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RESEARCH NOTES

Provehito in Altum ("Launch out into the Deep")

RICHARD MATTHEW POLLARD

The motto of Memorial University, *Provehito in Altum*, is well known, both in Newfoundland and away. It adorns the ceremonial arms of the university, inscribed upon a glowing scroll.¹ It was featured on the masthead of the early issues of *The Muse* and in its pages ever after; it graced Memorial library's check-out cards; and it was so frequently invoked in early graduation speeches that it could incite burning annoyance.² The motto is still a mainstay in convocation addresses, but it also inspired the Altum Society at MUN's School of Nursing and subtitles MUN's *Strategic Research Intensity Plan, 2014–2020*.³ It is found inscribed in various places around the university, in particular on the edge of its convocation table, and prominently (and very appropriately) in the deep recesses of MUN's intra-campus tunnels.⁴ The motto has also been adopted outside the university, most notably by the band Thirty Seconds to Mars, whence it seems to have inspired countless items of apparel, artwork, and even tattoos.⁵

Though the motto is quite visible and indeed very dear to the hearts of many, no one seems to have looked closely at it, or at least has not done so in print. These three Latin words, very distinctive in their arrangement, have an intriguing story to tell about the history of Newfoundland, Memorial, and its founding president, John Lewis Paton — a story that has been hiding in plain sight. Mottos have sources, and contexts, and interpretations, all of which can

be very revealing of the circumstances and mindsets of those who chose them. This is just such a case.

Memorial University College (MUC) was officially opened in September 1925, though preparations had been underway for months beforehand. In April of that year John Lewis Paton, the former headmaster of Manchester Grammar School (1903–24) who was then on a lecture tour of Canada, had been approached to head the new college.⁶ Paton seems to have quickly thrown himself into the work of making arrangements for MUC's curriculum, staffing, library, and so on.⁷ The first annual report, written by Paton apparently in the fall of 1926, announces that the college had already chosen a motto:

We have adopted as our motto: "PROVEHITO IN ALTUM." The man who "launches forth into the deep" escapes from the smallness and narrowness of life; he thinks in a big way about life. It is on the deep that we feel the need of one another, and of God.⁸

The only other reference we have to the very early history of the motto is a recollection by Nigel Rusted (MUC, 1927⁹), as recorded by Malcolm MacLeod. Apparently, at an early assembly of the college's community, Paton announced the college's motto, and "credited Hatcher [Albert Hatcher, professor of mathematics, 1925 onward] with having found in the Latin bible Christ's order to St. Peter: Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught" (Luke 5:4).¹⁰ This suggests (to me) that Paton chose the Bible verse and found the Latin with Hatcher's help. But we know very little for certain about the reasons and circumstances for the motto's selection: it seems there is nothing extant among Paton's papers held at Archives and Special Collections at the Queen Elizabeth II Library at MUN.¹¹

University and school mottos present a nexus of different functions, meanings, and associations.¹² They exist first to instill some virtue in the institution's members and to individualize the institution from others. Indeed, the virtue(s) described by the motto are often prescriptive *and* descriptive, suggesting how the members *are* different and how they *should be* different from others. But the medium is also the message here. As with the mottos of many schools and universities, the use of an archaic, scholarly language (Latin), drawn from an ancient, authoritative text (in this particular instance, the Bible), lends an extra layer of "magisterial" authority to the institution. It is implicitly linked to a timeless fount of established scholarly tradition, separated from the vernacular and changeable currents of the world.

The explanation of the motto given in MUC's first annual report prescribes at least two values, then: intellectual adventure and boldness, paired with a desire for (Christian) community and fellowship. And especially in the case of the former, the motto was also descriptive. Since MUC was only a two-year college, students would have to venture across the sea, to universities in Canada and elsewhere, to complete their degrees. The audaciousness described by the motto also reminds us that the founding of Memorial University College was itself a bold act: the creation of the dominion's first true institute of post-secondary education, one faced with opposition before its founding.¹³ It was an even bolder statement of optimism given the circumstances: the government had just been wracked by a serious corruption scandal under the Squires government, which led to his resignation in 1923, and further contributed to the collapse of the succeeding Warren administration in 1924.¹⁴ The country's economy was also very uncertain in the 1920s: enormous public debt, both from the war and from building the island's railroad, still saddled the government, while the fishery saw severe difficulties in the early years of the decade.¹⁵ Indeed, the motto's Biblical source seems poignantly appropriate in these latter circumstances: Simon/Peter had just fished all night without a catch, and was utterly despondent, before he launched out once again at the command of Jesus and met with great success.

The motto, therefore, connects well to the general circumstances of Newfoundland in the 1920s. Much more intriguing, however, is the exact authoritative source being invoked. It is clear, given Nigel Rusted's recollections noted above, that the source was Luke 5:4, which runs in the King James version: "Now when he [Jesus] had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught." Of course, Rusted also recalled that *provehito in altum* was taken from "the Latin Bible." But should one turn to Luke 5:4 in the standard Latin Bible used throughout the world, the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* (commonly known as the Vulgate), one does not find *provehito in altum*. Instead, one finds *duc in altum* — something more like "draw out into the deep" — across all standard editions, nor does *provehito* figure even in the apparatus of major critical editions of the Vulgate.¹⁶ So where does this Bible quotation come from?

The history of the Latin Bible is long and complex, but it can be simply summarized for our purposes.¹⁷ By the fourth century CE, there were many different Latin translations of the original Greek and Hebrew texts of the Bible. These Latin translations, now known collectively as the *Vetus Latina*, varied widely in quality and accuracy. To remedy this, the scholar St. Jerome undertook

to retranslate much of the Bible into Latin, or to revise the older translations. Jerome's translations and revisions, paired with a few older translations of Biblical books he did not get to, became the dominant version of the Bible in Western Europe from the eighth century on. Perhaps as early as the thirteenth century, this version was known as the *vulgata*, the "common" version of the Bible, and this name was made official in the sixteenth century. The "Vulgate" Latin Bible was declared to be the sole authentic text of the Bible by the Catholic council of Trent in 1546. It was the Vulgate text that was printed by Gutenberg in the 1450s, but the edition overseen by Pope Clement VIII in the 1590s became the dominant version of the Latin Bible for centuries afterwards. Only in the later twentieth century did "improved" Latin versions supplant the older Vulgate text in Catholic Christian usage.¹⁸ The Vulgate, therefore, likely would have been regarded as the standard Latin version of the Bible in early twentieth-century Newfoundland, Britain, and elsewhere.¹⁹

If not from the Vulgate, by far the most popular Latin version of the Bible, then whence comes *provehito in altum*? The answer is frankly astonishing. The phrase comes from Theodore Beza's sixteenth-century translation of the Greek New Testament into Latin. Theodore Beza (1519–1605), the arch Protestant, avowed enemy of the Catholic Church, was the ally and successor of John Calvin at Geneva.

Beza was born in Burgundy, and renounced the Catholic faith in 1548, abandoning a life of humanistic study and ease for one of conflict and exile.²⁰ He spent the rest of his life based in Switzerland, first as professor of Greek in Lausanne (1549), then as leader of the Reformed Church at Geneva upon Calvin's death in 1564. He was a steadfast supporter of the Protestant cause: he wrote polemics against his Catholic opponents, defended the Reformed position at the colloquy of Poissy in 1561, even aided the Huguenots in the first war of religion in 1562. In 1556, Beza issued his new translation of the Greek New Testament into Latin, and it is there that the phrase *provehito in altum* appears for the first time in the surviving corpus of Latin literature (so far as I can tell),²¹ translating Luke 5:4:

Greek (ed. Beza, 1565)²²

Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν,
εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα,
Ἐπανάγαγε εἰς τὸ βάθος,
καὶ χαλάσατε τὰ δίκτυα
ὕμῶν εἰς ἄβυσσον.

Beza's Latin translation (1556)²³

Ut cessavit autem loqui, dixit ad
Simonem, Prouehito in altum, &
demittite retia vestra ad
capturam.

English (KJV)

Now when he had left
speaking, he said unto Simon,
Launch out into the deep,
and let down your nets for a
draught.

The phrase appears again in subsequent editions of Beza's translation, in 1560, 1565, 1575, 1582, 1588, and so on.²⁴ *Provehito in altum* also reappears in later reprintings of Beza's translation, for example, in seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century editions of the *Novum Testamentum*.²⁵ Finally, Beza's Latin New Testament (NT) was also included in Tremellius and Junius's complete Latin Bible, which was considered a very Calvinist Protestant work.²⁶ In early editions of Tremellius's Bible (1581–1630), Beza's NT translation was accompanied by a NT translated from Syriac into Latin, before Beza's translation won out completely after 1630.²⁷ In all those editions of the Tremellius Bible I have been able to find, Beza's authorship of the NT translation from Greek is very clearly marked.²⁸ As such, *provehito in altum* is a phrase that appears only (so far as I can tell) in close association with Beza, whether in separate editions of his New Testament or clearly identified as his work in the Tremellius Bible, until its adoption as MUC's motto in 1925–26.²⁹

Beza's translation of the NT was fundamentally Calvinist-Protestant in inspiration and character. He states in the preface that it was undertaken to correct many errors and inaccuracies found in the Vulgate edition.³⁰ This was itself an audacious, Protestant statement, given that just 10 years earlier the Council of Trent had pronounced the Vulgate the sole authentic version of Scripture.³¹ Beza was also quite explicit that his new translation had been completed at the encouragement of John Calvin himself, who had "read and considered" it, and in whose memory Beza laboured to improve the translation in subsequent editions.³² In one of these subsequent editions, issued in 1565, Beza's preface amounted to a sustained and polemical attack on Catholic traditions and Biblical scholarship.³³ Finally, Beza's translation of the New Testament into Latin was not just Protestant in motivation, but also Protestant in meaning: that is, his translation is not a neutral one that merely happened to be translated by a Protestant; rather, it constitutes a *Protestant* translation and interpretation of the text. In the rendering of numerous passages, the text is made to align with or support Protestant doctrines such as clerical marriage and double predestination.³⁴

Beza's *Novum Testamentum* would have been well known as a decidedly Protestant text, produced by a decidedly Protestant figure, not just in his own time, but also in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1879–80, the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* published a long, damning critique of Beza's translation, provocatively titled "Beza as Translator and Perverter of God's Word." It stretched across two issues, amounting to nearly 50 pages in all. The author, James Corcoran, analyzed innumerable places in the NT where

Beza had seemingly shifted or twisted the meaning of the text to suit his or the Reformed agenda, for example, to undermine the Catholic doctrine of good works helping towards salvation (which, for Protestants, came from faith alone).³⁵ But Protestants just as much as Catholics would have been aware of Beza's reputation. A weighty biography of the man was published in 1899 as the fourth volume in the "Heroes of the Reformation" series;³⁶ Protestant histories of the Bible marked him out for special praise;³⁷ and the *Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1910 makes his strong Protestantism quite clear.³⁸ Given that J.L. Paton was a Congregationalist, it is also worth noting that Beza was regularly praised in Congregationalist publications.³⁹ Most importantly, nineteenth-century reissues of Beza's translation — the probable direct source of *provehito in altum* — bore prefaces with comments such as: "among the learned men who flourished at the era of the Reformation, Theodore Beza held so distinguished a place ..." and "[Beza's translation] was received with a favor which with Protestant Christians it has never lost."⁴⁰ Tremellius's Bible, another source of Beza's NT, was itself considered quite Protestant around 1900. It was described as "one of the classical works of the Reformation," while in 1899 Carlyle (in the *Dictionary of National Biography*) made clear that it was the work of an avowed Calvinist, and a favourite among Reformers.⁴¹

The motto of Memorial University College, then, was chosen from a translation of the Bible that was undeniably Protestant in character. It seems unlikely that both Paton and Hatcher could have been unaware of this. There is also little chance that *provehito in altum* was taken from Beza's translation without much thought, as if it were simply the first copy of the Latin Bible that came to Hatcher's or Paton's hand. Though Beza himself was well known, as was the reputation of his translation, the *text* of his translation was considerably rarer than the Vulgate. For example, Memorial University library (so far as I can ascertain) does not possess a single copy of Beza's *Novum Testamentum*. It seems that Tremellius's Bible (which included Beza's NT) would have been even rarer: while Beza's *Novum Testamentum* was occasionally reprinted in the nineteenth century,⁴² interest in the Tremellius edition had petered out by the early eighteenth century.⁴³ In either case, choosing Beza's translation in 1925 would have been either an inconvenient or improbable, and therefore likely deliberate, decision.

MUC's motto was chosen from a source that could have easily been interpreted as anti-Catholic (by anyone who recognized it), and this would seem to fit uncomfortably with what we know about the history of Newfoundland, the founding of the college, and its first president, J.L. Paton. Newfoundland's bitter,

fractious sectarian politics of the earlier nineteenth century had been calmed somewhat by the adoption of the “denominational compromise” in the 1860s, whereby government posts and money were shared out among the various Christian denominations.⁴⁴ Following on this “compromise,” heated struggles over the control of education by various religious denominations (particularly Anglicans, Catholics, and Methodists) had been partially resolved in 1875 by the adoption of separate, denominationally segregated systems of education, controlled by the various churches.⁴⁵ Even these stark divisions had begun to soften somewhat by the beginning of the twentieth century. A particular milestone was the foundation of the interdenominational Council of Higher Education (CHE) in 1893, which thereafter oversaw higher secondary education in the country.⁴⁶ This Council was instrumental in the push for interdenominational teacher training and then university studies on the island, after the realization that Newfoundland would not be able to support three or more systems of post-secondary education. Successful tri-church teacher summer schools in 1917 and 1918 further strengthened the case for a permanent solution, effected with the foundation of the interdenominational Normal School for teachers in 1920.⁴⁷

The same interdenominational spirit of co-operation brought about MUC’s foundation in 1925.⁴⁸ Newfoundland had been awarded a Rhodes Scholarship of its own in 1902, and members of the CHE considered various options to give students the two years of university studies necessary to take up the scholarship. There was a plan for an interdenominational federated university in the Maritimes, which would have included a junior college at St John’s, but negotiations for this collapsed in the early 1920s. Though initially hesitant at the idea of any kind of ecumenical university, even the Catholic position had by this point turned in favour of an ecumenical institution in Newfoundland, for fear that Catholics might be forced to attend a university (either in Newfoundland or in Canada) that was anti-Catholic.⁴⁹ Indeed, it was Vincent Burke, a Catholic, who first received the good news that the Carnegie Corporation would (in the wake of the Maritimes university failure) support a junior college in Newfoundland.⁵⁰

Burke, as deputy minister of education, was also the one who entered into communications with Paton, who had been offered the job of president in April 1925 while in Manitoba. In these initial discussions, it seems to have been Paton who suggested that a Catholic be hired to teach history at the college.⁵¹ Malcolm MacLeod hypothesizes that this was done at the prompting of Levi Curtis (a Methodist), who had been sent to Winnipeg to offer Paton the presidency, as a way of placating the Catholic faction. It nonetheless seems that the

college made a strong and bona fide effort to find a Catholic history instructor, though it does not seem it was successful until 1928.⁵²

This would seem to fit with what we know of Paton's own reputation for religious tolerance. He seems to have inherited from his father, a Congregationalist minister of some repute, a desire to bridge denominational boundaries among Christians.⁵³ As master of Manchester Grammar School, J.L. Paton wrote an article titled "Religious Education in Secondary Schools," suggesting that "[i]f the school is one which draws its scholars from homes of different religious professions, it should be the headmaster's special care to see that, so far as possible, all these different phases of religious belief are represented on the staff." He goes on to argue that in matters of religion, "it is advisable in school to have as few dividing lines as possible."⁵⁴ This ecumenism has been frequently marked by observers from his time at Memorial, for example, Helena Frecker (MUC, 1926):

Ecumenism we had never heard of, but Mr. Paton showed it to us at its best. Respecting our individual consciences and our traditional beliefs, he yet let us see the strong bond we had in a common Christianity and a common humanity. Francis of Assisi, who loved all living creatures, and Martin of Tours, who shared his cloak with a beggar, were his favourite saints and he was very like them both.⁵⁵

It is hard to imagine this kindly, devoted, tolerant if eccentric man wanting to (subtly) stick his thumb in the eye of Catholics by using a quotation from Beza's NT as a motto. But perhaps there was a less charitable side to Paton that we know less about. It is not difficult, for instance, to find muted anti-Catholic feelings in his 1914 biography of his father, John Brown Paton: particular scorn is reserved for claims of universality by the so-called "Romish Church."⁵⁶

We remember, of course, Nigel Rusted's recollection that Hatcher was credited by Paton for finding the verse in the Latin Bible, though the episode as recalled may suggest that Paton knew the verse, and Hatcher only found the Latin. In any case, Albert Hatcher was a Newfoundlander who had studied at McGill, taught at the Royal Naval College of Canada and then Bishop's university, and then became professor of mathematics at MUC. Son of a Methodist preacher, he nonetheless seems even more unlikely than Paton to have attempted a backhanded slight against Catholics. MacLeod's sketches of the man suggest he was of a retiring, quiet, non-confrontational disposition — perhaps too kind for his own good.⁵⁷

Despite all the seemingly positive interdenominational developments in Newfoundland up to MUC's founding, sectarian tension nonetheless remained. Perhaps the motto is a reflection of this. In the larger political realm, the 1924 election had brought many of these tensions to the fore, with occasional violence. Walter Monroe's winning party was identified as "Protestant," and the election results were uncharacteristically sectarian: Monroe won not a single traditionally Catholic seat in the election.⁵⁸ So, by 1925, tensions between Catholics and Protestants had been slightly inflamed in Newfoundland. Looking specifically at Memorial, Catholics in particular seemed to have been ill at ease with the college for the first few years of its existence. Where the United Church and Church of England school boards began immediately sending prospective teachers and senior students to MUC, the Catholic board continued its own programs in parallel for some years at schools like St. Bonaventure and St. Brides.⁵⁹ Catholic students at MUC, in the early years, seem to have been more religiously sensitive than the others: they complained about Paton's prayers at school assembly, and would not attend an Anglican funeral for a classmate.⁶⁰ Could these tensions have produced the Beza-sourced motto? Or were Catholic hesitations at MUC perhaps the result of small, divisive actions like the choosing of the motto?

So the possibility that this motto was chosen (by Paton, Hatcher, or indeed a mischievous underling) as a subtle taunt towards Catholics is one option. Another is that the motto was chosen from Beza's translation because it was quite esoteric (though potentially explosive if discovered), and therefore "neutral."⁶¹ Imagine the situation. Paton (or someone else) wanted a quotation of Luke 5:4 for the motto, which, in keeping with tradition, needed to be in Latin. The common and logical place to look for such a translation would have been the Vulgate Bible. But the Vulgate Bible, in the early twentieth century, as before and as now, was considered to be the *Catholic* version of the Bible, and was frequently criticized by other denominations.⁶² Choosing a motto from such an easily available and recognizably Catholic source may well have caused offence among Anglicans or Methodists. Beza's version, however, was safely obscure. An inquisitive Catholic — without extensive research or exceptional knowledge — would only have known that *provehito in altum* did not come from the Vulgate's version of Luke 5:4, and might have assumed it was some other, "neutral" Latin version of the Bible (or merely Paton's Latinization of the verse⁶³). Certainly, the rare word *provehito* would have seemed more difficult and arcane than the Vulgate's *duc in altum*, perhaps better qualifying it for a college motto.

Whether the source was intended as an insult or to avoid one, there remains the question of why *provehito in altum* was chosen at all. Certainly, as a bold statement and tidbit of philosophy, it was very appropriate to the circumstances, given Newfoundland's location in the North Atlantic, its political and economic problems of the time, and, especially, the recent difficulties in the fishery. It can also accommodate a wide range of other meanings: Paton himself apparently used to joke that the motto meant "Close your eyes and jump off the deep end,"⁶⁴ an interpretation humorously rebutted by the *Muse* in later years.⁶⁵ Out of context, the Latin motto comes to mean things quite different from its clear Biblical origins: Beddoe's *Canadian Heraldry* offers "advance to the heights" (which perhaps suggests the events memorialized by the university's name).⁶⁶ Online, one can find much more creative attempts at translation by the followers of the aforementioned band, Thirty Seconds to Mars.

But we know that *provehito in altum* is a Bible verse. And Bible verses were slightly unusual in this context, particularly for ecumenical institutions. In eastern Canada (the region that exerted the most influence on MUC's formation), only Catholic institutions tended to have mottos drawn from Bible verses: for example, St. Francis Xavier (Phillipians 4:8) and St. Thomas University (Psalm 119:66).⁶⁷ Non-denominational institutions often picked verses from Classical poets, such as *Sapere aude* (Horace, *Epist.* I.ii.40) for the University of New Brunswick (and also Manchester Grammar School) or the remarkably ill-chosen *Grandescunt aucta labore* (Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, II.1160) for McGill.⁶⁸

Paton may have been set upon Luke 5:4 not only because it fit so well with the circumstances, but because it was associated with his late, beloved father, the renowned Congregationalist minister John Brown Paton. Three years after his death in 1911, John Lewis Paton published a biography of his father — 538 pages of filial piety and devotion.⁶⁹ The book is filled with long, glowing reports on the senior Paton's activities, achievements, and character. One of these came from the Rev. E.W. Matthews, a student under Paton at the Nottingham Congregational Institute. Matthews relates a story where J.B. Paton sends him on to serve as a chaplain in Antwerp, and pauses to wonder at the character of the great man: "That is the way he handled his men. He went up to his mount of vision, looked out upon the sea, and said to his students, previously drawn out of many waters, 'Launch out into the deep; let down your nets for a draught.'"⁷⁰ The circumstances of this story would fit well with those of John Lewis Paton: like Matthews, he had been sent across the water to take up a "ministry" in a foreign place, where he could aspire to emulate the bold vision and command of his much-admired father. *Provehito in altum*, then, was not

just appropriate to the situation of Newfoundland, nor is it just another piece of the sectarian puzzle in Newfoundland: it was something, I believe, that spoke personally to J.L. Paton, from his past and for his task at hand. It may be, so to speak, a memorial to his father, affixed to an institution that is itself a Memorial to the dead.

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NOTES

- 1 *Public Register of Arms, Flags and Badges of Canada*, vol. 2, 186 <reg.gg.ca/heraldry/pub-reg/project-pic.asp?lang=e&ProjectID=1600>; Alan Beddoe, *Beddoe's Canadian Heraldry*, rev. by Strome Galloway (Belleville, Ont., 1981), 102–03 (plate 144).
- 2 For *The Muse*, Memorial's student newspaper, see the excellent collection of digitized early issues at Memorial University's Digital Archives Initiative: <collections.mun.ca/index.php>; for the library checkout card, see the sample here <collections.mun.ca/PDFs/cns/Nfld_QH_106_T7_c1.pdf>; for the graduation ceremony, see Margaret Dudley, *Cold Pastoral* (London, 1939), 233, cited by Malcolm MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway: A History of Memorial University College, 1925–1950* (Montreal and Kingston, 1990), 109.
- 3 A sampling of convocation addresses: Clyde Rose, "Address to Convocation" (2008), <www.mun.ca/gazette/issues/vol41no5/rose.php>, R. Gary Kachanoski, "Installation Address" (2010), <www.mun.ca/gazette/issues/vol43no5/kachanoski.php>, Matt Ryan, "Valedictory Speech," *MUNMED* 24, 2 (2012): 11. For the Altum Society, see <www.mun.ca/nursing/alumni/altum.php>; for the research plan, see <www.mun.ca/research/2014_university_consultation.pdf>.
- 4 For the table, see Ivan Muzychka, "New Furniture for an Age-Old Ceremony," *The Gazette* 37, 14 (2005): <www.mun.ca/gazette/past/issues/vol37no14/newspage15.php>.
- 5 As will be shown below, the phrase is so distinctive (and arcane in its source) that it seems likely that all subsequent uses of the motto can ultimately be traced, directly or

indirectly, to MUC/MUN's adoption of it. I suspect in this case it comes from a source like Jon Stone, *The Routledge Dictionary of Latin Quotations* (New York, 2005), where the motto and translation is listed (p. 197), and noted as belonging to Memorial University.

- 6 On John Lewis Paton, see J. Coatman, "Paton, John Lewis Alexander (1863–1946)," rev. M.C. Curthoys, in H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); H.C. Barnard, "A Great Headmaster, John Lewis Paton (1863–1946)," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 11, 1 (1962): 5–15; S.J. Carew, ed., *J.L.P. — A Portrait of John Lewis Paton by His Friends* (Memorial University, 1968), at: <www.mun.ca/memorial_history/bios/Paton_Portrait.html>; Malcolm MacLeod, "John Lewis Paton, 1925–33: Initiative," in *Parade Street Personalities* (1999), at: <www.mun.ca/memorial_history/publications/MacLeod/Paton.html>; H.H. Huxley, "The Unique Qualities of Dr. J.L.A. Paton, together with an Assessment of His Virtuosity in Greek and Latin Verse-Composition," in Mark Joyal, ed., *In Altum: Seventy Five Years of Classical Studies in Newfoundland* (St. John's, 2001), 39–54.
- 7 MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, 20–25.
- 8 John Lewis Paton, "Report of Newfoundland Memorial University College, 1925–1926," *Annual Report of the Department of Education, Newfoundland: 1925–1926* (St. John's, 1927), 144.
- 9 See the table in [John Lewis Paton], "Report of Memorial University College for Year ending June 30th 1927," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Education, Newfoundland: 1926–1927* (St. John's, 1928), 164.
- 10 MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, 107, based on an interview conducted 7 Apr. 1983.
- 11 As helpfully pointed out to me by Dr. Melvin Baker (Memorial's University archivist), it seems extremely unlikely that there is any further explicit information to be found in the Paton papers: Malcolm MacLeod made full and thorough use of these, but never discusses the reasons for the motto's choice beyond the Rusted recollection. The Paton papers seem to contain mostly correspondence to Paton, therefore it seems even less likely that an explanation of the motto would be found therein. A thorough search of Newfoundland newspapers and publications (including the *Evening Telegram* to 1926, available online through MUN's DAI (see note 2) finds many articles about MUC, including its opening (*Evening Telegram*, 16 Sept. 1925, 4), but nothing about the reasons for the choice of the motto.
- 12 I have found remarkably little serious study of the sociological functions of educational mottos; most works are content to superficially list mottos, their translations, and their sources, but little else. A very useful discussion is found in John Synott and Colin Symes, "The Genealogy of the School: An Iconography of Badges and Mottoes," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 16, 2 (1995): 139–52.
- 13 MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, 25, and note also, *ibid.*, 18–19, the serious opposition to the erection of the slightly earlier Normal School for teachers, which shared the same building.
- 14 R.M. Elliott, "Newfoundland Politics in the 1920s: The Genesis and Significance of the

- Hollis Walker Enquiry,” in J. Hiller and P. Neary, eds., *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Toronto, 1980), 181–204; Sean Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History* (Toronto, 2009), 197–98.
- 15 Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador*, 194–95; MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, 30. On this and the preceding point, see S.J.R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland* (Toronto, 1971), 149–85.
- 16 In this I have checked the following editions: the “Clementine” Vulgate, which was by far the most common version of the Latin text from the 1590s onward, in the following edition: *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis* (Turin, 1872), 645; the new critical edition of the Vulgate text edited by Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* (Stuttgart, 2007); the older critical edition by John Wordsworth and Henry White, *Nouum Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi latine*, I: *Quattuor evangelia* (Oxford, 1889–98), 334; the very common *editio minor* by Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum latine* (Oxford, 1911), 146. On the history of the Latin Bible, see the notes below.
- 17 For what follows, see Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, “The Latin Bible,” in James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper, eds., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, I: From the Beginnings to 600* (Cambridge, 2013), 505–26; Frans van Liere, “The Latin Bible, c. 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546,” in Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, II: From 600 to 1450* (Cambridge, 2012), 93–109; Raphael Loewe, “The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate,” in G.W.H. Lampe, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible, II* (Cambridge, 1969), 102–54; E.F. Sutcliffe, “Jerome,” in Lampe, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible, II*, 80–101.
- 18 Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, trans. E.F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1995), 190–92.
- 19 See R.E. Fairbairn, “The Living Word,” *Evening Telegram*, 5 Dec. 1924, 5, where the Vulgate is the last Latin version noted in a long discussion of Bible versions (Rev. Fairbairn served at George St. Methodist Church, St. John’s: *Year Book and Almanac of Newfoundland*, 1924, 300); “The ‘Beer’ and the ‘Breeches’ BIBLE,” *St. John’s Daily Star*, 27 Dec. 1920, 9, provides a list of Bible translations, with the Vulgate being the only Latin version noted (this article, however, seems to have been reprinted from elsewhere); “Revision of the Vulgate,” *Evening Telegram*, 21 May 1907, 8, quoting the *Times*, stated: “No book . . . has exercised a wider and more powerful influence in founding the faith, morals, thought and traditions of the literature of the European world than the Latin version of the Scriptures which we know as the Vulgate.” For Britain, note Walter Arthur Copinger, *Incunabula Biblica or The First Half-century of the Latin Bible* (London, 1892), where “Latin Bible” means expressly and exclusively the Vulgate (iii); and “The Makellar Library,” *Morning Post*, 9 Nov. 1898, 2, where “the Latin Bible” is the Vulgate. An American example: Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Use of the Bible in Milton’s Prose* (New York, 1929), 67: “For Milton’s day, or since, when a Latin Bible is mentioned, one thinks at once of the Vulgate.”
- 20 On Beza, see “Beza, Theodore,” in F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 2005); J.L. Farthing, “Beza, Theodore,” in

- Donald K. McKim, ed., *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Downers Grove, Ill., 2007), 193–97; Scott M. Manetsch, “Beza, Theodore,” in H.J. Hillerbrand, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, I (New York, 2004), 362–64; Scott M. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France: 1572–1598* (Leiden, 2000); Paul Geisendorf, *Theodore de Bèze* (Geneva, 1967); Henry Baird, *Theodore Beza: The Counsellor of the French Reformation*, *Heroes of the Reformation* 4 (New York and London, 1899).
- 21 I have thoroughly checked the standard and comprehensive databases of Latin literature maintained by Brepols (on the website <www.brepols.net>), specifically the Library of Latin Texts A (LLT-A, with works from the beginnings of Latin to the twentieth century), the Library of Latin Texts B (LLT-B, with works up to the eighteenth century), the electronic Monumenta Germaniae Historica (eMGH, with works up to the early modern period). I have also checked the *Patrologia Latina Database* <pld.chadwyck.com>, which covers all of Patristic and medieval Latin to about 1200, and Google Books.
 - 22 *Iesu Christi Domini nostri Nouum testamentum, siue foedus, Graece & Latine*, ed. and trans. Theodore Beza ([Geneva], 1565), f. 93r.
 - 23 *Novum Domini nostri Iesu Christi testamentum*, ed. and trans. *Theodore Beza* ([Geneva], 1556), f. 79v.
 - 24 For a list of the editions of Beza’s Latin NT (and his Greek NT as well), see Jan Krans, *Beyond What Is Written: Erasmus and Beza as Conjectural Critics of the New Testament* (Leiden, 2006), 345.
 - 25 A few examples of later editions of Beza’s works would be *D. N. Iesu Christi testamentum novum Gr. Lt. Theodoro Beza interpr.* (Amsterdam, 1626, 1647); *Iesu Christi Domini nostri Novum Testamentum sive Novum Foedus* (Cambridge, 1642); *Iesu Christi Domini nostri Novum Testamentum sive Novum Foedus* (London, 1770). For the nineteenth-century editions, see below, n. 40.
 - 26 On the Latin Bibles created by Tremellius and Junius (which always contained Beza’s Latin translation of the Greek NT), see Basil Hall, “Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries,” in S.L. Greenslade, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, III: *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1963), 72–73; Kenneth Austin, “Immanuel Tremellius’ Latin Bible as a Pillar of the Calvinist Faith,” in D. Adams and A. Armstrong, eds., *Print and Power in France and England, 1500–1800* (Aldershot, 2006), 27–38; Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius* (Aldershot, 2007).
 - 27 See the table in Austin, “Immanuel Tremellius’ Latin Bible,” 33.
 - 28 Listing only the publication place and date for brevity: Geneva, 1590; Amsterdam, 1633; Amsterdam, 1648; Amsterdam, 1651; Amsterdam, 1669; London, 1680; Zurich, 1703; Hannover, 1715.
 - 29 Again, checking the resources listed above at note 21.
 - 30 *Novum Domini nostri Iesu Christi testamentum*, ed. and trans. Theodore Beza ([Geneva], 1556).
 - 31 See the “Decreta dogmatica Concilii Tridentini,” Sessio IV, in H. Denzinger, ed.,

- Enchiridion symbolorum et definitionum* (Würzburg, 1854), e.g. 165: “vulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est ... pro authentica habeatur; et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis praetextu audeat, vel praesumat”; cf. van Liere, “The Latin Bible, c. 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546,” 109.
- 32 Beza, *Novum Domini nostri Iesu Christi testamentum* (1556), f. 2v: “praesertim eximii illius serui Dei, ac optimi mei in Christo parentis Iohannis Caluini autoritate [*sic*] adductus, qui quum haec nostra, pro singulari sua in Ecclesiam Dei pietate, non modo legisset, sed etiam expendisset ...”; Beza, *Iesu Christi Domini nostri Nouum testamentum siue Nouum foedus* (Geneva, 1565) “Iohannis Caluini autoritate [*sic*] victus: cuius et viui iudicium tanti feci, et nunc (quando ita Deo visum est) nobis erepti memoriam sic veneror, vt quod illo hortatore susceptum, nunc expolire studeo.” There appear to have been two editions of Beza’s translations in 1565: this one, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth of England, and that dedicated to Louis de Bourbon, noted below.
 - 33 Beza, *Iesu Christi Domini nostri Nouum testamentum, siue foedus, Graece & Latine* ([Geneva], 1565), preface dedicated to Ludovicus Borbonius (Louis de Bourbon), a prominent Huguenot.
 - 34 Krans, *Beyond What Is Written*, 196, n. 5; see also the long list of supposed and actual “Protestantisms” remarked by Corcoran below, n. 35.
 - 35 James Corcoran, “Beza as a Translator: His Perversions of the Word of God,” *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 4 (1879): 521–50; “Beza as Translator and Perverter of God’s Word,” *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 5 (1880): 701–14.
 - 36 Baird, *Theodore Beza*.
 - 37 E.g., Treadwell Walden, *Our English Bible and Its Ancestors* (Philadelphia, 1871), 221: “Beza, in his Latin version, [worked] in a true Protestant spirit,” before going on to praise in detail Beza’s skill as a translator.
 - 38 Alexander Gordon, “Beza, Theodore,” in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., III (Cambridge, 1910), 839–40.
 - 39 To cite only a few examples, Henry Stimson, “The Future of Congregationalism,” in *Minutes of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States* (Boston, 1887), 175–95, at 184; R.W. Dale, *Congregational Church Polity* (London, 1885), 68, where Beza is held as an authority equal to Calvin; J.F.B. Tinling, “Six Weeks among French Protestants,” *The Congregationalist* 12 (1883): 215, notes the “winning sanctity of Beza.”
 - 40 *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi, interprete Theodoro Beza* (New York, 1891); cf. also earlier editions of the same text, with similar preface, in New York, 1884, 1863; Edinburgh and London, 1859, 1850; etc. Another edition was produced at Berlin, 1865; yet another, printed based on the 1642 Cambridge edition, is *Iesu Christi Domini nostri Novum Testamentum, ex interpretatione Theodori Bezae* (Berlin, 1873), without preface.
 - 41 See D. de Sola Pool, “The Influence of Some Jewish Apostates on the Reformation,” *Jewish Review* 2 (1911–12): 340; Edward Carlyle, “Tremellius, John Immanuel,” *Dictionary of National Biography* 57 (1899): 186–87.

- 42 See above, note 40.
- 43 See the table of editions in Austin, "Immanuel Tremellius' Latin Bible," 33, which traces editions to 1715. The last edition of the Tremellius Bible I have been able to identify (printed after a long gap) is *Sacra Biblia: sive Testamentum Vetus* (Zurich: Gessner, 1764). Memorial does not seem to possess a copy of the Tremellius Bible, either.
- 44 Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland*, 24–25.
- 45 F. Jones, "Religion, Education and Politics in Newfoundland, 1836–1875" *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 12, 4 (1970): 64–76; F. Rowe, *The History of Education in Newfoundland* (Toronto, 1952), 77–94.
- 46 MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, 4–5; Ralph Andrews, *Integration and Other Developments in Newfoundland Education, 1915–1949*, ed. Alice Wareham (St. John's, 1985), 20–24.
- 47 On this, see MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, 7–34.
- 48 For what follows, see *ibid.*, 3–25.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 14, 16.
- 50 On Burke, see Joseph Smallwood, ed., *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, I (St. John's, 1981), 295–96; S.J. Carew, *The Nine Lives of Paton College* (St. John's, 1974), 11–12.
- 51 MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, 23, citing Burke to Paton, 6 May 1925, Paton Papers, box 1.
- 52 MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, 88–89.
- 53 On J.L. Paton's father, see John Lewis Paton, *John Brown Paton: A Biography* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1914), e.g. 146 on ecumenism; Alexander Gordon, "Paton, John Brown (1830–1911)," rev. R. Tudur Jones, in H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
- 54 John Lewis Paton, "Religious Education in Secondary Schools," *School* 5, 25 (1906): 56–58.
- 55 Helena Frecker, "Paton & the Early Days," in Carew, ed., *J.L.P.*, at: <www.mun.ca/memorial_history/bios/HFrecker_Paton.html>.
- 56 Paton, *John Brown Paton*, e.g. 387: "[J.B. Paton] knew the fascination which the Romish Church exercised over multitudes by the claim she made of being a catholic and universal Church. Over against this false claim ..." J.L. Paton also favourably reports on his father's sympathy with rebel Catholics, who opposed the papal claims made at Vatican I, (139–44); and on his father's attacks on the Catholic claim that they were the only "church," (480–81).
- 57 See Carew, *The Nine Lives of Paton College*, 11–12; MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, *passim*; Malcolm MacLeod, "Albert Hatcher, 1933–52: maintenance," in *Parade Street Personalities* (1999), at: <www.mun.ca/memorial_history/publications/MacLeod/Hatcher.html>.
- 58 Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland*, 177–78; see, on the other hand, Gordon Rothney, "The Denominational Basis of Representation in the Newfoundland Assembly, 1919–1962," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 28, 4 (1962): 557–70, esp. 559–60.
- 59 MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway*, 25.

- 60 Ibid., 107, 46.
- 61 See above, notes 42 and 43.
- 62 Though this point scarcely needs citation, see Walter Arthur Copinger, *Incunabula Biblica or The First Half-century of the Latin Bible* (London, 1892), 225–26; Robert Needham, *Essays on the Languages of the Bible and Bible-Translations* (London, 1890), 71–72; Eduard Reuss, *History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament*, trans. E. Houghton (Edinburgh, 1884), 499–502. Note also for Newfoundland the article “Canon Barry,” which is written in a way that suggests that association between the Vulgate Bible and Catholics was reasonably clear: *Evening Telegram*, 25 July 1921, 5.
- 63 The idea that Paton made his own translation, I might add, is an extremely unlikely possibility. The second-person future imperative *Provehito* is so incredibly rare (see above, note 21) that there is essentially no chance that Paton made his own translation of Luke 5:4 and coincidentally and unknowingly copied Beza.
- 64 Monnie Mansfield (Registrar, 1928–59), “Memorial University: Past and Present,” in *The Official Opening of the New Campus of Memorial University of Newfoundland* (1961), 25–36, at: <www.mun.ca/memorial_history/60s/mansfield.html>.
- 65 For example, *The Muse*, 16, 1 (13 Sept. 1965), 6: “A word to the wise: our motto ‘Provehito in Altum’ means ‘launch into the deep’ not — ‘go off the deep end.’”
- 66 Beddoe, *Beddoe’s Canadian Heraldry*, 102.
- 67 On the motto of St. Francis Xavier University (*Quaecum que sunt vera*), dating to 1914, see James D. Cameron, *For the People: A History of St Francis Xavier University* (Montreal and Kingston, 1996), 387–88; on the motto of St. Thomas University (*Doce Bonitatem Scientiam et Disciplinam*), dating to as early as 1923, see Noel A. Kinsella, “Symbolism of the St. Thomas University Arms: 3. The Motto,” at: <w3.stu.ca/stu/about/crest/default.aspx>.
- 68 For the motto of UNB, see <www.unb.ca/initiatives/225/traditions/emoles.html>, which laudably includes images to demonstrate that the motto was in use in the 1860s. McGill’s motto was in use as early as 1856: R.W. MacLachlan, “Canadian Numismatics,” *American Journal of Numismatics* 15, 3 (1880–1): 80. It is ill-chosen, I believe, because it subverts the text to which it refers: its optimistic “Things grow by labour” comes out of a pessimistic passage where Lucretius is lamenting that “Things no longer grow well, even with our best efforts”!
- 69 Paton, *John Brown Paton: A Biography*.
- 70 Ibid., 121.