1884.
- ³¹AASB, Fonds Taché, T 29781 - 29840.
- ³²Ibid., T 29789-90.
- ³³D. Frémont, op. cit., pp. 174-76.
- ³⁴Journal de Louis Schmidt, 21 jan., 1891.
- ³⁵Ibid., 7 fev., 1891.

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- ³⁶Ibid., 11 fév. 1891.
- ³⁷Ibid., 12 fév. 1891.
- ³⁸Ibid., 26 fév. 1891.
- ³⁹Journal de Louis Schmidt, 23 juin 1896.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., 1 juin 1902.
- ⁴¹Ibid., 7 juillet 1897.
- ⁴²Ibid., 14 jan. 1908.
- ⁴³Ibid., 28 jan. 1908
- ⁴⁴Louis Schmidt, Déclaration 16 déc. 1909.
- ⁴⁵Lachance to Auclair, 15 mars 1912.
- ⁴⁶Goulet to Schmidt, 14 mars 1912.
- ⁴⁷Le Patriote de l'Ouest, 14 mars 1912.
- ⁴⁸Journal de Louis Schmidt, 13 sept. 1896.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., 23 juillet 1908.
- ⁵⁰L'Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan, founded in Duck Lake, February 1912, to promote and enhance the religious and linguistic rights of French Canadians.
- ⁵¹Journal de Louis Schmidt, 22 juin 1897.
- ⁵²Ibid., 23 juillet 1901.
- ⁵³Ibid., 9 juillet 1925.
- ⁵⁴AASB, T 29792, "Mouvement des Métis à St. Luarent, T.N.O. en 1884."