The History of the Bilingual Sisters of Holy Cross in Ontario For the Holy Cross History Conference

Introduction The Province of Ontario

To understand the English and French reality in Ontario, it is important to reread the history of our country at the beginning of the foundation in Canada.

In 1610, the country of France sent 10,000 inhabitants to live in Ontario. In 1760 a great number of Loyalists arrived: they were 100,000 in number. The year 1791 marked the division between Upper-Canada and Lower-Canada and influenced the way the inhabitants lived together and how they respected each other in their rights.

The Congregation of Holy Cross was founded in Canada in the parish of Saint-Laurent, Quebec in 1847. The first colony sent from Le Mans, France comprised of eight Brothers, four Sisters and one Priest.¹ Of the four sisters who arrived: "very humble seed: three 20-year old sisters, two of whom were novices, led by a superior who was barely 40 years old and only six days professed when she left Le Mans." ² In 1849 Mother Mary of Seven Dolors came to Montreal and met the nineteen sisters. From 1847 to 1883 the Congregation grew from 4 sisters to 150 and from one humble house in St. Laurent to ten more thriving foundations.

In 1856, a mission for the sisters was opened in Alexandria by Mother M. of Seven Dolors. It was the first establishment in Ontario, after St. Martin, Sainte-Scholastique des Deux-Montagnes and Varennes, near Montreal, in Quebec.³

This new mission called Sainte-Marie-d'Écosse was opened for an anglophone population, especially Scottish people who left their country to protect their religion and to live in a safe and prosperous area.⁴

1 EDUCATION IN ONTARIO

To understand the bilingual education system in Ontario, I will follow the sisters in two regions: Alexandria and Lafontaine.

Before focusing on these two special places, it is important to understand what happened in 1912.

The year 1912 was truly a sad time when "Le Règlement XVII" (Regulation 17) became law, passed by the Conservative Party's Ministry of Education. It was designed to shut down French-language schools at a time when Francophones from Quebec were moving into Eastern Ontario. It restricted the use of French as a language of instruction for the first 2 years of schooling. In 1913 it was amended and that version was applied throughout Ontario.

From 1917 until 1928, it was permitted to teach one hour of French each day in schools where students were in attendance while the basic course of studies continued to be taught in English.

The French Canadian Association of Education (ACFEO) was responsible for achieving the right of children of French Canadian parents to be taught in their language. The Franco-Ontarians, by persistent efforts, resisted the power of the Ministry. Finally the Government changed its politics and recognized the right of French to be accepted as a language of communication and teaching in the bilingual schools.

Despite the repeal of Regulation 17, however, French-language schools in Ontario were not officially recognized under the provincial Education Act until 1968.

In 1967, Prime Minister John P. Robarts accepted to establish public high schools for Franco-Ontarians. Here is an excerpt of his discourse reported by Sr. Bériault:⁵

«L'usage du français comme langue d'instruction dans les écoles de l'Ontario remonte aux premiers établissements français. Pendant de nombreuses années, on créa des écoles primaires enseignant en français et en anglais, sans que la question de langue ait prêté beaucoup à discussion».

Such a victory!

The English-speaking sisters and the French-speaking sisters lived in community together and they taught together in bilingual schools.

At that time, between 1922-1958, the Congregation of Holy Cross of French origin and predominately French-Canadian culture, had numerous sisters whose native tongue was French, but who had been educated in English schools. The authorities of Holy Cross invited some Franco-American sisters to help in this new reality. Ontarians and Americans were trained in the bilingual Teachers' College of Ottawa. The sisters, who were well qualified, succeeded in the bilingual missions founded in Saint Joseph's Province.

1.1 Alexandria: 1856

The town of Alexandria dates back to 1819. The first Church was completed in 1833. Father John MacDonald, the first priest, began building a convent, but it was not destined to be completed.

In the autumn of 1853, Father John McLachlan established a Catholic school for boys under the direction of the Brothers of Holy Cross.

In 1856, three sisters accompanied by Mother Mary of Seven Dolors, the Foundress of the Congregation and Superior in Canada, arrived in Alexandria to take up the cause of religious education for the girls. February 17th, 1856 was the opening of the school: 20 young girls were registered. During the summer a new convent was built. In 1859 a fire destroyed a part of the convent. The next morning, young and old helped to make the convent habitable and comfortable.

In March 1861, the sisters received Father Charles Moreau, nephew of Rev. Basil Moreau and welcomed two postulants who became Sisters of Holy Cross and died very young.

The year 1865 revealed that several of the older pupils had gone to the Public High School, but in 1867, a large number of pupils registered and the reputation of the school grew with the years.

On December 1871, an inspector from the Department of Education visited the schools and he was pleased by the education offered to the 79 children who answered his questions.

In 1879, Mother Mary of Seven Dolors came from France to visit the Canadian establishments. What a change she found! The number of students had increased from 20 to 138. She was pleased by the accomplishment of the

sisters in the classrooms, by their method of teaching religion to adults, by their visits to the sick and dying and their support to the families.

On the 15th of March, 1885, the new church was completed and dedicated to the worship of God by Bishop James Vincent Cleary, Bishop of Kingston. When he came back for the Confirmation, he congratulated the Sisters of Holy Cross and recognized the quality of their pupils' education and "the accuracy of their knowledge of the prescribed forms of prayer and the Christian Doctrine" and he added: "The Sisters are moreover entitled to gratitude for the zeal and labour which they have cheerfully employed in the preparation of adults, both male and female for the Sacrament of Confirmation."⁶

In 1889, Rev. Alexander Macdonell became the first Bishop of Alexandria.

In 1890, Mother Mary of St. Basil, Mother General, came to visit the sisters and their new convent.

In 1905, the sisters taught the boys and girls in the same classrooms.

In 1909, a French parish was built, Église Sacré-Coeur, to accommodate the growing number of parishioners as many francophone families had arrived from Quebec. These new families reclaimed the possibility of receiving a French education.

In 1925 it was the first time that the bilingual reality appeared in the history of Alexandria. Some Franco-American sisters arrived to help the bilingual sisters teach in the classrooms. We can name: S. M.-de S.-Lumina (Yvonne Lauzière) and S. M.-de-S.-Florence-de-Séville (Béatrice Vaillancourt) from the United States.⁷

In 1930, the parallel classrooms were organized: 340 pupils from the French parish received their courses in «l'école séparée Alexander» and 110 from the Cathedral parish were in Saint-Margaret's convent.

The bilingual school was implemented in Alexandria to respect the two cultures and the customs of the Scottish and of the French.

The sisters from the French school and those who taught in English lived together in the Saint-Margaret's Residence.

In 1950, the French sisters left St. Margaret's convent to form a community in a new house in the parish. "It was with regret that they left the home where they had lived so long, and with regret, too, the English Sisters saw them leave."⁸

In 1953, a new building of a Bilingual School for the girls appeared in the Sacred Heart Parish: l'école Notre-Dame-du-Perpétuel-Secours.

In 1963, the convent closed its doors. Some sisters continued to teach at Notre-Dame-du-Perpétuel-Secours and at Saint-Joseph until 1972.

From 1955 to 1967, l'Académie Sainte-Maria-Goretti was a private school and a boarding school for the girls who wanted to finish their secondary education.⁹

"A hundred years have gone by since our three Sisters and the Mother Foundress generously made their trip, in below zero weather, from Lancaster to Alexandria. During 100 years Sisters have come and gone. [...] So, at the end of the century we thank God for His blessings on the labour of each one, for the successes obtained, and we go forth confidently to meet the new century, knowing that God is always present to help in difficulties, to console in sorrow, to rejoice in our success!"¹⁰

Sr. Eveline Swaile, CSC wrote:

"One hundred years later, 120 religious vocations had come from this small town and its environs, 100 of them to Holy Cross."¹¹

1.2 Lafontaine: 1885

In 1885, the Diocese of Toronto requested sisters for Lafontaine, a small French settlement 500 miles from Montreal.

Sister Maureen Potvin wrote this:

"Lafontaine at that period was populated by about fifteen hundred French-Canadian people who spoke French and had little knowledge of English. About three-quarters were Catholics. They made a livelihood by farming though some were fishermen and on the whole few were educated."¹²

It was the first French mission in Ontario. The Congregation accepted this new foundation in response to the requests from the clergy and the parishes. The majority of the population came from Lower-Canada. A part of this region was called: "Le Petit Québec."

Lafontaine is situated on the South-East side of Georgian Bay.

"Lafontaine in the country known as 'the end of the Champlain Road' and has a long Catholic and French-Canadian history behind it. This was the site of the first Mass celebrated in Huronia and territory later to be watered by the blood of Brebeuf and Lalement, as well as so many others."¹³

In 1885, Mgr C. Fabre, Archbishop of Montreal invited the Congregation to accept this mission. January 5, 1886, six Sisters of Holy Cross are present at the school. They offer courses in French and in English. During the first year, one hundred and fifty pupils were at school.

At this time the Ministry of the Public Instruction accepted that the French schools be organized as the one in Lower-Canada.

The separate school Sainte-Croix was a completely French school.

On July 13, 1893 the sisters must depart from Lafontaine. Some enterprises organized the withdrawal of the sisters without informing the parishioners and the Church. The Congregation decided to close the mission. Sister Hélène Bériault wrote:

«Au sujet du départ des religieuses, le Père Joseph Beaudoin, curé de la paroisse Sainte-Croix, écrit aux registres de la paroisse: "Le 13 juillet 1893, les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix quittent le couvent et décident de ne plus revenir". S'il n'en dit pas plus, c'est qu'il avait été l'instigateur de ce départ; les commissaires du temps en savaient quelque chose».¹⁴

The pastor, Joseph Beaudoin, invited the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Toronto to replace our Congregation. These sisters took charge of the school until 1928. They did not have the personnel to continue the system of bilingual education required at that time in the French localities.

The Lafontaine School Board repeatedly asked the Sisters of Holy Cross to return and in 1930 the Congregation accepted to come back for the school year 1931-1932. At that time, six Franco-Ontarian sisters arrived at the elementary school, opened a boarding school and taught in French and English.

In 1946 a secondary school was opened and continued to operate until 1966.

The convent would close on June 15, 1969 though some sisters remained to teach until 1976.¹⁵

During this time Lafontaine's mission was recognized as an excellent milieu for the youth and for vocations. Thirty-two young women from this milieu become Sisters of Holy Cross. Before leaving the Georgian Bay it is important to visit two special moments in Penetanguishene: the first one in 1976 and the second in 1984.

What happened the 5th of June 1976? Sr. Angéline Moreau, CSC received her doctorate in French Studies Department from the Glendon College of the York University in Toronto. This event was considered as the final conclusion and the synthesis of the sad years in Ontario.

Sr. Bériault borrowed the words that Mr. Pierre Fortier used to introduce Sr. Moreau:

«Au terme d'un colloque international où l'on s'est penché sur les problèmes de l'identité culturelle et de la francophonie dans les Amériques, quel moment mieux choisi pour souligner le travail d'une femme qui a œuvré toute sa vie pour maintenir en divers endroits de la province d'Ontario la présence du fait français. Que ce soit en tant que professeur aux niveaux primaire et secondaire, ou en tant que directrice d'école, Sœur Moreau a su susciter chez les jeunes de l'Ontario une plus grande conscience des richesses culturelles et linguistiques des deux nations fondatrices du Canada».¹⁶

Sr. Angéline Moreau, CSC answered with these words regarding bilingualism:

"En tant que Canadienne française, je souhaite que non seulement dans notre province, mais d'un océan à l'autre, on travaille ensemble, de quelque origine qu'on soit, à bâtir un Canada uni dans le respect des personnes et aussi dans le respect des deux langues officielles. D'autres pays le font, serions-nous moins intelligents qu'eux?"¹⁷

Honouring Sr. Angéline Moreau, is to honour all the Sisters of Holy Cross who journeyed with the Franco-Ontarians to the recognition of their rights.

What happened in 1984?

Here's what the Franco-Ontarian Newspaper «Le Goût de Vivre» published:

«Le 26 juin 1984 restera une date historique dans l'histoire des Franco-Ontariens. La cour d'appel de l'Ontario a décidé, en ce jour, que la loi ontarienne sur l'Éducation était anti-constitutionnelle en partie parce qu'elle impose trop de conditions aux bénéficiaires des services éducatifs français et qu'elle donne trop de pouvoirs aux conseils scolaires anglophones en rapport avec ces mêmes services.

Selon le jugement, tout élève francophone en Ontario aura droit de recevoir une éducation française dans des établissements de langue française, de plus, les

francophones auront droit de gérer ces établissements sous forme de conseils scolaires francophones avec pouvoirs exclusifs sur les écoles françaises».¹⁸

2 The birth of a new Province: 1957

At the General Chapter of 1902, Holy Cross established provinces. "Three canonical provinces were set up: Our Lady of Seven Dolours province, made up mostly of the French-speaking sisters in and around Montreal, St. Joseph province comprised for the most part of the sisters who spoke English and Sacred Heart province which was made up of the houses in the New England States."¹⁹

During the community retreat in 1990, Sr. Jean Goulet spoke about this time in these terms: "It was a climatic period during which the promises of life envisioned by those responsible for the refoundation in 1883 [...] from 3 provinces in 1902, there were 9 in 1968; from the 400 sisters, there were 2,300 in 1966."²⁰

At the General Chapter, in 1957, the St. Joseph province entered into a new structure. Sr. Maureen Potvin described this event with these words:

"Due to the rapid growth of their houses, the bilingual sisters considered it desirable that they be under a separate administration. Their delegate to the Chapter, Sister M. of St. Felix of Nantes, presented the request which was favourably received by all the capitulants."²¹

"With the approbation of the Holy See, the mother province was divided and a new province, Our Lady of Lourdes, was established with the late Mother M. of St. Medard, Assistant General from 1951 to 1958, as its first Provincial Superior. Her headquarters were at 63 Russell Avenue in Ottawa. Approximately one hundred and twenty-four sisters were assigned to the new province while the English-Canadian province retained about one hundred and twenty sisters of which Mother M. of St. Andrea became the first Provincial Superior in1958 with her residence at 245 Laurier Avenue in Ottawa."²²

Mother Mary of St. Wenceslas, who directed the St. Joseph province over many years saw how important it was to create a new religious province for the sisters who were in mission with the Franco-Ontarians. At the end of her mandate, she asked the authorities if she could join the new French province.

At that time, the Franco-Ontarians tried to defend their language and their rights. The Francophone sisters chose to help the French minority to protect their cultural realities.

The Lady of Lourdes Province emerged in Ontario for the French sisters (or, as they were often referred to, the "Bilingual" sisters). These sisters from Quebec, the United States and some Franco-Ontarians, lived in 17 houses and 5 dioceses (Alexandria-Cornwall, Ottawa, Toronto, Hearst and Pembroke). Mother M. of St. Medard created new foundations: Gogama (1958), Glen Robertson (1959), The Holy Cross High School in Cornwall and Acadieville (New-Brunswick), in 1961.

Around the year 1960, it was difficult for the young Franco-Ontarians to continue their studies after the 8th grade. This was why the Sisters of Holy Cross created many private high schools. We can name: Lafontaine Continuation School (Lafontaine), Académie Sainte-Croix (Cornwall), Académie Sainte-Croix (Pembroke), pensionnat Sainte-Maria-Goretti (Alexandria), pensionnat Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (Glen Nevis), École secondaire des SS. Martyrs-Canadiens (Penetanguishene).

In 1966, the statistics revealed the decline in private schools (from 54 to 32). The reality of the religious communities that were not as numerous anymore and the expensive costs to run a private school obliged the creation of an Association (A.E.S.P.F.O.) = Association des Écoles secondaires privées franco-ontariennes.

In 1982, the young province of Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes celebrated 25 years of existence. Sr. Marguerite Galipeau, ex-Superior General of the Sisters of Holy Cross declared:

«Il y a beaucoup plus de vingt-cinq ans que vous vous dévouez auprès de la population ontarienne de langue française, et vous vous êtes faites solidaires de leurs luttes et de leurs espoirs avec courage et lucidité».²³

On this occasion, Sister Paula Lavery, CSC, Provincial Superior of St. Joseph's province, stated:

"The Sisters of Saint-Joseph's Province join with me in wishing you sincere congratulations on this occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the province of Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. Although for twenty-five years we have been different provinces, the bonds of fellowship and unity remain as strong as when we were one province. May the Lord grace you during this year of jubilee with a special benediction on each member and on the apostolates of your province."²⁴

Sr. Alice Giroux, CSC who was the General Director of Studies in the Congregation for thirty-six years gave the final speech at the celebration:

«Pour moi, c'est un réconfortant souvenir que d'avoir partagé vos joies, vos peines, vos succès, vos espérances en l'avenir, pendant mes nombreuses années de Directrice générale des études. En cette occasion favorable de votre 25^e anniversaire de fondation, je vous souhaite de monter vers d'autres progrès jusqu'au Jubilé d'Or».²⁵

3 1998

Sr. Alice Giroux, CSC wished the young province to celebrate a Golden Jubilee but this did not happen. Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes province existed for 30 years.

In 1997, the bilingual sisters looked at the future of the Franco-Ontarian region. They were not sure if they could continue to be an autonomous region because of the decreasing number of sisters, their age and the difficulty in finding the personnel for the Services Table. There were 4 houses and approximately 30 sisters in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes region at that time.

On November 2, 1997, the secretary of the meeting, Sr. Pauline Rhéaume, CSC spoke these words:

«Nous accepterions [...] de changer notre coeur vers une ouverture plus grande et plus sereine et aussi plus lucide face à l'éventualité de fusionnement de notre région, dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché».²⁶

The sisters had to choose between 3 scenarios: to continue as an autonomous region, to become a sector with a particular status or to become an ordinary sector. Results of this study: 28 sisters chose the Quebec region, 3 for the Anglophone region and 3 for the Western region.

On January 20, 1998, in a Special Communiqué, Sr. Liette Finnerty, CSC, General Animator, shared the joy expressed by the sisters in the Quebec region who were ready to welcome them. ²⁷

In a prayerful discernment and many meetings, the Franco-Ontarian sisters and the bilingual sisters chose to join the Eastern Quebec Region in 1998. In many documents we can read their great desire to protect their cultural identity: «vivre en français, continuer jusqu'au bout notre mission d'éducatrices des franco-ontarien-ne-s».²⁸

4 Today

At the 1973 Chapter, it was proposed that the formation team look into a method of incorporating lay associates into Holy Cross.

In 1977, the St. Joseph Provincial Council put into place an association for lay people desirous to be more closely associated with the religious community in their mutual search for holiness and service in the Church. Miss Lorraine Molloy was the first Lay Associate.

Saint Joseph Province became the English Canadian Region and then in 2017 it was renamed the Ontario Sector.

Today, in 2019, the Ontario Sector is composed of 15 sisters and 16 associates. Though few in number, the sisters and associates are united in their passion for mission and carrying on the Holy Cross charism. They happily serve the English-speaking people in Ontario in a variety of ministries with zeal, compassion and love!

Conclusion

It was a privilege and a grace for me to have completed this research on the English and French reality in Ontario. I had the opportunity to learn more about my sisters who lived in this part of Canada. From the time of their arrival they were involved in education. They truly followed Father Moreau's call. They founded many schools, they prepared many young women to become teachers, they loved the youth and they gave their life for them.

I admire my Ontarian predecessor sisters as I also do my Congregation for having lived all these years in discernment. To have the certainty and the audacity and zeal to send sisters, in 1856, to Alexandria and to have lived through one move after another in order to respond to the needs for education was indeed courageous. It was another need similar to the ones that Father Moreau risked answering when our sisters left for Georgian Bay in 1885, when they had to depart eight years later and then when they returned in 1930. Our sisters prayed to the Holy Spirit and another religious province was created in Ontario in 1957. In 1998, the sisters again discerned what next step to take according to the Will of God and the realities of the small number of the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes province.

Today the Sisters of Holy Cross are still invited to live transitions and passages. «Passons sur l'autre rive» is the theme proposed to the sisters in the Quebec Sector during this year before they move to a new residence in Saint-Laurent. With zeal, union of hearts and a great desire to become another Christ, they say Yes to the future.

For me, it was also a great privilege and a grace to write about the Ontario heritage for Holy Cross, for our country and for the world. Glengarry was a wonderful place to welcome the Irish and the Scottish people. They felt at home and they continue to build this part of Ontario with many other nationalities.

Glengarry still becomes the new home for many families. "Since 1945, there has been a significant migration into Glengarry County. Young women followed Canadian servicemen as war brides; the Netherlands Farm Family Movement brought Dutch farmers; [...] the Quebec political situation created an exodus over the border."²⁹

Throughout my research, I had to return often to the Georgian Bay historical reality that was the home for the Franco-Ontarians and for our sisters who accompanied them during the stormy years. The book written by Sr. Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Soeurs de Sainte-Croix dans la montée avec les Franco-Ontariens* is an excellent testimony to this part of our history in Ontario. The Franco-Ontarian identity is still alive and still vigilant in our own actual politics.

In 2017, Pope Francis wrote a book entitled "*With the Smell of the Sheep*" which was dedicated to the bishops, priests and deacons and all people who are shepherds of their brothers and sisters.

The Sisters of Holy Cross in Ontario were indeed good shepherds "with the smell of the sheep" for the Scottish, the Irish, the English and the Franco-Ontarians long before Pope Francis coined this phrase.

We, Holy Cross, are deeply blessed to own this heritage and to have these sisters in our midst. Amen!

End Notes

- ¹ Sister Eveline Swaile, CSC, *Early Years of the Sisters of Holy Cross*, Holy Cross Historical Conference, Manchester, N. H., 1987, p.2.
- ² Sister Jean Goulet, CSC, *Our Salvation History*, Ottawa, Community Retreat, 1990, p. 2.
- ³ Sister Eveline Swaile, CSC, *Early Years*, p. 4-5.

- ⁵ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 17.
- ⁶ Sister Mary of St. Hilda, CSC, Sisters of Holy Cross. Alexandria, Ontario. The first Hundred Years, p. 13-14.
- ⁷ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 55.
- ⁸ Sister Mary of St. Hilda, CSC, *Sisters of Holy Cross*, p. 25.
- ⁹ Sœur Hélène Bériault, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 365-369.
- ¹⁰ Sister Mary of St. Hilda, CSC, *Sisters of Holy Cross*, p. 30.
- ¹¹ Sister Eveline Swaile, CSC, *Early Years*, p. 5.
- ¹² Sister Maureen Potvin, CSC, *Eighty Years of Life in Saint Joseph Province 1902-1982*, Pembroke, Ontario, 1984, p. 29.
- ¹³ Sister Maureen Potvin, CSC, *Eighty Years of Life*, p. 28.
- ¹⁴ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 27.
- ¹⁵ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 31.
- ¹⁶ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 105-107.
- ¹⁷ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 107.
- ¹⁸ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 104.

¹⁹ Sister Eveline Swaile, CSC, *Early Years*, p. 17.

- ²⁰ Sister Jean Goulet, CSC, *Our Salvation History*, p. 7.
- ²¹ Sister Maureen Potvin, CSC, *Eighty Years of Life*, p. 13.
- ²² Sister Maureen Potvin, CSC, *Eighty Years of Life*, p. 28.
- ²³ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 423.
- ²⁴ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 423.
- ²⁵ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix*, p. 425.
- ²⁶ Document des Archives CSC, Cornwall, Ontario, 2 novembre 1997, p. 2.
- ²⁷ Document des Archives CSC, Montréal, 20 janvier 1998.
- ²⁸ Document des Archives CSC, Montréal.

²⁹ *Glengarry, My New Home*. Immigration to Glengarry County 1945-2012, Alexandria, Ontario, WIN Publishing and Glengarry Encore Education, 2013, 383 p. (the back cover of the book).

⁴ Sœur Hélène Bériault, CSC, *Les Sœurs de Sainte-Croix dans la montée avec les Franco-Ontariens*, Cornwall, Ontario, 1989, p. 53.

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