The Impact of the First Five Rectors of St. Joseph's College on Character Formation and Educational Leadership

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Acknowledgments

Abstract

Character formation and educational leadership are two essential components in any secondary school. All educative efforts, initiatives, and other formative strategies launched by school leaders contribute to building students' character. Moreover, the progress and stability of a school largely depend on the effectiveness of the school principal.

This study focuses on the impact of the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College, Colombo, Sri Lanka (Fr. Collin, Fr. Lytton, Fr. Nicholas, Fr. LeGoc, and Fr. Pillai) on character formation and educational leadership within the College. The two research questions explored the efforts of these Rectors, analysing how they developed the character formation of students and contributed to school development through their leadership. This qualitative study employed documentary research. The documents chosen for this study were the annual Prize Reports compiled by the Rectors from 1896 to 1960. The thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) was employed as the research tool within this document analysis.

The research findings on character formation, in the light of Church teaching and current educational literature, suggest that the development process of student character should be inclusive of the collective endeavours of school leaders, teachers, parents, students, and alumni, within a positive educational climate, where the dignity of the child is enshrined. In promoting a virtuous life, the Rectors considered the growth process of the whole child and the development of the rational element in students as vital. In addition, their efforts were focused on developing in students a sense of justice and charity for the establishment of the common good in society. They also promoted the dignity of human labour emphasising constant effort and perseverance as necessary ingredients of character formation.

While researching the leadership practices of the Rectors, three distinctive approaches to leadership were identified as important when leading the school: instructional, distributed, and situational. To improve the school's operational vitality, they utilised a combination of instructional and distributed leadership practices setting up an effective internal management structure, incorporating the collaboration of clerical and teaching colleagues. These initiatives, therefore, indicated that the school leadership has the potential to effect change when leadership is shared. However, it was through their situational leadership practices that the distinctive roles of the Rectors were identified. Their initiatives not only brought about change within St. Joseph's College but also led to the enhancement of secondary and tertiary education in the Diocese of Colombo.

These findings, therefore, contribute to establishing the value of the effective leadership role of a secondary school principal by promoting the character formation of students and signposting implications and recommendations for leadership in today's Catholic schools.

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Abbreviations

CCE-The Congregation for Catholic Education

CERC-Catholic Education Resource Centre

CES-Catholic Education Services

DfE-Department for Education

OMI- Oblates of Mary Immaculate

PR - Prize Report

WHO-World Health Organisation

Chapter One

 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of this study, its structure and contents. The first section presents a summary of literature on Catholic school leadership in relation to the formation of character and educational leadership. Secondly, this chapter introduces the aims and objectives and the methodology employed for this study and finally, presents the organisation of the thesis with its direction and contents.

1.2 Rationale and background

Character formation and educational leadership are two inseparable constituents of secondary school education. The process of forming student character through schooling is considered imperative for the ethical and social upbringing of children (Agboola and Tsai, 2012). In the mission of the Catholic Church, Catholic schools play a vital and essential role in "placing Christ and the teachings of the Church at the centre of people's lives and to form and develop in young people the inspiration to live their lives fully as Christians" (Diocese of Westminster Education Service, 2010, p.7). Thus, the leadership role of the school plays a key role in the process of accomplishing this noble task in Catholic schools. It is crucial, because "[i]t involves holding together the functions of leadership with the insights and practices of faith… [demanding] of the leader great personal honesty and integrity" (Diocese of Westminster Education Service, 2010, p.14). In other words, Catholic school leadership makes a substantial impact on the whole school environment.

Moreover, Catholic school leadership aims at building the 'Christ-character' in students, moulding them "… through the total moral and spiritual life of the school" (Lickona, 1997, p.162). Therefore, the Congregation for Catholic Education considers school as "a privileged means of promoting the formation of the whole man…" (CCE, 1977: 8) and as a "place of integral education of the human person… of which Christ is the foundation" (CCE, 1998: 4). Recent studies have highlighted the significance of Catholic school leadership as the most important point of reference for organising and delivering this integral formation, which is based on Christian anthropology in the school environment (Zee, 2022). Similarly, Towey clarifying the significance of character and faith formation in Catholic schools underscored that, it is the "teleology of the whole enterprise" (Towey, 2019, p.1). The report that was jointly issued by the Diocese of Leeds and the Jubilee Centre (Catholic Character Education) advocates that school leadership in this regard has to "create a shared vision and the language of the virtues" (Devanny, 2019, p.6) for character formation. In a Catholic school, the role of the principal, therefore, goes beyond the ordinary tasks of their counterparts in secular schools, because of their additional roles such as being ecclesial ministers and servant

leaders (Spesia, 2016). Nevertheless, Catholic school principal encounters many challenges due to socio-economic, religious, and political situations in many parts of the world (Fincham, 2010). One of the major challenges is to maintain the mission integrity of their educational institutes by being faithful stewards of Catholic educational principles (Zee, 2022). Therefore, Catholic principals are expected to be more than practicing Catholics but equally equipped with the knowledge of Catholic educational precepts (Fichman, 2010). Hence, the work of the Catholic school principal has emerged today as a missionary concern of the Catholic Church, because "the Church regards education of our young as a true apostolate mission, one in which educators must bear witness to the truth and evangelise in order to promote perfection for the good of the society" (McVey and Poyo, 2019, p.113). Therefore, the school leadership is considered essential to the evangelising mission of the Catholic Church, since "[s]chool leaders are more than just managers of an organisation … they are the first to take on this responsibility, which is also an ecclesial and pastoral mission rooted in a relationship with the Church's pastors" (CCE, 2022: 48).

This documentary study explores the contribution of the leadership of a leading Catholic school in Sri Lanka, which has served Catholic education for over 125 years. What motivated me to undertake this research was to uncover the impact of the educational leadership of the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College, Colombo in the first seven decades of its history (1896-1960).

1.2 Research positionality

My approach to this research needs clarification because I was the College vice-Rector from 2018 to 2020. I embarked on this research with some prior knowledge of the first five Rectors since I was familiar with the history of the College. Therefore, I could be considered an insider researcher. Moreover, I am aware that I could have become biased in my approach to the leadership demonstrated by these Rectors of the past. However, I took every effort to demonstrate in my methodology chapter my unbiased position by presenting the rigor of my research in arguing the authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning of the Prize Reports of these Rectors.

1.3 Study aims and objectives

The overarching aims of this study are to examine, firstly, how the first five Rectors of this school facilitated character formation of the pupils, and secondly, how they exercised their educational leadership role. Thus, the research objectives focus on how their efforts and initiatives impacted the character formation of their students within this historical setting and analyse the strategies and methods used by these Rectors in exercising their leadership roles. The two research questions guiding this research, therefore, are as follows;

1. How did the first five Rectors promote character formation in the school?

2. How did the leadership practices of these Rectors contribute to educational leadership?

The research methodology used for this study is a qualitative one, employing documentary analysis of the annual Prize Reports of the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College, Colombo. These reports cover a period from 1896 to 1960, which encapsulate their tenures of service as Rectors. The stages of this documentary analysis were guided by the thematic analysis process proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) in developing the overarching themes of this data set. Furthermore, the research findings aim to clarify whether the material discussed historically in relation to the knowledge and practice of secondary school leadership of the first five Rectors is still applicable and relevant to secondary school education in the 21st century. Thus, the research findings present the impact of these five Rectors on the character formation of their students and their leadership practices on the school's progress and development.

1.4 Thesis structure

The structure of this thesis is arranged into seven chapters. In this introductory chapter, the focus of the study, the research aims, objectives and research questions have been put forward with the rationale of this study. In the second chapter, a brief history of Sri Lankan education has been discussed from the ancient period of the Anuradhapura kingdom, cascading down through the Portuguese, Dutch, and British periods. This provides a broad overview of the educational context of Ceylon up until the foundation of St. Joseph's College in the latter part of the 19th century. It also entails a brief introduction of the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College and will provide the background of the historical setting for the founding of this College. In the third chapter, an overview of character formation and Catholic educational leadership is provided with the relevant literature on the two subjects reviewed. In the fourth chapter, the choice of a qualitative methodology, and how this research was conducted using documentary analysis is explained and evaluated. In the fifth and sixth chapters, the research findings on the impact made by the first five Rectors on character formation and educational leadership practices are presented and discussed. In the final chapter, the implications of this study and recommendations for 21st century Catholic education are outlined and discussed.

The following chapter presents a brief history of education in Ceylon from its ancient period to the founding of St. Joseph's College, Colombo, during the British colonial period with a brief introduction to the first five Rectors of this College. This chapter aims to introduce St. Joseph's College and situate it in the educational history of Ceylon.

Chapter Two

A brief history of education in Ceylon and the establishment of St. Joseph's College

This chapter presents a brief education history of Ceylon from the ancient kingdom of Anuradhapura to the British colonial education system in the 19th and the early 20th centuries and illustrates the historical background which led to the revival of Catholic education by Archbishop Christopher Bonjean and his initiative to establish a Catholic College in Colombo. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the founding of St. Joseph's College Colombo and presents a brief account of the first five Rectors of this Catholic secondary school.

2.1. Education in ancient Ceylon

The story of the early history of Ceylon, according to the ancient chronicles, began with the arrival of Prince Vijaya and Indo-Aryan tribes from Northern India (De Silva, 1981). "Vijaya son of King Sihabahu, is come to Lanka from the Country of Lala, together with seven hundred followers" (Geiger, 1912, p.55). However, pre-historic records did not consolidate any organised form of learning till the arrival of the venerable Mahinda to Sri Lanka in the third century B.C. Whilst there were no physical records of any literary activity in the pre-Buddhist Ceylon nor any inscriptions before the 3rd century BC, this does not imply that education was neglected at least among the ruling classes and the Brahmins ((Rahula, 1966). The Mahavamsa records that Pandukabaya, the fourth king of ancient Ceylon was taught in the arts and sciences of the day by a Brahman named Pandula to making him the ruler of the ancient Anuradhapura Kingdom. "Thou wilt be king, and full seventy years wilt thou rule; learn the art, my dear! and [Pandula] instructed [Pandukabaya], and [this] art was mastered in a short time" (Geiger, 1912, p. 69). However, the proper history of Sri Lankan education dates back to the reign of King Devanampiya Tissa (247-207 B.C.) the sixth king of the island. It was marked by the arrival of Venerable Mahinda and the introduction of Buddhism. The conversion of King Devanampiya Tissa to Buddhism eventually led to the rapid spread of Buddhism among his subjects and the development of agricultural activities in the Anuradhapura Kingdom (Mendis, 1932).

The advent of a Buddhist civilisation created a new culture among the ancient Sinhalese. The religious leadership of venerable Mahinda paved the way for art and architecture to embrace ancient Ceylon (De Silva, 1981). Therefore, Venerable Mahinda is considered the father of Sinhalese literature because "… Mahinda brought to the island of the Sinhalese the commentaries of the Thripitaka and put them into Sinhalese for the benefit of the people" (Rahula, 1966, p.60). Thus, the venerable Mahinda inaugurated a culture of literature by making Sinhalese a language for reading and writing by creating a path to a new world of

knowledge. It was all possible because of the stimulus provided by Buddhism for literary activities to the ancient Buddhist followers. One major contribution to Buddhist literature in the first century was the compiling of the Theravada Buddhist canon which had been initially communicated orally by Venerable Mahinda and his companions. Matale Aluvihara, the Rock Temple, was the historic location where the Pali canon was first written down on palm leaves in the Pali language. "The preservation of the Theravada canon, which had been lost in India at a comparatively early date, is one of the landmark contributions of the Sinhalese to world literature" (De Silva, 1981, p. 57).

It is clear therefore the organised form of teaching and learning was centred around the Buddhist monasteries and it was imperative on the part of the Buddhist monks under the instructions of the Buddha to impart knowledge to the rulers and the ordinary laity (Rahula, 1966). The great monasteries of learning were the Buddhist educational centres in the city of Anuradhapura. Maha Vihara was built by King Devanampiya Tissa in the third century B.C., Abhayagiri Vihara was built by King Walagamba in the first century B.C., and Jethavana Vihara was constructed under the patronage of King Mahasen in the third century B.C., formed the nucleus of higher learning for both Buddhist monks and laity (Geiger, 1912). The mode of teaching was carried out orally and learning was through memory and repetition. Books were not extensively available and they were found only in the monasteries for reference. The purpose of monastic education aimed at primarily to impart an overall knowledge of the Buddhist religion inclusive of Abhidhamma and Vinaya for grooming a cultured individual in both the laity and the religious. In other words, "[t]he aim of education was the development of moral and spiritual character. Mere learning devoid of this purpose was considered worthless" (Rahula, 1966, p.290).

With the development of monastic education, monasteries functioned as free schools and evolved as great centres of academic pursuit. There is "evidence that cultural and vocational subjects like grammar, prosody, rhetoric, literature, … and astrology … and training in fine arts like painting and sculpture [were] available in monasteries" (Rahula, 1966, p.292). Proof of a more general education system of the masses was depicted on the Mirror Wall at the Sigiriya. This was built most probably by King Kassapa I (478-496 A.D). These graffiti or poetic writings were written in prose and verse and covered this period up to and beyond the Polonnaruwa period (Rahula, 1966). With the development of temple-based libraries, the ancient Kingdom of Anuradhapura, had become a great centre of education by the early 5th century A.D, attracting "foreign Buddhist scholars such as Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta, and Dhammapala from India and Fa-Hien from China in search of Buddhist texts and commentaries and to undertake research" (Ranasinghe, 2008, p.311).

It is worth noting, that the most notable factor in education in the history of ancient Ceylon up to the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century, was a Buddhist monastery-centred system of education sponsored by the state which was freely open to the ordinary public as centres of learning (Corea, 1969).

2.2 Education system in the northern part of ancient Ceylon

The Northern region of ancient Ceylon (Jaffna) was under the religious influence of Hinduism from the early centuries because of its historical ties with south India. Therefore, Jaffna was a traditional Hindu religious territory (De Silva, 1981). According to historical records, the Hindu cultural influence was present in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., following the invasions of various southern Indians kingdoms such as of Pallavas, Cholians, and Pandyans, who exercised their cultural influence mainly through Hinduism (Mendis, 1932).

Brahmins were the custodians of knowledge and their residences were the centres of education for the commoners. The Hindu education in Jaffna was found at places such as Nallur, Uduppiddy, Puloly, Velanai, Araly, Atchuvely, Karainagar, Varani, Chunnkam, Thellipalai, Kopaian and Madduvil (Arunthavarajah, 2013). The subjects taught were Tamil literature and grammar, Hinduism, logic, astrology, Sanskrit, and ayurvedic medicine but the people who accessed this type of education were not the majority but a portion of the society. However, this indigenous educational practice declined and became weak after the Portuguese invasion bringing Jaffna under Portuguese control. Nevertheless, the purpose of native education in ancient Jaffna aimed at incorporating religious knowledge with that of building the moral character of the individual through the acquisition of Tamil literacy (Arunthavarajah, 2013).

2.3 The Portuguese period

In 1505, when Vira Parakramabahu VIII was the King of Kotte, Wickrema Bahu, the king of Kandy, and Pararaja Sekara, the King of Jaffna, the Portuguese landed on the island (Perera, 1962). The educational activities during the Portuguese period were completely in the hands of Catholic missionaries. In 1543, the first band of missionaries was sent by King João III of Portugal and they were Franciscans. They were followed by the Jesuits in 1602, the Dominicans in 1605, and the Augustinians in 1606 (Don Peter, 1992).

The Franciscans who came at the invitation of the King of Kotte received state assistance to carry out the educational activities and they erected three colleges in Colombo, Nawagamuwa, and Jaffna. These places of education were founded to educate the children who had been converted to Catholicism. They also conducted parish schools and 25 such

schools had been set up in Jaffna. The curriculum included "religion, reading, writing, singing, Latin, and good customs" (Perera, 1962, p.61).

The Jesuits who arrived on the island in 1602 also started three colleges in Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle. Their parish schools were confined to their missionary districts and records confirmed that they established twelve in Jaffna and four in Mannar. The Dominicans and Augustinians too had erected one monastery each in Colombo, and parish schools in their missionary locality (Perera, 1962). Perera who analysed the educational activities of this time affirmed that Franciscans had set up and operated "… three colleges, and an orphanage, twenty schools and a college for the training of teachers" (Perera, 1962, p.65). The Jesuits ran two colleges and twenty-one schools and Dominicans had one school (Perera, 1962). The educational activities of these missionaries during the Portuguese period highlight the interest they placed on educating the citizens of the country. They not only maintained colleges but also provided education through the parish schools. Portuguese missionaries are recorded to have been the pioneers of western education in Ceylon. They also receive the credit of being the first Europeans who composed in Sinhalese and Tamil, and who translated some of their works into Sinhalese and Tamil (Perera, 1962). Moreover, historians acknowledge that beneficiaries of the Portuguese education system were mostly indigenous people of the coastal areas of Ceylon. Through the promotion of Christian literature in Sinhalese and Tamil, they influenced the Catholics of Ceylon and their impact is still noticeable in customs, meals, and use of family names among Sri Lankans (Corera, 1969).

2.4 The Dutch period

In 1655, the Dutch captured the maritime provinces of the Portuguese administration, and in 1656 the city of Colombo fell into the hands of the Dutch. It was the beginning of the persecution of Catholics in Ceylon with the seizure of churches and the expulsion of priests. Catholic children were compelled to attend proselytising schools, and sacraments were only available in protestant churches where Catholics were forced to renounce their faith (Perera, 1962). In the meantime, the Dutch East India company also focused on Education as one of their interests and mode of influence. Thus, they occupied the existing Portuguese school system in the maritime provinces and introduced their religious and administrative policies for the continuation of education. (De Silva, 1981). Similarly, they established three Scholarchal commissions in Colombo, Galle, and, Jaffna. (This body was composed of a board which took cognizance of all matters referring to native marriages, natives professing Christianity, and living within the precincts of the schools) The conduct of the commission was handled by a president who was the chief Dutch officer in the district. The membership was extended to all clergymen in the district and several lay members were nominated by

the Governor. Also, a clergyman and a layman were appointed as school inspectors to carry out annual inspections. Their administrative structure enforced compulsory education for up to 15 years and at the completion of studies, students had to sit an examination conducted by the inspector of schools. The student who reached the above benchmark was called *'Nieuwe Largerdeen'* the newly discharged. His education was further extended for two years with religious instruction, but his attendance was required only for two days in the week. Eventually, that student was called *'Oude Largerdeen'*, the old discharged. This was the style of elementary and secondary instruction imposed by the Scholarchal Commission to students till the age of 19 in their parish schools (Jayasuriya, 1976; Palm, 1930).

With the two Dutch protestant seminaries, that started in Jaffna and Colombo, the doors for higher education were open for the talented students. "These seminaries trained students as teachers and catechists in the expanding school system, and as clergymen" (De Silva, 1981, p.197). The subjects listed in their syllabus were Dutch Language, Latin, Greek, and, Hebrew. Some students who performed well received the opportunity to study in universities in Holland and they were made clergymen on their arrival on the island after completing their studies. The Dutch education system was stable mostly because of the parish school network, and their parish school structure steadily continued even in the first few years of the British period (Jayasuriya, 1976).

2.5 The British period

In 1796, the British government together with the East India Company took charge of the maritime provinces of Ceylon, and in 1815, with the Kandyan convention, the entire island of Ceylon became a British colony. However, the education system that was established by the Dutch underwent an immediate setback during this period due to the interest placed on trade and commerce by the dual administration (Jayawardena, 2016). "While the country was making rapid strides in material progress, education received very little attention from the state" (Perera, 1962, p.157). It was further consolidated by the first-hand information provided by Rev. James Cordiner who served as the first colonial chaplain. Following the surrender of the Dutch settlements to the British forces "[t]he European clergymen became prisoners of war. The catechists and school masters no longer received their salaries. The duties of public worship and the education of the youth began either to be feebly discharged or entirely neglected… (Cordiner, 1807, p.159).

The parish school system which was established by the Dutch faced sudden disruption due to the cessation of salaries and the imprisonment of the Dutch clergy (Jayasuriya, 1976), but with the appointment of the first governor of Ceylon, Sir Fedrick North (1798-1805), once

again the continuation of the Dutch education system was revived. His immediate step was to release the Dutch clergymen who were imprisoned. He then completely entrusted the parish school system that was in existence to their care and paid a salary and travelling expenses for discharging their duties. In addition, with the proclamation issued by the Governor dated 23rd September 1799, non- Protestant religions received permission to open schools. "As far as the Roman Catholics were concerned, this clause permitted them to start schools. By the end of 1801, several schools for the children of Roman Catholics had been started" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.39). The medium of instruction in the parish schools was either Sinhalese or Tamil and apart from the parish schools in villages a new set of schools were to be erected to house the children of the elite and prepare them for the civil service of the British government, and the medium of instruction in those schools was English. The medium of instruction thus brought social stratification into the school system. There was a social distinction which was adopted from the English education system and imposed on Ceylon. Subsequently, "[t]here came into being a class-based education system in which a superior education in English was available to a small privileged minority, and an inferior vernacular education was available to a … number of those who were not privileged" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.88). The introduction of this elite education system among the locals was to create on the one hand a loyal upper-class, faithful to the British rule, and on the other hand to fill the job vacancies of state with qualified, locally groomed Ceylonese (Jayawardena, 2016).

 The initiative of Governor Fedrick North (1798-1805) to reorganise the parish schools was heavily supported by the chaplain to the military garrison in Colombo Rev. James Cordiner, who was later appointed as the "Superintendent of all schools and Examiner of the candidates for the office of Schoolmaster" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.41). It was on his recommendation that Governor North decided to pay a fixed salary to the schoolmasters, later on, it was not continued by the British East India Company. Despite the liberties assured for education, schooling was not compulsory as it had been during the Dutch regime, and the curriculum of the parish schools included reading the scriptures, writing, and arithmetic. Eventually, there were more than 170 parish schools during the system of dual control administration of the British (Jayasuriya, 1976).

In 1802, Ceylon was declared a crown colony ending the shared administration of the East India Company and the British government. Colombo became the colonial office of the British administration. One significant occurrence that followed was the removal of the constraints imposed on Roman Catholics during the Dutch rule by Governor Maitland (1805-1811). Catholics were given the liberty of their conscience and freedom to practice their faith

without any hindrance and they were also considered equal to the Protestants on the island. The regulation abolishing Roman Catholic restrictions on the 27th of May,1806 clearly expressed the following;

> First: The Roman Catholics shall be allowed the unmolested profession and exercise of their religion in every part of the British settlement in the Island of Ceylon.
> Second: they shall be admitted to all civil privileges and capacities.
> Third: all marriages between Roman Catholics which have taken place within the said settlements since the 26th August 1795, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, shall be deemed valid, although the forms appointed by the late Dutch Government have not been observed.
> Fourth: This regulation shall take effect on the 4th day of June next, that being His Majesty's birthday.
> Fifth: Every part of any law, proclamation or order, which contradicts this regulation is hereby repealed (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.78).

Thus, the Catholics in Ceylon were free to exercise their religion and practice their faith.

2.5.1 Protestant missionaries

The first missionaries who arrived under the patronage of Governor Brownrigg (1812-1820) were Baptists. They arrived in 1812 and started a school in Colombo immediately after their arrival on the island. From the outset, it was opened for European students in English medium, but later they also provided education in the vernacular. By the year 1833, they had 15 schools and their medium of instruction was Sinhalese, and English was taught only as a subject.

The second group of Protestants who arrived in 1814 was the Wesleyan missionaries with five members and they established a large number of native schools. The native schools had three categories to accommodate three classes of the local society. The first category was for the masses of the ordinary people. Their medium was only Sinhalese and Tamil. The second category was for the able and rich, and besides Sinhalese and Tamil, they offered education in English medium as well. The last category of schools was for the education of girls. Moreover, they inaugurated the Sunday schools on the island and taught Christianity and English without any fee for everyone who attended the classes. They built a Wesleyan mission academy in 1824 to teach English to wealthy students who could afford to pay a fee. In 1833, the Wesleyan mission schools were 86 in number (Jayasuriya, 1976).

The American missionaries arrived in 1813 and served in the Northern region of the island. They too established native or village schools and "provided instruction in reading and writing Tamil, a little arithmetic, and the leading truths of Christianity" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.62). The number of village or native schools started by them was 85 by the year 1833.

They also erected three central day schools for the education of the able students of the village schools. For the outstanding girls and boys of the native schools, two charity boarding schools were established at their expense, providing food, lodging, and tuition free of charge. The inauguration of the Batticotta seminary paved the way for the secondary education of the boys who had completed their schooling at the three central day schools and boys' boarding schools.

The next missionary society that arrived on the Island was the Church of Missionary Society in 1818. They opted to work first in the Kandyan region and established 51 village schools by the year 1832. They also opened three boarding establishments and four central schools close to each mission station (Jayasuriya, 1976). The following table shows how the protestant missionaries had established schools on the island by 1831.

Management	Number of schools
Government	99
Church Mission	56
Wesleyan Mission	86
American Mission	100
Baptist Mission	16
Private	649

Table 1: Number of schools in operation in 1831

Among the schools designated Private, 63 schools were Roman Catholic (Jayasuriya, 1976).

2.5.2 Important educational milestones in the British period

Some of the important decisions with regard to education were carried out by the British authorities in Ceylon by appointing a few important commissions and committees under their Governors. Colebrooke Commission, the central school commission, and the Morgan Committee were some prominent decision-making platforms in the British period.

2.5.2.1 The Colebrooke Commission

The Colebrooke Commission initiated the recommendations proposed by W.M.G. Colebrooke and C.H. Cameron on the administration of the island (De Silva, 1981). An organised system of government schools was launched with the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission in 1836. The proposals regarding education on the island were included in the first report submitted under the general administration. The most noteworthy considerations they made included the following:

1. Public service was open to all classes of citizens with the requisite educational qualifications.
2. English was made the medium of instruction in all the government schools.
3. The prospect that a sufficient number of Ceylonese should go to England for education either at their own expense or at the expense of the state was ruled out as being too costly.
4. Proposed the establishment of a college in Colombo in order to train and qualify the youth for different roles in public service.
5. All government schools were brought under a commission headed by the Anglican Archdeacon, which consisted of the clergy of the island with the senior government officials, and the medium of instruction was fixed as English.
6. Schoolmasters were to be appointed by the commission (Sumathipala, 1968).

However, heavy criticism was levelled against some of these recommendations by Governor Barnes (1824-1831) for completely ignoring the local context. He commented that it was not his intention to replicate the clergy-run schools of England in Buddhist and Hindu Ceylon. "…one of the greatest defects of our school system is in my opinion that it has got too much in to the hands of the clergy" (Sumathipala, 1968, p.11). Moreover, under Governor Horton's (1831-1837) instructions, the employment of schoolmasters who lacked sufficient knowledge of English was discontinued and schools that failed to provide education in English were closed. As a result, the number of government parish schools was reduced from 97 to 5 in 1832 (Jayasuriya, 1976).

2.5.2.2 The Central School Commission

Owing to the disagreements and dissatisfaction that escalated among the administrative bodies on the execution of the proposed schemes by the school commission of the Colebrooke reforms, Governor Mechanize (1837-1841) led the campaign to reorganise the existing education system through innovations and proposals. Consequently, the then Secretary of State ordered the dissolution of the school commission and the setting up of the central school commission in 1841. The new commission consisted of nine members which included clergy, laity, and a paid officer "who shall act as secretary to the commission and inspector of schools under their orders" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.123).

This occasion marked the recognition of Catholic schools on the island by the British government by nominating a Catholic priest or a layman to the Central School Commission. The monopoly of the Anglican Bishop being made the chairman was discontinued by appointing the colonial secretary to the post of chairman. The following table illustrates the composition of these members and their designation.

Name	Designation
Mr. Philip Anstruther	Colonial Secretary - Chairman
Rev. J. P. Horsford	Colonial Chaplain
Rev. G. G. MacVicar	Presbyterian Chaplain
Rev. C. Antonio	Roman Catholic Priest
Rev. D. J. Gogerly	Wesleyan Missionary
Rev. Joseph Bailey	Church Missionary
Mr. John Armitage	Unofficial member of the Legislative Council
Sir A. Oliphant	Chief Justice
Mr. P. E. Woodhouse	Government Agent of the Western Province

Table: 2 The First members of the central school commission

Postmaster General George Lee was appointed Inspector of Schools and the Secretary of the Central School Commission. The educational activities of the commission led to the establishment of central schools, normal schools, superior schools for girls, and vernacular schools (Jayasuriya, 1976).

2.5.2.3 The Morgan Committee

On the recommendations of the legislative council, a subcommittee was appointed to examine the progress of education and the operational system of education in the country under the chairmanship of Richard Morgan in 1867. That led to the abolition of the central school commission and the appointment of a director of public instruction. He was made head of the education department of the country and was also the director and the chief inspector of schools (Jayasuriya, 1976).

The recommendations enunciated by the Morgan committee included the following points. The medium of instruction in the elementary schools was established as the vernacular, but the upper grades were limited only to English. The committee recognised that it was imperative for the government to provide elementary education, and therefore should open vernacular schools in all parts of the island. It further decided to retain the vernacular schools and industrial schools while proposing to construct mixed schools in every town. It also led to the establishment of a school linked to the Colombo Academy to train teachers for mixed schools and central schools. The committee further recommended that no fees should be demanded for girls attending vernacular schools, while only a nominal fee will be charged for boys. However, there was a minimal fee for both boys and girls in mixed schools, and for superior education, the recommendation was that fees should be increased (Jayasuriya,

1976). The important conclusion reached by the commission with regard to grant-aided schools was " grant in aid should be given to all schools run by non-governmental agencies provided they (i) impart a good secular education (ii) have a stable management and (iii) are open to inspection by government officials" (Sumathipala, 1968, p.17). However, in the use of the terms grant-aided and grant-in-aid had been used interchangeably to refer to the financial aid given to the schools by the government.

2.5.2.4 Number of schools after the Morgan Committee implementations

The tables below are based on the administration reports of the Director of Public Instruction,1869-1900.

Schools	1871	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900
American Mission		1	04	14	05	05	05
Baptist Mission		1		01	01		
Buddhist					01	10	12
Church of England	09	19	22	26	39	40	46
Local Board				01	01		
Mohammedan						01	02
presbyterian	05					02	02
Private (Private &Saivite)		02	06	07	06	09	14
Roman Catholic	12	21	27	24	27	25	34
Wesleyan Mission	11	12	14	15	21	21	27
Total	37	56	73	88	101	113	142

Table 3- Grant in aid English Schools-1871-1900 (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.309)

Schools	1871	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900
American Mission	02	13	11	09	02	02	
Baptist Mission	02	07	09	05	01	01	01
Buddhist							01
Church of England	09	37	42	19	05	05	05
Private (Private &Saivite)	05	03	01	05			
Roman Catholic	03	03	02	02	01	01	01
Wesleyan Mission	119	22	17	15	07	08	08
Total	40	85	82	55	16	17	16

Table 4- Grant in aid Anglo-Vernacular schools-1871-1900 (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.310).

As Jayasuriya (1976) concluded the decrease in the number of vernacular schools was a result of the attraction towards the English schools because of the advantages these schools provided for employability.

Schools	1871	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900
American Mission	56	89	113	113	127	126	124
Baptist Mission	09	29	26	27	40	28	24
Buddhist			04	08	17	44	129
Church of England	76	134	170	168	243	271	267
Mohammedan						03	02
presbyterian	02	02	02				
Private (Private &Saivite)	14	26	17	18	26	41	51
Roman Catholic	34	117	173	174	197	231	301
Wesleyan Mission	46	88	163	168	217	222	272
Total	237	485	668	676	867	966	1170

Table 5- Grant in aid Vernacular Schools, 1871-1900 (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.310).

With the Morgan committee recommendations, Roman Catholic vernacular schools had increased over the other denominational schools.

Year	Government schools	Aided schools
1869	120	21
1870	156	229
1875	276	654
1880	369	833
1885	417	866
1890	436	984
1895	477	1,096
1900	500	1328

Table 6- Number of schools-Government and Aided, 1869-1900 (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.310).

Analysing table 6 above, the statistics show how the government-aided schools spearheaded the field of education on the island despite the slow progress of the government schools. One remarkable factor was that the "Christians who constituted only 9 percent of the population had 80 percent of the schools under their management" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.309) by the end of the 19th century.

2.6 The arrival of the missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate on the island

The credit for reviving Catholic education in Ceylon after the Dutch persecution is attributed to the Congregation of the Missionaries of Oblates of Mary Immaculate. With the decline of Portuguese influence in the East, its Padroado obligations ceased to exist. (The Padroado was an arrangement between the Pope who is the head of the Roman Catholic Church and the Portuguese government under which the Vatican delegated to the government the right to administer local churches across the world) Eventually, the intervention of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (Propaganda Fidei) led to the creation of a separate vicariates in the East. (Don Peter, 1996). Consequently, by the brief 'Ex munere pastoralis ministerii' of December 1834 of Pope Gregory XVI, Sri Lanka became a separate ecclesiastical territory with administrative liberty. Thus, the conducive environment for religious activities on the island once again opened the path for European missionaries to arrive in the country. The first European missionary to arrive on the island in 1842 was Fr. Orazio Bettacchini, an Italian Oratorian priest, who later became the bishop of the Northern part of the island (Don Peter, 1996). Bishop E. De Mazenod who was the superior General of the Oblates Congregation was the first to respond to the need of the island by accommodating the request of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fidei to support the Catholics in Ceylon. "I have deemed it my duty to respond to this invitation, which I have considered an order" (Perniola, 1995, p.51). Four missionaries were sent to work on the island by Bishop E. De Mazenod. These were, Fathers D. Pulicani, J. P. Perreard, L. Lallement Marechal, and A. Duffo. They arrived on the island on 22nd July 1851 marking the first arrival of a European religious congregation during the British rule. Also, on the recommendations of Rome in 1847 two separate vicariates were erected in Jaffna and Colombo (Perniola, 1995).

Fr. Christopher Bonjean having served nine years in Coimbatore in India as a missionary of the Paris Foreign Mission Society joined the Oblates in Jaffna in 1856 and continued to serve as an Oblate missionary. His competency in the English language enabled him to fight for the rights of the Catholics on the island. His contribution to the field of Catholic education is recognised by naming him the second Apostle of Sri Lanka, the first being St. Joseph Vaz. When the administration of school education was totally in the hands of the Anglican clergy, he alone stood for the rights of the Catholics to determine the education of their children in the British education system. His Madras publication in 1860 'A few words in Catholic education in Ceylon' created a vision for Catholics to be guided by the principles he bequeathed. This was a clarion call from an educationist who had a farsighted goal for the future of Catholics in Ceylon. The letters he wrote to the *Examiner Newspaper* against the

proposed system of common mixed schools evoked the view of the Catholic principle of education espoused by Fr. Bonjean. He wanted to safeguard the identity of the Catholic faith by insisting on the distinction between the Catholic faith and general Christianity (Newsletter of the District of Asia, 2001).

Fr. Bonjean's singular struggle was not only for Catholics, but also for Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims. His view was that all must be fairly treated. His position was to run Catholic schools within a state-aided system. He advocated it to be given to all religions in the country equally. In the subcommittee appointed by the legislative council in 1865, this notion of a government-aided school system was further examined and in 1869 the British government declared "that any religious denomination could open schools for its children which would be given a grant by the government if they provided a sound secular education" (Don Peter, 1996, p.41). This system was in existence until the schools were taken over by the Sri Lankan government in 1960. With the demise of Stephen Semeria, the Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna, Christopher Bonjean was appointed as his successor in 1868. When Colombo was made an Archdiocese, Christopher Bonjean was made the first Archbishop of Colombo in 1886 (Don Peter, 1996).

2.6.1 The vision for education in the Archdiocese of Colombo

The diocesan vision of education was moulded and guided under the leadership of the first Archbishop of Colombo, Christopher Bonjean (Don Peter, 1996). The inspiration instilled by Bishop Christopher Bonjean in the minds of Catholics on the island by his unstinted campaign to establish the government-aided denominational schools had aroused "the sense of their duties in the matter of the education of their children" (Bonjean, 1892, p.1). He believed in the role of the Catholic Church "as the chief promoter of knowledge at all times and amongst all races" (Bonjean, 1892, p.1). His standpoint on faith was stern and clear in totality. His earnest wish was to have Catholic schools for Catholic students. His severe criticism was targeted at the Catholic parents who were complacent with their faith.

> We inveighed against the folly of those parents who, … nevertheless felt no scruple to send those children to institutions where that Holy Faith is either outrageously misrepresented and blasphemed, as in Protestant schools, or ignored, as in so-called unsectarian, but in reality, godless, schools (Bonjean, 1892, p.1).

While stating the significance of the Catholic faith in the practice of school life, he raised the concern that Catholics should have Catholic schools as a right of their educational entitlement, because the Catholics also had a share in the general funds allocated for educational purposes in the country (Bonjean, 1892).

Moreover, the statistical data revealed that, in the year 1892, there had been 16,000 students in Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Colombo, 9,251 boys and 6,782 girls. Of these students, 13,958 had been Catholics. Among these schools, the most outstanding was St Benedict's Institute in Kotahena, Colombo founded in 1865 by the Christian Brothers with 475 students. The view of Archbishop Bonjean on the students who completed their education was that "the solid religious instruction imparted to them in their school days is now to them a preservative against the deleterious influences to which they are exposed in their dealings with the world." (Bonjean, 1892, p.3). His vision for the future of Catholic education was encapsulated in his words, that "[t]he goal we have ever aimed at is simply this: To place our Catholic educational institutions in the matter of secular training upon a level with the best non-Catholic institutions in the land" (Bonjean, 1892, p.4).

To achieve the above objective the need of establishing either a course of classical training or a collegiate had surfaced in the discussion, in order to lead especially the boys of these schools to acquire the liberal professions or the highest government employments opened for natives. Nevertheless, in order for Archbishop's vision to be realised two decisive challenges were to be addressed, mainly the lack of funding to carry out such a massive scheme involving thousands of pounds and how to collaborate with St. Benedict's institute which was already well-established for Catholic boys. As a possible solution, in the first instance, the idea to keep both the institutes "on the distinct lines proper to each other, they should coalesce in one and the same educational establishment under the time-honoured name St. Benedict's Institute" (Bonjean, 1892, p.5). However, the decision arrived after a long deliberation with the local superior of the Christian brothers that "we had to arrive at the conclusion that such an arrangement was not possible owing to the inflexible rule which prevents the members of the Institute from teaching the classical languages." (Bonjean, 1892, p.5).

Therefore, under this arrangement, the following policies were laid down;

> 1. The Christian Brothers will continue to impart to their pupils a thorough knowledge of English; to teach mathematics and all the other branches of the government programme for aided High English schools, besides bookkeeping, drawing, shorthand and other subjects constituting a sound commercial training, in addition to the artistic accomplishments for which they are so justly famed.

> 2.In the contemplated Collegiate section of St. Benedict's under the direction of the Fathers Oblates of Mary Immaculate and with the cooperation of talented native teachers such a literary and scientific training will be available as many fit the students for competitive examinations (Bonjean, 1892, p.6).

Eventually, two competent Oblate missionaries were entrusted with this herculean task of accomplishing this missionary endeavour. These were Fr. C.H. Lytton who was the Rector of St. Patrick's College in Jaffna for 12 years, and Fr. Th. Guglielmi, who was known for his literary attainments and acquaintance with native languages.

The most notable appeal made by Archbishop Christopher Bonjean towards the success of this project was to receive financial assistance and the active involvement of the Catholics in the task of materialising this dream. He thus appealed to the Catholics of Ceylon for their active involvement and co-operation. "… that new and large buildings will have to be erected, … the college with its staff will have to be maintained by your contributions, … the share Providence has set apart for you in this noble undertaking (Bonjean, 1892, p.8).

2.7 The establishment of St. Joseph's College

The first meeting of the establishment of the proposed collegiate was held in 1892 at St. Mary's Church, Pettah, Colombo with the participation of Fathers C.H. Lytton and Th. Guglielmi. They could raise Rs.18,500 as subscriptions from the faithful gathered at the meeting. A standing committee was formed consisting of 13 leading Catholic gentlemen to support this endeavour (Jubilee Number, 1921). Fr. C.H. Lytton who negotiated the buying of 27 acres for the new College at Mutwal received an advance payment of Rs.60,000 from the then Superior General of Oblates, Father L. Soullier, OMI in 1892. The total value of the land was £8,000. The land by the name Uplands which was first purchased, had to be returned to the Government. As a result of which, the present location, where the school stands today, the lake house property, was bought. The foundation stone was laid by the Delegate Apostolic of East Indies, Msgr. L. M. Zaleski on the 12th of December 1892. On the 2nd of March 1896, St Joseph's College, Colombo was opened with 211 students attending the College and 69 in the preparatory school. Fr. Charles Collin was the first Rector of the College. The completion of the first block which was named St. Charles school was blessed on the 27th of November 1896 by Msgr. Zeleski in the absence of Archbishop Melizan who succeeded Archbishop Christopher Bonjean (Jubilee Number, 1921).

2.7.1 The first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College

Following the establishment of the college, the first five Rectors were all Catholic priests of the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) who served from 1896 to 1961. The first four Rectors: Fathers Charles Louis Collin, Charles Henry Lytton, Emile Nicolas, and Maurice Jacques Le Goc were European missionaries whilst Father Peter A. Pillai was a native Sri Lankan OMI priest. The Rectors who took office after the fifth Rector to date have been Catholic native priests of the Archdiocese of Colombo.

Fr. C. L. Collin OMI (1896-1909), a Frenchman and the first Rector of the College, was ordained an Oblate priest in Jaffna, Sri Lanka in 1880. He was a graduate of Law from the University of Paris. He served in the following capacities after he was ordained a priest: moderator of the Oblates of St. Martin's Seminary Jaffna, moderator of the Oblates and Master of Novices in Colombo and Consultor and superior of Kotahena mission, parish priest of Pettah mission and General Manager of Schools, Secretary General of Bishop Bonjean and superior of the Sacred Heart House, Borella, and Vicar General of Colombo in 1892. When Archbishop Bonjean died in 1892, he also served as the Apostolic Administrator and Pro-Vicar of missions until the appointment of the new Archbishop, Archbishop Melizan in 1893. He assumed duties as the first Rector in 1896. His motto was 'Nothing human is alien to me'. His inspiring words on the last day of his rectorship to his students were "I have deposited the seed of character in your minds, but to say that you are men of character is to say in anticipation … He is one who obeys the dictates of his conscience, … not consent to speak a falsehood…" (The Oblate Rectors of the past at St. Joseph's College Colombo, p.5).

Fr. C. H. Lytton OMI (1909-1912), the second Rector, was from Ireland and was ordained in 1875 and received his first mission to work in Sri Lanka as an Oblate priest. He arrived in Jaffna and served in that diocese for 17 years. He first served as the parish priest of Kayts and later in Tholagatty. In 1882 he was appointed to the teaching staff of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, and in 1893 he was made the Rector of the College. He was instrumental in establishing the Northern railway line from Colombo to Jaffna and was named 'the great Apostle of Social Service'. In 1892 he was transferred to Colombo to help Fr. Collin build St Joseph's College, and he served as the first Vice-Rector of the College and was in charge of the preparatory school from 1896 to 1910. He was very much involved in raising funds to construct the first building of the College. He succeeded Fr. Charles Collin as the second Rector of the College in 1910 and served until 19th August 1912.

Fr. E. Nicholas OMI (1912-1919), the third Rector of the College was from Nancy, France. He was ordained a priest of the Oblate congregation in 1891in Rome and was appointed to serve in the mission of Ceylon as his first obedience. He arrived on the island in 1892. He served first on the staff of St. Bernard's seminary Borella as a professor and in 1893 he was made the moderator of the Oblate scholastics. Then he was appointed to the staff of St Joseph's College in 1896 and served the College for 23 years as a staff member and prefect of studies. During this period, he wrote a textbook titled 'St. Joseph's Scripture Manual' which was used in Catholic schools at that time. He was made the third Rector of the College in 1912 and served in that capacity until 1919.

Fr. M. J. Le Goc OMI (1919-1940), the fourth Rector of the College, was from Brittany, France. He was ordained in Rome in 1907 as an Oblate. He studied at the Gregorian University Rome for his philosophical and theological studies and went on to complete his Ph.D. from Gregorian University in 1906. At the request of Fr. Collin, he travelled to study science at the University of Cambridge in 1911 and secured the Frank Smart Prize for Botany for his research in Natural science. He was also elected a member of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. He subsequently completed his BSc. Honours and MA degrees at the University of London in 1914, and assumed duties as a staff member of St. Joseph's College in 1914. He was specialised in Botany, Zoology, and Astronomy. Besides being the Rector of the College, he also served as a lecturer in Biology at the Sri Lanka Medical College and a lecturer in Botany at the University College as well as a lecturer in Nature Studies at the Colombo Government Training College. He also founded three other Catholic schools while serving the College as Rector. They were St. Peter's College Colombo, St. John's College Dematagoda, and St. Paul's College, Waragoda. A popular textbook he had authored was 'Introduction to Tropical Botany' which was then used both in Sri Lanka and India. In 1936 the government of France honoured him with the titles of '*Officer d'Instruction Publique'* and the '*Chevalier de la Legion d'Honour'*. In 1989 to mark National Hero's Day, the postal department of Sri Lanka issued a commemorative stamp to honour Fr. LeGoc as a National Hero. He served the College for 21 years as the fourth Rector.

The fifth and last Rector from the Oblate Congregation was Fr. P. Pillai OMI (1940-1961) a native priest of Sri Lanka. He was ordained in Rome in 1936. As a young layman, he obtained his BSc in Mathematics in 1923 and worked as an assistant lecturer in Mathematics at the University of Ceylon. Later, on a government scholarship he studied at the University of Cambridge and graduated with a BA in Natural Science, Tripos with honours and a Masters. He also obtained an M. Sc. in Mathematics from Kings' College London. To pursue his priestly studies, he joined the Oblate novitiate in Belgium and was later sent to study at the Dominican University, Angelicum in Rome, and completed his Ph.D. and Doctorate in Divinity. After his ordination, he was appointed to St Peter's College, Colombo as a staff member, and having served there for three years, he was appointed Rector of St. Joseph's College in 1940 and served for almost 21 years till 1961. He was also the founder and first Rector of the Aquinas University College, Colombo. He was considered an eminent intellectual of Sri Lanka. The Social Justice movement was one of his keen initiatives in view of the human, social and economic development of the country (The Oblate Rectors of the Past at St. Joseph's College Colombo). The pictures of the first five Rectors are available in appendix A.

These eminent personalities, of the first five Rectors, do not simply stand as historical figures of the 19th century, but embodied the unique leadership roles in their capacity as leaders of a Catholic educational institute. Fr. Collin brought with him the skills of management and organisation after being the administrative secretary to Archbishop Bonjean, on whose initiative this educational institute was born. Fr. Lytton shared his long years of experience in Jaffna as the Rector of St. Patrick's College and later as the first vice Rector to Fr. Collin. Fr. Nicholas with his theological studies and being at the College with Fr. Collin and Lytton from the inception had learnt the art of school management. Although their terms were comparatively short, they were priests of exemplary character. The Rectorships of these three educationists delivered unique global experiences to the College through their exercise of leadership. They were fruits of Catholic education, spirituality, and culture in France and Ireland. However, Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai whose tenures extended more than twenty years each as Rectors shared their wisdom from two different perspectives. They both were academically renowned for their expertise with their doctoral qualifications. Fr. LeGoc's leadership traits were poignant at moral and spiritual renewal. His approach was a mix of several leadership approaches. He used his authority to convey moral and spiritual truths, relating them to local and national concerns for the renewal of the youth with a futuristic vision. His knowledge of botany and science kept him ahead of his time with his motivational backing for education as a leader. Fr. Pillai being a mathematician and an economist brought with him his argumentative logical thought pattern in his leadership role. His approach to certain educational issues of his time especially his view on the continuation of denominational schools and their right to exist indicated his strong situational leadership approach to solve problems. These five Rectors therefore share a bundle of leadership skills traversing through their historical setting as heads of this educational institute.

2. 8 Chapter summary

This chapter presents the historical setting of Ceylonese education from its ancient period to the founding of St. Joesph's College and sets this educational establishment in a historical context of Catholic education in the latter part of the 19th century and early 20th century. The history of education in Ceylon until the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, was not a recognisable, organised educational system. It was mainly centred around local religious places both in the southern and northern parts of the country. Not all inhabitants were interested in an organised system of education. However, it was during the British rule that education was formally organised with the active involvement of different foreign missionaries. The birth of St. Joseph's College was due in part to the interest taken by the Oblate missionaries of Mary Immaculate who were based in Colombo.

St. Joseph's College Colombo continues to function as a Catholic school of the Archdiocese under the governance of the Archbishop of Colombo. The vision of the school is to be "[g]uided by the life, the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ and inspired by the Josephian Motto – 'Through Knowledge and Virtue'…" (St. Joseph's College Colombo, 2024, p.1). At present a Catholic priest of the Archdiocese leads the College as the Rector and principal with the support of Catholic clergy and lay staff members. The mediums of instruction for students are Sinhala, Tamil, and English but English is used as the official language of communication in the school. There are 205 teachers on the academic staff and 3374 students in the primary, secondary, and London advanced-level sections. Even though St. Joseph's College is recognised as a Catholic school in the country, it not only caters to Catholic students but accommodates students of other faiths as well. As of 2024, there are 472 Buddhist students, 95 Hindu students, 28 Muslim students, and 8 Christian students in addition to 2771 Catholic students (Student statistics, 2024). The main syllabus of the school is the national curriculum provided by the Department of Education of Sri Lanka and the major examinations conducted for students are the grade five scholarship examination, GCE ordinary level examination, and GCE advanced level examination. The year 2024 marks the 128th year of its existence in Colombo as a leading Catholic school in Sri Lanka.

The following chapter will discuss the overview of the two themes in this research: character formation and educational leadership in the light of current and relevant literature, but with special reference to Catholic education.

Chapter Three

An overview of character formation and educational leadership from the perspective of Catholic Education

The vision of the Catholic Church for education expressed in the declaration, *Gravissimum Educationis* is, "to fulfil the mandate she has received from her Divine Founder of proclaiming the mystery of salvation to all men and of restoring all things in Christ .... Therefore, she has a role in the progress and development of education" (Vatican Council II, 1965: 1). The true character of a Catholic school is therefore, interwoven with the mission of the Church since, Christ remains the cornerstone and the solid foundation of all its facets adorning its life with Gospel values to create a community with a Christian vision (CCE, 1977: 34). Moreover "it is to put Christ and the teachings of the Catholic Church at the centre of the educational enterprise is the key purpose of Catholic schools" (Stock, 2012, p.7) and Pope Benedict XVI (2008) thus describes the Catholic school as an essential resource of the new evangelisation (Address to Catholic Educators, 2008). In the words of St. John Paul II "it is of utmost importance, therefore, that the Church's institutions be genuinely Catholic: Catholic in their self-understanding and Catholic in their identity" (John Paul II, 2004: 1). In this respect Archbishop Michael Miller (2006) who was the former secretary of the Congregation for Catholic Education introduced the five essential marks of Catholic schools in the light of the teachings of the Holy See. He thus clarifies the definition of a Catholic school according to the mind of the Church under five benchmarks. They according to Miller's explanation ought to be inspired by a supernatural vision, founded on a Christian anthropology, lived by communion in community, imbued with a Catholic worldview throughout its curriculum, and sustained by Gospel witness (Miller, 2006). This indicates that Catholic schools have to be more than places of training in skills and knowledge for the job market but "rather they are to be the communities where the spiritual, cultural, and personal worlds … are harmonised to form the roots from which grow our values, motivation, aspirations, and the moral imperatives that inform our choices and actions as persons" (Stock, 2012, p.7). This review of the literature is therefore aimed at discussing character formation, and educational leadership in the light of the official Catholic educational documentation, and other related publications on character formation and educational leadership within secondary school settings.

3.1 Character formation

The purpose of true education is the formation of the human person (Vatican Council II, 1965: 4). The Declaration on Christian Education points out that education is the sure means of recognising the dignity of the human person, and thus establishes the principle that it is

an "inalienable right" (Vatican Council II, 1965: 6) of every human person. *Gravissimum Educationis* emphasises that when human persons become aware of their true dignity, they are positioned in society "to take an active part in social and especially in economic and political life" (Vatican Council II, 1965: 1). Hence, the rights of peoples to education are considered as important components in making real these objectives for the common good of the society (Vatican Council II, 1965: 2).

In implementing this noble task, Catholic education aims at moulding the lives of children into the image of God in the light of Christian anthropology. The mystery of the incarnation gives meaning to the efforts of the Catholic schools to infuse Christ in an inspirational manner into all aspects of its life and activities (Miller, 2006). In a broader sense, Catholic anthropology has emboldened the followers to accept life with fervour, to relish it as a gift, and guard it with its notable goodness in upholding its remarkable quality of humanity. In the context of Catholic schooling, the whole curriculum and the Catholic educational enterprise should be able to instil in the minds of students that they are reflections of God. Therefore, they should lead their lives as responsible citizens (Groome, 2000). Hence, the Catholic Church believes in the formation of "the whole of man's life, even the secular part, in so far as it has a bearing on his heavenly calling". (Vatican Council II, 1965: 4). In other words, "a true education aims at the formation of the human person" (Vatican Council II, 1965: 6) because its purpose finds its fulfilment in his involvement in the good of the society. Thus, this integral formation aims to promote a holistic life in the light of the religious and moral tradition of the Catholic Church (McLaughlin, 2000).

However, the criticism levelled against Catholic education and in particular character formation in Catholic schools is that it has prioritised academic achievements ignoring the immense importance of its Christological significance and the value placed on the formation of the human person. The driving force which is Christ has been adapted to fit in without making him the life force of the school (Miller, 2006). The primary objective of Catholic education and Catholic schools is not only to produce skilled workers or competent employees for the work place, but to send out citizens of Christian character and integrity, who can make an impact on the whole of society with the education they receive from their Catholic schools. It is also an opportunity to showcase and display how strong and effective the Catholic school's formation of character with virtues and values in counteracting the modern social trends of relativism, materialism, pragmatism, and technocracy (Grace, 2017). When prioritisation of character education loses its appropriate place in school systems and is replaced with mammoth concerns of training students to the economy of the world, the

balance of education is destined to fall apart (Arthur, Crick, Samuel, Wilson, and McGettrick, 2006). The document on the Catholic School addressing this issue states that "it must never be forgotten that the purpose of instruction at school is education, that is the development of man from within, freeing him from that conditioning that would prevent him from becoming a fully integrated human being" (CCE, 1977: 29).

If modern-day education confines the value of education merely to the attainment of some technical and rational skills, it first disagrees with the views of Plato, and Aristotle and also with Judeo- Christian traditions on the ultimate objective of knowledge, secondly, it blatantly contradicts the teachings of Catholic education. Thus, this modern interpretation denotes that knowledge is objective, and value-free and does not correspond with any ethics or morality. Nonetheless, Catholic teaching incorporates the complete person with an ontological commitment to Catholic anthropology (Groome, 2000). Hence, the mission of Catholic education is precisely to establish strong character formation in schools (CCE, 1977: 12) to be shared and experienced by students, since values and truths are to be discovered in this process, where "there is no separation between time for learning and time for formation, between acquiring notions and growing in wisdom" (CCE, 1988: 15). In addition, the wholeness of a person is attained through physical, spiritual, moral, and intellectual progress in relation to the impact underpinned by external factors such as home, church, and environment. This transcendence of the individual occurs basically in a very conducive and supportive community surrounding (McClelland, 2000).

3.1.1 Global approaches to character formation

Character formation has been considered an essential component in any school across many cultures and nations (Pike, Hart, Paul, Lickona and Clarke, 2020). Therefore, character formation has been a vital topic of discussion in national and international forums. The UK approach proposed by the Jubilee Centre of the University of Birmingham takes a neo-Aristotelian approach. Its ultimate objective is human flourishing which is achievable by actively engaging and belonging to a dynamic school experience. The foundation to acquire human flourishing relies on the endowment of intellectual, moral and civic virtues. It enables the student to choose what is ethically right in a particular situation and becomes more autonomous and reflective in the practice of virtue. "In this process, the ultimate aim of character education is the development of good sense or practical wisdom; the capacity to choose intelligently between alternatives" (The Jubilee Centre, 2017, p.2). The other factor found in this process is the building blocks of Character. They are namely the intellectual, moral, civic, and performance virtues that lead to the integrative virtue of practical wisdom

that eventually leads to human flourishing. The recommendations made by the research team of this project in order to promote virtue education on British soil include three important concerns. Firstly, it is the emphasis on the school ethos where reinforcement of character virtues should embrace the entire school with all its activities inside and outside of the classroom. Secondly, it should be centred around a living community, both family and school, where students feel a sense of belonging. Thirdly, it is the role of the parents working together with the teachers, who become the role models and examples in cultivating the virtues in the student's character (The Jubilee Centre, 2017).

With the inclusion of '*The No Child Left Behind Act*' into the legislature of the United States on the 8th of January 2002, American public schools were made accountable for their students' outcomes. Schools, thus, have to be places that ensure safety and discipline and are free of illegal substances that enable students to become people of good character. This enveloped the moral, emotional, and intellectual qualities of an individual or group (Cicek, Ulker, and Tarman, 2012). The summit which was held in Aspen Colorado in July 1992 led to the official declaration that laid the foundation for character development programmes in the US.

The Aspen declaration has eight recommendations;

1. The next generation will be the stewards of our communities, nation, and planet in extraordinarily critical times.
2. In such times, the well-being of our society requires an involved, caring citizenry with good moral character.
3. People do not automatically develop good moral character; therefore, conscientious efforts must be made to help young people develop the values and abilities necessary for moral decision-making and conduct.
4. Effective character education is based on core ethical values rooted in a democratic society, in particular, respect, responsibility, trustworthiness, justice, and fairness, caring and civic virtue, and citizenship.
5. These core ethical values transcend cultural, religious, and socioeconomic differences.
6. Character education is, first and foremost, an obligation of families and faith communities, but schools and youth-service organizations also have a responsibility to help develop the character of young people.
7. These responsibilities are best achieved when these groups work in concert.
8. The character and conduct of our youth reflect the character and conduct of society; therefore, every adult has the responsibility to teach and model the core ethical values and every social institution has the responsibility to promote the development of good character (Aspen Declaration, 1992, p.1).

Based on the Aspen declaration, six core values of character formation were introduced as six pillars embodying a new term with T.R.R.F.C.C- Trustworthiness, Respect,

Responsibility, Fairness, Caring, and Citizenship. The implementation and growth of this project of these core values are said to have depended on: common vocabulary, shared interests, and moral literacy. The primary responsibility of upholding these core values falls therefore, on the parents and the caregivers, and secondly on the larger society which includes the family, the schools, faith communities, youth movements, and other humanitarian services as well as civic and business organisations (Cicek, Ulker and Tarman, 2012).

The research conducted, in 2002, by the Josephson Institute of Ethics, revealed that US children are increasingly prone to shoplifting, cheating, stealing from parents, lying to teachers and parents, lying to save money, and lying to get a job. These research findings have indicated that it is a huge shift from the situation ten years before (Josephson Institute of Ethics, 2004). These adverse effects seem to have arisen due to contemporary adjustments and changes brought into character education programmes carried out in schools (Hudd, 2004). This new development is defined as *McDonaldization* (Hudd, 2004, p.114) based on the principles of efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. Thus, this fast-food restaurant analogy has proven that society can sink into *McMorals* (Hudd, 2004, p.114). In this respect, the greater risk manifested is entrusting different social institutions to fulfil the function of the family where the family structure is vaguely available in society. When the complexity of character is undermined and ignored, it becomes a dangerous undertaking. Such formalised programmes in character education in schools could end up being just rationalised and quantified designs without addressing the situational and cultural intricacy of the students, where students loose hold of ethical decision-making ability, and become devoid of skills to process difficult moral problems in their lives (Hudd, 2004).

Similarly, the national framework for values education in Australian schools considers values as ingredients that can transform the Australian education system. It also holds that the success of the approach depends on the school leadership and its dissemination to the entire school which engages all sections of the school. This approach proposes ten avenues to character formation through values education;

(1) Establish and consistently use a common and shared values language across the school.
(2) Use pedagogies that are values-focussed and student-centred within all of the curriculum.
(3) Develop values education as an integral curriculum concept, rather than as a programme, an event or an addition to curriculum.
(4) Explicitly teach values so students know what the values mean how the values are lived.
(5) Implicitly model values and explicitly foster the modelling of values.

(6) Develop relevant and engaging values approaches connected to local and global contexts and which offer a real opportunity for student agency.

(7) Use values education to consciously foster intercultural understanding, social cohesion, and social inclusion.

(8) Provide teachers with informed sustained and targeted professional learning and foster their professional collaboration.

(9) Encourage teachers to take risks in their approach to values education.

(10) Gather and monitor data for continuous improvement in values education (Australian Government, 2008, pp. 9-12).

In developing good practice in values education, a whole school values education approach connecting all stakeholders with the right school leaders, committed to the task was highlighted as the key finding of this research project (Australian Government, 2008).

In these three global approaches to character education and formation, its value and importance have been acknowledged unequivocally. Their approaches and suggestions to improve the standard of character formation also reflect the essential role entrusted to schools and teachers in general and they connect well with some of the key aspects of human formation articulated in the teachings of the Congregation of Catholic Education (CCE, 1977, 2017). However, with regard to Catholic education and formation of character more emphasis has been placed on "religious spiritual identity and moral character formation" (Lapsley and Kelley, 2022, p.1) for improvement of charcter in students.

3.1.2 Character formation is an inclusive and shared experience

The objective of Catholic schools in promoting character education and formation in recent history has been interpreted in the light of Gospel values, guided by the Beatitudes. The eight Beatitudes (Matthew 5: 3-12) have been developed into eight clusters of Christian values rooted in Christ. Faithfulness and integrity, dignity and compassion, humility and gentleness, forgiveness and mercy, purity and holiness, tolerance and peace, service and sacrifice have been highlighted and identified as values emanating from the Beatitudes. These values therefore need to be explained with their precise meaning in order to relate to the lives of the students at home, in school, and society. Moreover, these Gospel values, which reflect the Beatitudes of the New Testament should be made the aim and the desired outcome of every Catholic school in creating Christian formation of character in students (Stock, 2012). From another perspective, the purpose of virtues is also set to become expressions that exemplify Gospel values in Christ-centred Catholic education (Stock, 2012; Devanny, 2019).

However, the proponents of inclusivity of values and shared values education interpret that values education as a shared endeavour (Cooling, 2013; Peterson, 2013). They advocate

schools to work collaboratively with different social agents to create a moral economy to establish values education to become a shared experience (Peterson, 2013). The argument raised from a religious perspective is that "students graduating from Catholic schools divorce no less than their public-school counterparts and significantly more than their protestant Christian and non-religious private school peers" (Glenn, 2019, p.68). The cause of these social issues has been attributed to the diminishing factors of a religious sub-culture and the distinctiveness of religious identity that has led to the deterioration of shared values in common. Besides that, the inaccessibility to spiritual foundations of religious beliefs in school environments also has led to the avoidance of addressing moral and sexual issues that arise from the school community. The emergence of such situations has also resulted primarily due to employing teachers who lack the Catholic worldview and secondarily, owing to negative social influences, peer pressure, and mass media. By and large, the impact of the heavy consumerist society and its shadows have also contributed to distorting the clear religious worldview of the student (Glenn, 2019).

Even though the above research findings speak volumes of great relevance and meaning, in the face of detraditionalization, individualisation, and, pluralisation, Boeve (2016) argues that the identity of Catholic education has shifted from the confessionality of Catholic education to values education even further. But he argues that both these educational models have lost the retentive power of the Christian character of education because, when students develop and mature, they tend to drop the Christian interpretation of the meaning of Christian values due to their meaning being identified with secular values. Consequently, he concludes that the values education model has resulted in being ineffective and in the long run counterproductive. That means, what was generally understood as Christian values separately have begun to exist in a common environment devoid of their religious implication and meaning. The famous question raised then was; "Why should we continue to call the universal human values that bind us together Christian?" (Boeve, 2016, p.177). Approaching this issue with a plausible answer, Boeve (2016) argues that, firstly, the motive to think of a 'reconfessionalisation model' in the school could lead to a closed school, a monologue school, projecting a non-dialogical Catholic identity model which contradicts open, inclusive, and dialogical school identity.

Secondly, active pluralist education, though incorporates all the necessary ingredients for peaceful coexistence could still fall into a new form of secularism. Hence, the emphasis should lead to fostering an identity related to different religious traditions and beliefs. On these grounds, the new worldview has coined a new term called qualitative pluralism. Accordingly, Boeve proposes an approach guided by qualitative pluralism to create a Catholic

dialogue school "that fosters dialogue, openness to others, recognition of plurality, respect for particularity and difference and is motivated from its sources" (Boeve, 2016, p.191). This strategy initiates building a relationship where one first permits others to speak holding himself or herself in an answering position. In this dialogue, the discovery of oneself and one's identity of who they are is realised. Catholic students should thus bring their Christian voice into their dialogue in the school context. This is to inspire and challenge others through their mutual learning and engagement. This new identity formation would enable them to embrace their Christian faith as well as to fathom how God reveals Himself in the history of mankind. Hence being Catholic in this context is "bearing witness to the generosity of the dialogue" (Boeve, 2016, p.191).

Therefore, from a broader perspective, contemporary Catholic character education or character formation is envisaged as the pursuit of fraternal humanism. In other words, education should lead to a humanising education. Education should serve a new humanism to bring about the common good. This new trajectory is inclusivity, and aims at integration and solidarity through interaction, not marginalisation. The educational process should teach the students the enriching component of peaceful coexistence (CCE, 2017);

> Humanising education means putting the person at the centre of education, in a framework of relationships that make up a living community, which is interdependent and bound to a common destiny. This is fraternal humanism (CCE, 2017: 8).

It has no room for exclusivity but promotes dynamics of diversity to be welcomed by the students in their multicultural classroom experience. This is made possible through a culture of dialogue resulting in integral and transcendent development of the individual as well as the society (CCE, 2017). The resolutions and commitments made at the International Office of Catholic Education in 2019 in New York under the theme 'Educating to fraternal humanism to build a culture of love' to discuss the contribution of Catholic schools to the Sustainable Developmental Goal 4 of United Nations *(SDG4-Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all)* also has recognised the contemporary need for a new format of education based on a culture of dialogue and solidarity, enshrined in an inclusive model that welcomes diversity, reaching out to the poorest, the marginalised and the vulnerable sections of society (Jez, Cantillon, Ramers and Burgess, 2021). Catholic education, therefore, should create a learning atmosphere that goes forth as a movement led by a team with the collaboration of all for the formation of the younger generation and the development of the common good. The development of this wave of education as a movement incorporates an ecological movement, as well as an

inclusive movement, that would eventually create humanity capable of living in a bond of fraternal relationship and a culture of care (CCE, 2022: 11, 27).

3.1.3 The role of the school principal in character formation

The role of a Catholic school principal by the very intrinsic nature of his leadership which is both pastoral and ecclesial (CCE, 2020: 48-51) contributes through all his efforts to promote character education and enable the character formation of students. In the current education context, the task of character education in schools is entrusted to a leadership team headed by the headteacher, deputy headteachers, and other senior staff members (Walker, Sims and Kettlewell, 2017). However, character education is a never-ending process. It is an ongoing endeavour to embellish an upright and honest human being in the students. It involves all stakeholders of the school, because it cannot be achieved instantly, but takes time and effort, training and development, strengthening and promotion.

Therefore, the role of the school principal is crucial to the promotion and development of character in schools. His vision, approach, interactions, and consistencies lead him or her to become an educator, motivator, administrator, supervisor, leader, and innovator (Asmendri, 2014). Thus, in the end, "in the hands of the head of the school there lies successful and a failed implementation of character education" (Asmendri, 2014, p.109) because, he or she is the example for both teachers and students who becomes the role model of character formation. In this process of leading the school, the task of the principal is to strengthen the character education process of the school. He or she, as the policy maker, has the capacity to accommodate the needs of the students and motivate teachers and the auxiliary staff to design a fitting framework for the school to promote character education. The quality of improvement largely rests on the effectiveness of the initiatives of the principal (Fajri and Dafit, 2022). In strengthening the character education process, monitoring and evaluating character education activities that provide motivation, direction, and encouragement to teachers, resolving issues arising from students, and convincing parents to support the students define the role of the school principal in this endeavour. The hindering factors to the principal's efforts of character education include the lack of interest and willingness of students, the negative influence of friends, and poor coordination from parents to support the work of the principal. Nevertheless, it is also the task of the principal to overcome them by further improving the supportive elements to promote character in schools (Fajri and Dafit, 2022).

In a Catholic school context school principal is "the spiritual and temporal leader of the school community" (Diocese of Westminster Education service, 2018, p.14) and he or she

leads the school in the light of Christ and is guided by the teachings of Church (Stock, 2012). The most rated virtues of a Catholic secondary school headteacher stand in hierarchical order, but the most significant place among all of them is given to faith. (Devanny, 2019). Therefore, a Catholic school principal ought to place spiritual and religious dimensions as the school's guiding mechanism in character education strategies where Christ becomes the point of encounter and formation of character (Towey, 2019). The following section discusses the educational leadership role of the school leadership with special reference to Catholic school leadership and challenges to Catholic school leadership.

3.2 Educational leadership

The term educational leadership is defined either to indicate the hierarchical and senior positions held in an educational institution or the process of leading to achieve the desired objective through the influence of the leadership (Connolly, James and Fertig, 2019). This section of the literature review is therefore aimed at discussing school-level leadership and the role of Catholic school leaders. This is an ever-growing and evolving human activity. It is centred around rapid, social, economic, political, and technological changes which have made educational leadership challenging and demanding, and at the same time essential. The two indispensable functions attributed to school leadership are providing direction and exerting influence (Leithwood and Riehl, 2003). Harris (2002) presenting the key features of a school leader points out that "[l]eadership means having a clear personal vision…Good leaders are… working alongside their colleagues…respecting teachers' autonomy…look ahead…are pragmatic… communicate a clear set of personal and educational values" (Harris, 2002, p.69). The key personality who exercises leadership with the greatest capacity in the school environment is the school principal (Gurr, Drysdale and Mulford, 2006).

The role of the school principal is broad and complex. He or she is entrusted with multiple tasks of leading and developing the school under his or her care in all of its aspects. As the Melbourne Declaration for educational goals for Young Australians (2008) identifies, the role of the principal is crucial and critical to the future of the 21st century, since they are the leading educational professionals who promote "[e]quity and Excellence" (Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training, and Youth Affairs, 2008, pp.7-8) and are responsible for "the successful learners, confident creative individuals, and active informed citizens" (Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs, 2008, pp.7-8). Since good leaders make a notable difference in any organisation, the most dominant leadership practice in organisations is recognised as the ability of the leader to bring out the best in people and respond quickly to change. In that sense, well-defined leadership is vital to the effectiveness of school quality, and to establish a vision for the

future (Cuschieri, 2007). Thus, "the most single factor in the success of school is the quality of leadership" (Harris, 2002, p.66) because effective leadership creates a consistent and clear vision for the entire school. Moreover, the quality of authenticity ought to be a crucial component of school leadership. Wilson (2014) proposes authenticity as one of the foundational virtues of an ethical leader, besides leadership responsibility and presence. He, therefore, defines that a school leader should reflect the dynamics of ethical leadership which is embedded in authenticity by his personal, professional, and social expressions through his authentic character. In other words, it is a manifestation of values led" (Willson, 2014, p.484) as well as "values-informed" (Willson, 2014, p.484) leadership that embodies not only personal authenticity but also ideals of social authenticity. In this regard, the Congregation for Catholic Education recommends that educators "…to be serious and credible witnesses of the responsibility and hope which the schools owe to society" (CCE, 2007: 22)

The 20th century was predominantly dominated by leadership practices and theories influenced by industrialisation. Leadership was defined under the top-to-bottom hierarchical structure. It was utilitarian in its ethic, driven by production and was male-dominated. Excellence in leadership was widely interpreted by the fulfilment of organisational goals. This view of leadership was taken in by the education sector, since it was beneficial in the application of school management (Rost and Barker, 2000). However, Betty (1994) providing a critique on Joseph Rost's book on Leadership for the 21st-century Leadership argues that all leadership theories and studies from 1910 are disorganised and vague, and most of them explain not leadership itself, but discuss management. Therefore, she defines leadership as an opportunity to build mutual interaction between leaders and followers to achieve the intended change which ultimately shares their mutual objectives. Thus, the post-industrial leadership approach is understood as intended to serve the general needs of ordinary citizens. It should therefore be inclusive and focused on the community, incorporating the complexities of the social processes and the pluralistic dimension of the universal society. Thus, the concept of post-industrial leadership is expressed as a relationship by the use of dynamic and mutual actions. In this respect, management is defined by consistency and stability, whereas, leadership is understood as a "process of change that occurs when change is needed" (Rost and Barker, 2000, p.5).

In this paradigm shift from the 20th century to the 21st century, Lavery (2012) analyses Rost's presentation of leadership in relation to establishing four essential elements as prerequisites to create this relationship called leadership. "These elements are: [that] the relationship is based on influence; the people in the relationship are the leaders and followers; real change

is intended, and leaders and followers develop mutual purposes" (Lavery, 2012, p.37). Transactional and transformational leadership practices are shown as clear examples of this relational leadership model. School leadership practices have been attributed to both these leadership models since school administration, as well as school leadership, can benefit from these two concepts. The debate between these two leadership models has recognised that the best leaders are both transactional and transformational when they complement each other and learn from the dual approaches. But the timely question is: should the leadership of the Catholic school principal contend with this type of collaborative and collegial work relationship or should the role of the Catholic school principal go beyond this framework? (Lavery, 2012).

3.2.1 The Catholic school principal

Catholic educational leadership in a Catholic school is a distinctive task. It not only involves the functions of leadership, but surrounds itself primarily with the Catholic practice of faith, integrity, and honesty of life as salient features of that leadership (Diocese of Westminster Education Service, 2010). As the Melbourne document for Catholic Education defines "Catholic leadership is synonymous with leading a community of faith. It encompasses the capacity to articulate a clearly defined vision for the future, inspiring others to follow" (Catholic Education Melbourne, 2020, p.3). Even though the leadership today is a shared responsibility with a team of colleagues, the overall responsibility rests on the school principal.

The Catholic school principal is primarily an instructional leader. Secondly, he or she executes a managerial leadership role as the chief executive officer of his/her organisation called the Catholic school, and also acts as a pastoral and spiritual leader responsible for the spiritual welfare of the school. By and large, the Catholic school leadership plays a community role since Catholic schools exist in the context of parish and diocesan communities with the specific characteristic of shared values and beliefs. The effective Catholic school principal embodies both managerial and leadership roles in his practice. It is by maintaining order and consistency, he thus makes schools centres of teaching and learning. It further incorporates works of schedules, budgets, organisational charts, policies, and procedures. All of these are part of the smooth running of a school. The leader has to be a visionary who can see a long-term future without getting stagnated. Leadership enables the school to achieve its vision and mission by implementing change. Communication and relational skills together with motivation and inspiration set goals for the organisational accomplishment of its vision, but most importantly a stable environment with proper

personnel management, financial management, and institutional management should secure the teaching and learning of the school (Dosen and Rieckhoff, 2016).The Catholic school principal therefore, takes with him or her the responsibility of being a spiritual, educational, instructional, and managerial leader in his or her capacity, and demonstrates an effective leadership role in the workplace. It has a substantial impact on students' success and all aspects of the school's future progress. His instructional leadership which is the foundation of the school's vitality should embrace the entire school, leaving no room for isolation (Boyle, Haller and Hunt, 2016).

Moreover, in building the unique role of the Catholic school leadership, the need for faith formation along with lifelong spiritual and pastoral formation for Catholic school principals was considered imperative, since Catholic schools exist and function within the mission of the Church (Spesia, 2016). The Catholic School principal's spiritual leadership should enable the faith formation of the school community at large, and should make the schools in their care centres of evangelisation. Their service is ecclesial and they should ennoble the role of servant leadership in their exercise of authority, because "[a]n educator in a Catholic school should have a solid professional formation … professional formation of the educator implies cultural, psychological, pedagogical skills" (CCE, 2017: 21, 22). The National Catholic Education Association of the USA calls Catholic school leaders, architects who build the Kingdom of God in the school environment for "[acting] with intentionality to nurture the catholic imagination and to connect everything in the school to Christ, the Gospel, and the Catholic vision" (Cook, 2001, p.111).

However, the programmes available for principal preparation in universities do not totally cater for the distinctive nature of Catholic schools and their leadership. They seem to have dropped the vital ingredients necessary for the preparation of Catholic school leadership, since most of the institutions focus on training public school principals (Boyle, Haller and Hunt, 2016). This vacuum has led to minimise the emphasis on Catholic identity and faith formation that should be learnt and absorbed by the individuals who aspire to become Catholic school leaders. While displaying strong instructional leadership, they should be trained to cope with multidimensional tasks with a sound faith leadership. Thus, a standard framework for Catholic school principals which should incorporate an integrated leadership model beneficial for Catholic schools. There are two examples of conceptual frameworks from Australian Catholic education, Sydney and Melbourne on the formation of Catholic school principals. There is no clear benchmark or standard set for competencies and skills

as the blueprint for the preparation of Catholic principals with a common agenda (Boyle, Haller and Hunt, 2016).

In his discussion on the qualities and competencies of a Catholic school principal, Manno (1985) argues that a Catholic school principal is like an unfinished portrait. This role has to be endowed with the acquisition of the right qualities and competencies, required for his position. The integration of pastoral, educational, and managerial roles encompass the overall operational vitality of a school principal. These are listed as fundamental characteristics and proficiencies other than situational adjustments and individual capacities. Then he could be perceived as "a religious and professional educator charged with leading and managing the school community" (Manno, 1985, p.18). However, Pena and Sullivan in their analysis of what makes an effective Catholic school leader, articulate that other than being an instructional leader, Catholic school principals should be equipped with an additional set of skills such as "monitoring religious education and formation, promoting Catholic identity, serving as the faith leader, leading under unique governance models and ensuring operational vitality" (Sullivan and Pena, 2019, p.188). In order to create this effective Catholic school leader, the National Standards and Benchmarks for Effective Catholic Schools (NSBECS) in the US in collaboration with the Loyola University, Chicago, has introduced a comprehensive planning document to promote the competencies needed for Catholic school principals. These competencies carry the particular responsibilities enshrined in a principal in addition to the faith-based leadership he/she practices. These four major pillars are identified as mission and identity, governance and leadership, academic excellence, and operational vitality (Sullivan and Pena, 2019). Whilst these four broad sections deliver 20 skills and competencies in this learning endeavour to further intensify and produce an effective and successful Catholic school leader, they approve the inclusion of field experiences where candidates are able to receive a well-rounded engagement on their multiple job-related tasks with hands-on knowledge and experience of a Catholic school principal (Sullivan and Pena, 2019).

The current global educational landscape is a rapidly changing phenomenon. The generation it handles is also speedily moving at a pace with the new challenges and situations it engages with. Therefore, the redefinition of the Catholic school's identity for the 21st century calls for a renewed mission. And to manage this new situation that is emerging, the Heads of Catholic schools and their colleagues have to be inspired by the Gospel, and immersed in the Christian pedagogy, focused on the Catholic school's vision and mission (CCE, 2014). In this respect, the training and forming of Catholic school heads and appointing them to

schools, take a vital place in order to ensure "that they are not only in charge of their respective schools, but are also Bishop's reference persons inside the schools in matters of pastoral care … who support and organise teachers, who promote mutual encouragement and assistance" (CCE, 2014, III: 1b).

Finally, when we return to the discussion on Catholic school leadership, Murfitt (2019) states that there is no one model of leadership for Catholic principals to emulate. Tabrizi and Rideout (2019) also acknowledge that effective leaders embody diverse styles of leadership and learn and work with all leadership styles rising to the opportunity, time, and space. The industrial models of the leadership of the last century have expired and cannot match the rapidly changing current educational ambiance. Therefore, to lead Catholic schools in this new age "a transformational, transcendental, authentic approach grounded in deep spirituality is required when leading in Catholic schools" (Murfitt, 2019, p.1). The model of leadership appropriated for Catholic school principals, therefore, is transcendental leadership which is based on service and spirituality. It incorporates trust, inclusivity, and participation and moreover, it is a collaborative leadership, centred on relationships. The transcendental leader who takes the responsibility of a school principal takes accountability for the school's vision and its direction with the consultation of all in the establishment when he/she has to make decisions on educational issues. Based on the teachings of the Gospel and inspired by the social doctrine of the church he/she takes his/her role with confidence, trusting the leadership skills of others to motivate and empower them to assume leadership. It is a collaborative working environment where everyone takes an interest in the school over their personal preferences and works together to optimise the performance of each individual by removing any obstacle standing as a barrier to maximise one's contribution to the school environment. The bedrock of transcendental Catholic school leadership is service, which hinges on the spiritual and moral principles of the Church's social doctrine (Lavery, 2012).

In the servant model of leadership, qualities such as "integrity, humility, servanthood, caring for others, empowering others, developing others, visioning, goal setting, leading, modelling, team building and shared decision-making" (Bueno and Catindig, 2019, p.41) stand as hallmarks of a Catholic school principal. Moreover, the servant style leadership of a Catholic school principal is always a reflection of Jesus himself. Being a living mirror of integrity, principals live out a vocation in their professional commitment to fraternal solidarity with everyone (CCE, 1982: 52,60). They value people and relationships "who are authentic in thought and action, committed to moral purpose and who aspire to being responsive to the spirit of walking alongside others, listening, nurturing and encouraging all

stakeholders" (Murfitt, 2019, p.5). Thus, permitting the living presence of Jesus to permeate the entire school community through their example of being obedient to the command of Jesus that is, "I have set you an example that you should do as I have done for you. Very truly I tell you, no servant is greater than his master … Now that you know these things, you will be blessed if you do them (John 13:15-17).

However, in the recent discourse on Catholic educational leadership, the servant leadership model falls short of fulfilling the complex character of Catholic school leadership (Branson, Marra, and Buchanan, 2019) because the argument is that the servant leadership model is not the right fit for all school principals, and that the perception of servant leadership by the school principals appears to vary significantly. Also, the school principals consider the servant leadership model as only an ideal, but not as a pragmatic reality because of the diversity of managerial and administrative roles which surpass the confines of this model. These three proponents of the servant leadership model go on to point out that "…it is now being widely acknowledged … that our leadership theory remains deficient in its capacity to provide universally applicable practical guidance and direction" (Branson, Marra, and Buchanan, 2019, p.221). Hence, they propose a theory that is an offshoot of transformational leadership theory based on the relational phenomenon called the trans-relational leadership model. This leadership model focuses on relationships, interpersonal skills, collegiality, cooperation, and teamwork. Here leadership is understood in relation to the relational character of the school principal who can foster relationships in achieving the effectiveness of their tasks. Thus, the very essence of leadership is defined as building collegiality, cooperation, and teamwork. The process of becoming a leader is built on being accepted as the leader, and it has been aligned to four sequential stages of action such as: becoming an in-group member, championing the group and its members, shaping the group identity, aligning the group's identity to its wider reality to build an effective leader. Eventually, this model of leadership has been related to Jesus' leadership as the best example of relational leadership. Subsequently, this trans-relational model of leadership has been proposed in place of servant leadership to Catholic school principals since "trans-relational leadership naturally and seamlessly weaves together the Catholic school principal's Catholic mission and identity responsibilities into their everyday leadership practices" (Branson et al., 2019, p.226).

3.2.2 Challenges to Catholic school leadership

In the task of promoting professional spiritual and moral aspects of the Catholic school environment, what appears mainly as a challenge is the declining number of practicing

Catholic leaders in Catholic schools. The absence of leaders who can provide leadership through their practice of faith, mission, and integrity has declined as a disturbing matter of concern for Catholic dioceses. This has severely affected the succession plan of Catholic school leadership. Fincham (2021) quoting Gerald Grace (2002) identifies this issue as the extinction of the spiritual capital. The daunting task for Catholic schools is to renew this declining spiritual capital in the future to continue their religious traditions and practices in Catholic schools. The shortage of Catholic priests and religious in Catholic schools has also led to aggravating this issue in Catholic schools in recent history. Therefore, lay leadership is encouraged to absorb themselves more into responsible roles in Catholic schools to mitigate this problem. The Congregation for Catholic Education addressing this concern explains that "…and yet, the laity must prepare themselves in such a way that they will be able to maintain Catholic schools on their own whenever this becomes necessary or at least more desirable, in the present or in the future" (CCE, 1982: 45).

3.3 Chapter summary

This chapter presented the review of literature in the light of character formation and educational leadership with special reference to Catholic education. Catholic education deals with the formation of character through its official teachings of Catholic education, from the teachings of the Second Vatican Council and through the documents of the Congregation for Catholic Education, papal documents, and teachings of various Bishops' conferences. The overview of the literature on character formation refers to some international practices of character formation in different countries and discusses the importance of inclusive education in relation to the current education context. The literature on educational leadership having presented the key theories, which guide the educational context, elaborates on the unique role of Catholic educational leadership and the challenges faced by Catholic educational leadership in the current educational context. The next chapter deals with the research methodology of this study and it is based on documentary research method in the qualitative research. The research tool employed for the documentary research is thematic analysis.

Chapter Four

Methodology

This research is a study of the impact of the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College, Colombo on character formation and educational leadership. The two research questions that explore this research topic are:

1. How did the first five Rectors promote character formation in the school?

2. How did the leadership practices of these Rectors contribute to educational leadership?

This qualitative study employs documentary analysis since the data is a set of written documents. They are the annual reports of the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College, Colombo. The period that covers the tenures of the first five Rectors is from 1896 to 1960. A thematic approach was chosen as the data analysis process in this documentary research. The codes and themes were developed in line with the two research questions. The two research finding chapters that discuss the impact of the Rectors on character formation and educational leadership practices present the data gathered with the support of this research tool.

4.1 Document analysis

A document may be defined "as a record of an event or a process" (McCulloch, 2011, p.249) but "document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge" (Bowen, 2009, p.27). This research involves a set of historical documents of a Catholic school in Sri Lanka. They were produced by five different individuals and read out on annual Prize days. They contain the original writings of the Rectors, their views, opinions, and remarks. Therefore, I recognise these Prize Reports as primary sources of data, since "all these are, intentionally or unintentionally, capable of transmitting a firsthand account of an event and are therefore considered as sources of primary data" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2017, p.194).

In addition, document analysis in historical research sheds light on the past and on the cause of change and continuity over time and connects to the origin of the present context because, in modern historical research, the analysis of documents has taken a special place not only in social science but also in historical and educational research (McCulloch, 2011). In this educational research, these historical documents relate to the events, administrative decisions, and discussions on the educational, moral, religious and academic life of this Catholic school, guided by the research questions. They present the continuity and evolution

of certain leadership practices of the Rectors and the relational nature of some concepts discussed in character formation.

Document analysis is therefore a standard research method that deals with written, printed, and electronic data. It is a systematic process that involves the examination, evaluation, and interpretation of data (Bowen, 2009). Moreover, documentary research is scientific, and it provides "… techniques used to categorise, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain" (Mogalakwe, 2006, p.222). Thus, in employing this method I was enabled to identify the data in its right context and to comprehend the meaning embedded in the documents. The documents taken for analysis both print and electronic can be from numerous different sources of material, but the analysis always relies on words and images of the documents. These materials are usually "found in libraries, newspaper archives, historical society offices, and organisational or institutional files" (Bowen, 2009, p.28). The documents selected for this research were found first in the *Blue and White* school magazine, which is available in the school library. It has Prize Reports from 1905. The second source was the Archdiocesan archives in Colombo, which preserves the old Catholic *Messenger* Newspapers. These newspapers carried the Prize Reports from 1897 to 1905. Therefore, I collected these historical documents from these two sources for this study.

In a documentary analysis, the researcher should also focus his attention on the original purpose, the style of presentation, assumptions, and the target audience of the authors of the documents they have selected for the research (Mogalakwe, 2006). The original purpose of writing these Prize Reports was to educate all stakeholders related to the school about the progress of this institute in all aspects. The reports, written in English, communicate all its important events that occurred in an academic year. The sequence of events recorded in the Reports, with their details express the authority with which the Rectors dealt with all areas of education. The target audience of the reports were the parents, teachers, students, alumni and the general public, who were interested in education at St. Joesph's College.

Bowen (2009) explains that there are five specific purposes that documents ultimately serve: They can: (i) help understand the historical roots of specific issues, (ii) information found in documents could indicate further explanation and clarification, (iii) provide supplementary research data, (iv) provide means of tracking change and development and, (v) as a way to verify findings or corroborate evidence from other sources. These Prize Reports relate to the history of this College, its beginning, strengths and weaknesses issues and challenges encountered by these respective Rectors, and how they dealt with them in their historical

setting. Therefore, in this documentary analysis, these reports will provide answers to the two research questions based on character formation and educational leadership.

4.2 The corpus of documentation

The documents I selected are the annual Prize Reports published in the Catholic *Messenger* paper of the Colombo Catholic press and the *Blue and White* Magazine of St. Joseph's College. The reports were written by the first five Rectors to be read out at the annual Prize days in the College. The reports included the following common structure:

1. Welcome of the Chief Guest
2. Message of the Rector
3. Mention of outstanding academic achievements
4. Mention of sports, religious, and other extracurricular activities
5. Mention of academic staff
6. Mention of alumni and their achievements
7. Appreciation of donors and well-wishers and guests

The list of Prize Reports used in this study ranged from 1896-1960. They are available in Appendix B.

4.3 The process of analysing documentary sources

To begin the process of analysing this school's Prize Reports, their authenticity, credibility representativeness, and meaning need to be ascertained validly. They stand as "four potential challenges" (Martin, 2017, p.325). The first phase deals with the authenticity of the material chosen for documentary research. The questions it raises include the authorship of the material, whether it was written by the said author himself/herself or by a second or another person, or whether it was a private or public or any other kind of document (Martin, 2010). In addition, whether the researcher can exactly verify the authorship with the date and place of its publication? (McCulloch, 2011). To consolidate the facts further questions are raised about "whether the evidence is genuine and from impeccable sources?" (Mogalakwe, 2006, p.224). Therefore, it is clear that the authenticity of the material is centred around the authorship of the selected document (Cohen, Manion and Morrion, 2017).

Hence, I argue that the authorship of the annual Prize Reports has been attributed to the Rectors because the reports carry their expressions, remarks, and comments. Nowhere do they disown their relationship or ownership to what they claim in these reports. So, there is no doubt that they were composed by them. In addition, a collection of these Prize Reports was found only at two places. Prize Reports from 1896 to 1905, were found in the Catholic English Newspaper-*Messenger* published by the Colombo Catholic press and they were

available at the archives of the Archdiocese of Colombo, Sri Lanka. These Prize Reports were published in the *Messenger* newspaper on the following Sunday after each Prize Day in that particular year. The rest of the reports from 1909 to 1960 were obtained from the school Magazine *Blue and White* of St Joseph's College, and they were available at the College library. Therefore, I chose these documents for my research, since there was no issue with regard to the authenticity of the Prize Reports. Samples of the Prize Reports appeared in *Blue and White* magazine and *The Catholic Messenger* are available in Appendix C.

The second evaluation criterion is the credibility of the documents. This criterion evaluates whether "the evidence is free from error and distortion" (Mogalakwe, 2006, p.226) and is "sincere and accurate" (Martin, 2010, p.325). The credibility of the document is considered high when it is written in the first person and directed at a particular objective (Cohen, et al., 2017).

I argue that these reports chosen for this study were definitively high in credibility because they were written by the respective College Rectors to be read out at the annual Prize Day at the College. These reports continue to exist as they were published in their original version without any distortion or error. The ownership and the responsibility of the contents of the reports have always been identified with the Rectors because of the endorsement of their names placed at the end of each report as a signatory to indicate that these reports were written by themselves. Also, these reports were published in the Catholic weekly *Messenger* as the reports of the Rector of St. Joseph's College. So, it was always identified and attributed to the respective Rector of that particular year, since the report of the Rector became a public document immediately after the Prize Day. The publication of the reports in the *Messenger* paper has not undergone any editing because the complete report had been published unedited by the Catholic press. Therefore, I vouch that these reports are high in credibility. A few extracts of the reports with the names of the Rectors are available in Appendix D.

The third criterion is the representativeness. In assessing the representativeness of the documents, it is important to differentiate between ["a unique view" and "a general mood of the time"] (Martin, 2010, p.325) The question raised is "[w]hether the evidence is typical of its kind, or if it is not, whether the extent of its untypicality is known" (Mogalakwena, 2006, p.227). The contents of these annual Prize Reports elaborate on the educational activity of different academic years from 1896. They emerge as a collection of data representing the educational life of a Catholic secondary school, viewed through the lenses of five different Rectors. These data represent the typical character of this educational institute from 1896 to 1960 because the contents recorded in the reports present a common framework which includes the views of the Rectors on certain educational concepts, achievements, and

performances of students, major changes, and challenges faced by the school and a few acknowledgments of alumni, teachers, donors and benefactors of the school. The two research questions which explore the themes of character formation and educational leadership practices find their representativeness amply in the contents of these annual Prize Reports because these two themes and their relationship are reflected in the recorded events and shared views of these five Rectors. Therefore, I argue that the typicality of representativeness has been vividly and sufficiently found in this data set to support the two research questions.

Meaning is the fourth component in analysing documents. It is defined as whether "the evidence is clear and comprehensible" (Mogalakwe, 2006, p.227) in the given text. Thus, the reading of the document should facilitate comprehension of the meaning of the document. In the process of reading the text, the researcher should be able to identify either the literal meaning or the interpretive meaning (Ahmed, 2010) because:

> the literal meaning of a document gives only its face-value meaning, from which its real significance must be reconstructed. On the other hand, in an interpretive understanding, the researcher relates the literal meaning to the context in which the documents were produced in order to assess the meaning of the text as a whole (Mogalakwe, 2006, p.227).

These reports, written in English, were accessible to the English reader. Moreover, the evidence and the contents found in them were presented in an orderly manner with a proper structure even though they were written by five different individuals. Except for the organisation of contents, this common structure was evident in all these reports. The common structure of all the reports facilitated me, to easily comprehend the written sentences and paragraphs of the text and their meaning. The reports were generally organised as previously mentioned in the following paragraphs. (i) Greetings and welcome of the Chief Guest, (ii) Educational view of the Rector for that particular year (This included sharing his views on a current educational theme or a particular issue pertaining to school education of his time), (iii) Presentation of important academic results and mention of special achievers in the academic field, (iv) Mention of the alumni and their achievements (v) commenting on religious, sports, and extra and co-curricular activities, and finally, acknowledgment of academic staff, donors of scholarships, and well-wishers of the College. Extracts of Prize Reports specifying these sections are available in Appendix E. In comprehending the meaning "the intended content, the received content of a text, and the internal meaning of a text" (Martin, 2010, p.325) should also be taken into consideration in understanding its meaning.

Therefore, in meeting the three criteria designated by Martin (2010) to recognise the meaning of a document, I argue that the 'intended content' of the writers (Rectors) was clear and comprehensive in all the reports because of the common structure of the text, and clarity in the language. However, to measure the quality of the 'received contents' by the reader, the only yardstick was whether the reader was aware of the historical context of Ceylon in this period to understand the *'sitz im Leben'* or the setting in life of that context against the artifacts of the Prize Reports such as Knowledge of educational reforms introduced by the British government in colonial Ceylon, and the vision of the Catholic Church for education in colonial Ceylon, etcetera. I, therefore, used various history books to move parallelly to reading these Prize Reports to update and educate myself on the background of some of the issues and concerns addressed by the Rectors in their reports. For example, the impact of the Free Education Scheme in Ceylon, the Educational Ordinances of 1920, and 1939 and the change of examinations in schools. Therefore, since I could understand the intended content of the writers, and also could do justice to the 'received content' of the researcher, I strongly believe that I should be able to expound the 'internal meaning' of the text through the document analysis process.

4.3 Limitations of the study

In regard to the limitations of this research, the first limitation was that the authors of these reports were all historical figures and none were still living. Even though the time span of these Rectors extended from 1896 to 1960, the total number of reports available for me to collect was 46 in total. Of these reports, Fr. Collin, had authored six and the number of reports written by Fr. Lytton and Fr. Nicholas was two and three respectively. The largest number of annual reports was shared among Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai and they were 19 and 16 according to my collection. The reports for the following years were not in my possession.

Fr. Collin's period: 1898,1899,1900,1901,1906,1907,1908

Fr. LeGoc's period:1921

Fr. Pillai's period:1945,1952,1953,1955

However, the absence of these 12 reports did not affect my research work severely, since the views of the Rectors were consistent in the other adjoining reports connecting each year's progress with important activities and events. Moreover, the reports of Fr. Collin and Fr. Pillai, which were not available for reference, did not create any shortcoming of the educational perspective during the missing middle years of their tenures because the reports

on either side held their integrity and consistency. Other than these limitations any of the personal documents of these Rectors was not available as public documents for reference.[1]

4.4 Ethical Concerns

To maintain the ethical standard of a research, three basic principles should be considered as important as the research itself. They are "respect for persons, beneficence (and non-maleficence), and justice" (Brooks, Riele, and Maguire, 2014, p.28). In light of the above criterion, my research does not involve human participants, because it deals with historical reports written by past Rectors of a Catholic school. There is no current implication on any institution because these reports are older than sixty years since the date of the last report in this collection was 1960. Therefore, it did not require me to apply for ethical approval from St. Mary's University to proceed with this study. Secondly, the documents which I have collected for my research were available in the public domain, because they were accessible to any researcher both from the school library of St. Joseph's College, as well as from the Archdiocesan archives at the Archbishop's House in Colombo. Therefore, I understand that there is no breach of the ethical code of conduct as I have collected these materials for my research from two public places and these artifacts are historical documents accessible to any researcher.

4.5 Data analysis

Documentary analysis has been conducted employing different research tools by researchers which involves skimming, reading, and interpretation (Bowen, 2009). Thus, the six strategies for documentary analysis expounded by Armstrong (2021) are: discourse analysis, framework analysis, narrative analysis, content analysis, thematic analysis, and grounded theory. Discourse analysis deals with how people use language in a particular social context. Framework analysis focuses on interdisciplinary and collaborative projects and falls closer to thematic analysis because of its systematic process. Narrative analysis is used to deal with stories and experiences, and content analysis goes with concepts and words to analyse and find meaning in a text. Thematic analysis observes patterns and themes in a text to extract the meaning, and the Grounded theory explains controlled data gathering with an analytical process.

Therefore, having learned that there are other methods of analysing data in documentary analysis, I chose thematic analysis to develop themes for discussion in this study. The

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[1] Despite making every effort to locate other documents written by the Rectors and requesting access to them, this was not permitted because they are part of their confidential personal files in the archives of the Generalate of the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Rome and are therefore not available as public documents.

thematic analysis simply means "… searching across a data set …to find repeated patterns of meaning" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.86). It is an extensively deployed qualitative data analysis tool. It has been accepted as a pragmatic and flexible method of data analysis in theoretical and epistemological frameworks (Kiger and Varpio, 2020). Thematic analysis is therefore defined as;

> an essentialist or realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or it can be a   constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society. It can also be a contextualist method…   Therefore, thematic analysis can be a method that works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of reality (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.81).

What prompted me to select this research tool was, that it was compatible with my study with its systematic structure, because this study attempts to explore experiences, events, and their meanings recorded in a set of historical documents. I was quite confident that this research tool would facilitate me to address my two research questions thoroughly, because of its data analysis process. As Maguire and Delahunt (2017) argue, this method is not driven by any epistemological or theoretical process like in other qualitative methods, but it enables to work with flexibility and common sense.

Secondly, this analytical method involves a systematic process and has room for flexibility to develop codes and themes. Therefore, I decided to do this qualitative analysis manually, using hard copies of the Prize Reports. In order to proceed, I chose the analytical method proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) because as Kiger and Varpio (2020) underline that among different versions of thematic analyses proposed by several researchers, the method introduced by Braun and Clarke (2006) has been largely employed by researchers for thematic analysis in qualitative research. This process is not a linear process but a recursive process because "developing themes are reviewed in relation to the coded data and entire dataset" (Braun and Clarke, 2012, p.8). In this analytical process, I adopted top-down or theoretical thematic analysis guided by my research questions because "[one] can either code for a quite specific research question (which maps onto the more theoretical approach) or the specific research question can evolve through the coding process (which maps onto the inductive approach)" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.84). The reason why I chose this top-down or theoretical thematic analysis was to be guided by my research questions. The following table depicts the thematic analysis process proposed by Braun and Clarke.

Phase	Description of the process
1.Familiarising [oneself] with [one's] data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, and noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), gathering a thematic map of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, the final analysis of selected extracts, relating to the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 7- Phases of thematic analysis- adopted from Braun and Clarke's proposed methodology (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.87).

4.5.1 Phase one - Familiarizing yourself with your data

In this phase, I went through the Prize Reports carefully and thoroughly, making notes of the important ideas, and identifying the potential coding opportunities for the paragraphs and sentences. There were 46 Prize Reports to familiarise myself with, and I read the reports from 1897 composed by the respective Rectors. So, I went from 1897 to 1960 and identified the reports of the first three Rectors (Fr. Collin, Fr. Lytton and Fr. Nicholas) as one group up to 1914, since their tenures were short compared to the other two. The reports of the last two Rectors from 1919 to 1960 could be understood separately since they, together, led the college for more than 40 years. While reading the reports, I always had the two research questions in mind in order to look at the presence of important data relevant to them. During my research, I discovered that all five Rectors followed a certain sequential structure in their writing style without differing very much from one another, because they addressed some

common aspects of the school life pertaining to one particular year, except their interpretation of certain elements of that respective year. These viewpoints of the Rectors are directed at educational, social, moral, and spiritual aspects of students, teachers, and the educational life of Ceylon in general. This phase, allowed me to have a clearer understanding of the structure and the contents of the reports for analysis, facilitating the ideas for coding the data from the perspective of the two research questions.

4.5.2 Phase two - Generating initial codes

The codes function as the building blocks of the analysis and this means that the researcher can organise the data into meaningful groups to create themes. Codes can be semantic or latent on the choice of the researcher. Semantic codes relate to explicit or surface meanings of the data, whereas, latent ones identify underlying ideas and assumptions and conceptualisations. However, they must support the research questions and must be relevant (Braun and Clarke, 2012).

Initially, I did the coding on the hard copies with pens and pencils, underlining and highlighting words, sentences, and paragraphs, which led to creating the codes. Secondly, I organised these codes under the two research questions, and used one page for each report of the Rector and wrote down the initial codes according to the respective reports. The following table shows how the initial codes were listed under the two research questions for the first year of Fr. Collin in 1897. The actual work of all the initial coded data of all the reports is available in Appendix F.

Name of the Year - 1896-1897   Name of the Rector - Fr. Collin

RQ: Character Formation	RQ: Educational Leadership
Strangers - Masters and children	Need to create a general spirit of belongingness
Lack of community feeling	A healthy tone was created in the school
Need of socialisation	Relationship with the hierarchy of the Church
Masters' efforts – tact / care / patience / wisdom	Sending children for public examinations
Firm action	Criticism on Cramming and hasty preparation for examinations
Order and discipline enforced	Organisation of school structure with right age for admissions

Unsuitable boys left	Progress of students on the international level
A few were expelled	Home exercises and involvement of parents
Motivation for public examinations	School fees for instruction
Effect of the methods	Free education through burses and scholarships
Perseverance in studies	Perfect unity of method in instruction
Encouragement to students	Appreciation of Masters
Honesty in studies	Need of primary education
Habits of order and punctuality, prompt obedience, perfect discipline	Prefect of games
Indispensable element of success	
Leading principle is discipline	
Use of severity and disagreement with parents	
Home discipline vs school discipline	
Advise to parents on supervision and home work	
Day scholars	
Moral education	
Cricket and football	
Religious instruction	
A three-day retreat	
Non catholic students	

Table 8-List of the initial codes on the Report 1896-1897 of Fr. Collin

4.5.3 Phase three -Searching for themes

The theme is a relational statement (Bazeley, 2013) because "[a] theme is an outcome of coding, categorisation, and analytic reflection or categories are formed by grouping related codes, producing a network of associations" (Saldana, 2013, p.14). In this step, I looked for candidate themes and sub-themes after exploring the coded data and their extracts. This is where varying codes become potential themes and also, it's a time of identifying similarities between coded data and their clusters (Braun and Clarke, 2012). During this stage, I organised the codes into clusters in order to identify the relational character among them, because "[t]he process of theme development is about clustering codes to identify high level patterns…" (Braun and Clarke, 2016, p.10).

I organised the coded data into different categories in response to the two research questions. The codes relating to the first research question on character formation were subsequently put into several categories. The following tables (1896-1897) show how I grouped them as clusters of codes according to the research questions. The first table (Table 8) is based on character formation. The second table is (Table 9) based on leadership practices. The titles in the categories also function as candidate themes, because they are connected to the coded data guided by the research questions. The coded data have been organised according to their respective categories under Rector's Message, Alumni, Sports, Extracurricular and Co-curricular and Religious. The following table shows how the codes were included in the relevant categories based on the first Prize Report in 1897. The coded data of all the Prize Reports under these categories are available in appendix G.

Rector's Message	Alumni	Sports	Extracurricular & Co-Curricular	Religious
Strangers-Masters and children	Not Found	Cricket and football	Not Found	Religious Instruction
Lack of community feeling				A three-day retreat
Need of socialisation				Non-Catholic students
Masters' efforts-tact/care/patience/wisdom				
Firm action				
Order and discipline enforced				
Unsuitable boys left				
A few were expelled				
Motivation for examinations				
Effects of the methods				
Perseverance in studies				
Encouragement to students				
Honesty in studies				

Habits of order punctuality and prompt obedience				
Perfect discipline				
Leading principle is discipline				
Use of severity and disagreement with parents				
Home discipline vs school discipline				

Table 9: Prize Report 1896-1897: coded data in their categories for the first research question

The following table shows the coded data under their respective categories for leadership practices guided by the second research question based on educational leadership.

Instructional leadership practices	Situational leadership practices	Distributed leadership practices
Sending students for public examinations	Need to create a general spirit of belongingness	Perfect unity of methods
Organization of school structure with right age for admission	A healthy tone was created in the school	Appointing a prefect of games
Progress of students on the instructional level	Relationship with the Church hierarchy	
Home exercises and involvement of parents		
School fees for instruction		
Free Education through burses and scholarships		
Appreciation of Masters		
Need of primary education		

Table 10: Prize Report 1896-1897: the coded data in their categories guided by the second research question

4.5.4 Phase four -Reviewing themes

In this phase, developing themes from the categories are identified from the codes associated with them. Thus, I could recognise the significance of the emerging themes and their relationship to the research questions. The questions I asked of the coded data in the categories were, whether they have the potential to emerge as themes, because codes are the building blocks and they capture the essence of the attributes of my data set (Saldana, 2023). Themes were determined by the prevalence of the coded data because these extracts of data evoked "something important in relation to the overall research question" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.82). They signified a recurring and meaningful pattern in the data set. Therefore, it was clear to me by the fact that, if it were an emerging theme, it would be supported by the coded data set, eventually becoming a theme in itself (Braun and Clarke, 2012). In this regard, the prevalence of the extracts of data from the Prize Reports determined the respective themes across all Reports. The clarity of the pattern from the coded data further supported the ability to identify the themes distinctly in relation to the research questions. However, I ensured that the themes emerging from the coded data were relevant to my research questions, and they included enough data to answer my research questions. I also discarded the themes that did not support my research questions, for example, 'primary education' was a theme, but it did not directly relate to the first research question so I did not include it. During this reviewing process, some subthemes were also merged into the main themes, for example, the subtheme 'dignity of human labour' was included to be in the main theme, 'the necessity of constant effort and perseverance', emphasising the value of constant effort.

4.5.5 Phases five -Defining and naming themes

In the fifth stage, I defined and subsequently refined the themes. Thus, making them fit to the broader overall picture of the data set, that answers the two research questions. If the themes need further alterations, they could also remain as working themes. However, the final names of the themes should capture the whole aspect of the inclusion of data under that particular theme (Braun and Clarke, 2012).

Finally, the themes which were coherent, distinct, and related to my research questions were chosen. For a few themes, several sub-themes were also created in order to support the coded data under the main themes. So that, their relationship became clear and interacted well with the main themes to answer the research questions. The following two tables illustrate the themes and sub-themes created under these two research questions. The final overarching themes with their codes are available in appendix H.

Main themes for the first research question	Subthemes
School discipline as a tool of character formation	
Three stages of child development	Vegetative/sensitive/rational
Promotion of social justice and charity as tools of character formation	
Influence of a healthy environment	Academic environment
	Physical environment
	Religious environment
The necessity of constant effort, perseverance and the dignity of labour	
The role of parents	
The role of Alumni- a reflection of character formation	

Table 11: Themes and sub-themes for the first research question

Main themes for the second research question	Subthemes
Instructional leadership practices	Examination systems
	Cramming for examinations and internal supervision
	Enhancing and developing the curriculum
	Constructive guidance to student academic success
	Teacher recruitment, development, motivation and welfare
Distributed leadership practices	Shared leadership of the Rectors
Situational leadership practices	The issue of unemployment
	Denominational schools and other educational initiatives

Table 12-Themes and sub-themes for the second research question

4.5.6 Phase six - Producing the report

The final analysis of the data under the major themes is expected to be a "concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting account of the story the data tell-within and across

themes" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.93). Therefore, the analytical presentation of the data should develop an argument in light of the research questions. In the two research finding chapters, I have attempted to build this coherent and logical data presentation to disclose the impact of the five Rectors on character formation and educational leadership.

In this data analysis, I discovered, that the thematic analysis has a profound academic backing with vast research conducted, using this method. Why it claims to be a simple and flexible method for document handling is, not because it has been recommended to new and novice researchers, but because its usability has been effective and efficient (Braun and Clarke, 2012). The use of this research tool was very effective in the analysis of my data set in developing the relevant themes for discussion, because the themes and subthemes represented the views, decisions, and approaches of the first five Rectors across the data set. The six phases of Braun and Clarke (2006) in thematic analysis therefore, was a very helpful guide in finalising the overarching themes, navigating me through the structure of this research method, and producing my findings.

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the analysis of documents for this research. There were 46 reports for analysis dating from 1896 to 1960. Thus, having proven the authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning of these reports, the limitations of this study and the ethical concerns have also been explained. The latter part of this chapter presents how the documentary analysis was carried out using the research tool of thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The next chapter discusses the answers to the first research question guided by the research findings on the impact of the first five Rectors on charcter formation.

Chapter Five

The efforts of the first five Rectors towards character formation

This chapter presents the research findings of the thematic analysis based on the first research question. It will showcase, how the first five Rectors promoted character formation among the College students. It also discusses, how these Rectors incorporated the parents, teachers, and past pupils to navigate their objectives towards student character formation. The main themes discussed in relation to the first research question are: school discipline as a tool of character formation, the three stages of child development, the promotion of social justice and charity as tools of character formation, the influence of a healthy environment, the necessity of constant effort perseverance and the dignity of labour, the role of the parents, and the role of the alumni as a reflection of character formation.

As discussed in chapter three, character formation is considered one of the top priorities in any primary and secondary school around the world. It has a substantial impact on the student development and engagement with his/her future. Character could be simply defined as a set of personal values which leads one's conduct. However, in defining character education, it is understood "in a broad sense to refer to almost anything that the school and teachers do (either explicitly or implicitly) to help young people become good people" (See and Arthur, 2011, p.143). In other words, it could also mean, "as an approach to developing a set of values, attitudes, skills, and behaviours that are thought to support young people's development and contribute to their success in school and adult life" (Walker, Sims, and Kettlewell, 2017, p.4). It is believed that schools and teachers shape the character of students, and the right formation of character has also been recognised by character educators and moral philosophers as a remedy for social problems. In the teachings of the Catholic Church, it refers to the formation of the whole child, which engages with "… the development of young people as human beings, engaging them in a shared vision for life, based on virtues that lead to human flourishing modelled [on] Christ" (Catholic Education Service, 2022, p.34).

In the British school context, positive character traits primarily aim at promoting good citizenship and academic attainment, and across all school types, honesty, integrity, and respect for others have been rated the most valued character traits (DfE, 2017). The task of promoting and leading character education in almost all schools has been entrusted to the senior leadership of schools, usually composed of a headteachers/principal, deputies, and teachers in general. Their leadership role in implementing this task has been described under three layers. Firstly, it incorporates the vision of the school with its culture and values. Secondly, it has to be a whole school approach towards the formation of character of

students. Thirdly, the school level leadership should demonstrate the formative character traits by themselves through their interactions with students and all stakeholders of the school (Walker et al., 2017).

Thus, having outlined the importance of character education and formation in schools, this chapter, deals with the impact made by the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College on the formation of character during their tenures of service from 1896 to 1960.

5.1 School discipline as a tool of character formation

In the early part of the 19th century, "strong discipline was seen as an important part of bringing up a child" (Copley and White, 2019, p.9) both within and outside the school environment. The fear of being punished was embedded in the school system as a mechanism of disciplining the students, and methods of such punishments had also been listed in formal teacher manuals by the second half of the 19th century. As punishment methods "rebuke in words; loss of marks (and consequent loss of place in class) …, detention after school hours; corporal punishment; and expulsion… (Copley and White, 2019, p.9) had been in practice in English schools intending to introduce "good order in the class room, attention to teacher, a ready and willing obedience, the existence of a good tone and the formation of good habits" (Copley and White, 2019, p.9). Similarly, in Sri Lankan schools, corporal punishment was carried out as a tool for promoting classroom learning and disciplining students (Laksman, 2018). In the analysis of the Prize Reports (PRs, 1897, 1902, 1903), school discipline was found as one key contributor to the formation of student character.

According to Fr. Collin, the "indispensable element of success" (PR,1896-97, p.3) in a college was "perfect discipline" (PR, 1896-1897, p.3). The term perfect discipline was defined as training students "to habits of order, punctuality and prompt obedience to rules" (PR, 1896-97, p.3). He emphasised that being obedient to the law and abiding by it affirmed a well-disciplined way of life and further explained that however much a student progresses in acquiring skills in life, a lack of discipline would devalue all such achievements. In fact, for Fr. Collin, discipline was his major concern and point of departure. Although his disciplining strategy deployed in the College was supported by the tutorial staff and the management by affirming his instructions, some of the parents were against the severity of corporal punishment. The issue of corporal punishment had arisen as a conflict of interest between the parents and school management, because of the severity of the punishments. As Fr. Collin said, "[o]ur efforts in that direction were not, however, appreciated as they should have been by certain parents…who instead of giving us the support… side with their children against the college authorities" (PR, 1896-1897, p.3). Despite the objection of the parents over the severity of punishment, Fr. Collin is seen to have listened to the voice of the parents

as collaborators in Catholic education. Therefore, this exchange of views between the school leadership and the parent body affirms the recognition of the rights of parents as "primary and principal educators" (Vatican II, 1965: 3), because the "partnership between a Catholic school and the families of the students must continue and be strengthened … so that the educational goals of the school can be achieved" (CCE, 1988: 42). This engagement of the parents with the school authorities in the latter part of the 19th century appears that they were not reluctant to express their views on school policies constructively, seeking collaboration of the school administration which would be later recognised by the Congregation for Catholic Education as "decisive space for cooperation between school and family …" (CCE, 2007: 48).

Nevertheless, Fr. Collin interpreted the parents' stance in regards to the use of severity of punishments in his report as parents' lack of awareness of the intended purpose of the school authority. However, as a result of the enforcement of discipline and order by the school masters, the Prize Report noted that "some unsuitable boys left of their own accord, a few were expelled …" (PR, 1896-97, p.1) and consequently a pleasant environment was created. It is a fact that corporal punishment was an accepted means of disciplining students in schools in the 19th century and it is recorded that it was only abolished in state schools in England in 1987 and in private schools in 1999 (Farrel, 2021). In the 18th century, English public schools' "disciplinary problems were dealt with harshly, by caning and whipping … which persisted with minor changes into the 19th century, and to a lesser degree even into the 20th" (Kashti, 1998, p.43).

However, in his creative approach, commenting on the Cadet Battalion in his last Report in 1909, Fr. Collin seemed to have identified the utility value of other alternative platforms of forming the boys through their involvement in extra-curricular activities. He seemed to have recognised the Cadets' corps in the school as a means of developing self-control in students because for him Cadets' training did the work "by imparting to the boys the qualities of prompt obedience to orders, smartness, endurance and manliness of which they are so much in want" (PR, 1909, p.8). In 1905, which marked the 10th anniversary of the College, Fr. Collin stated, that in two directions they had made their progress and had influenced the boys in their care. Firstly, St. Joseph's being a Catholic College of education had "inspired the pupils with sentiments of faith, piety, and devotion to Holy Church" (PR, 1905, p.3), and secondly, their efforts had progressed in great advancement in student learning through the classics. The cause of their success as Fr. Collin attributed was their effort to establish the discipline and order inside the school as a fundamental prerequisite for the rest of the school

life to flourish. This conclusion establishes the impact of discipline maintained throughout the school in reaching this progress in their efforts.

Nevertheless, Fr. LeGoc in his report in 1924 took completely a different view on the approach of disciplinarians. He seemed to have positioned himself well ahead of his time with his modern child-centred approach to education. This inspiration of thought, would have also resulted due to the atrocities faced by the inhumanities witnessed during the First World War, which ended in 1918 and subsequently spearheaded by the late Pope Benedict XV during his papacy, impacting the Catholic world view on peace (Marlin, 2014). Fr. LeGoc clearly articulated that disciplinarians should become educators and give up the idea that, the cane and harsh voice as means of training in virtue. He said they were tools for animals and slaves not for students and schools as they evoked fear. His approach marked how he left behind certain teacher-centred approaches to education and attempted to replace them with the perspectives of child- centred education. His pedagogy and attitude to learning would later be consolidated in the Catholic church's approach to child centred education, underscoring that;

> [t]he soul needs love, as the positive force around which all its powers will congregate. It needs a degree of tenderness, if it is to flourish without fear. It needs attention, … the teachers especially- must listen to it and be receptive to what it has to offer, if it is to discover for itself what that it is (CERC, 2011, p.1).

In the same line of thought, he said praise and blame were not means to promote virtue rather they would only create "pride and dejection" (PR, 1924, p.24). He upheld the principle, that the right direction and motivation to grow in virtue was provided by the very example of teachers and their virtuous life (PR,1924) which Pope Paul VI repeated fifty years later in his Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Nuntiandi,* that "the modern man listens more willingly to witnesses than to teachers and if he does listen to teachers, it is because they are witnesses" (Paul VI, 1975: 41). This indicates that Fr. LeGoc was well ahead of his time with a broader perspective on school education and formation as well as its engagement with children. The views Fr. LeGoc held, fit well into the 21st century. They were not thoughts of history, but of modernity that engaged his visionary mindset with the latest aspects in child psychology and human development. Moreover, Fr. LeGoc's futuristic thinking would even fall in line with professor D. E. Greydanus at Michigan State University who established the alternatives to corporal punishment for child development in the 21st century. His recommendations to teachers and principals were to first, learn and apply effective behavioural modification techniques, such as "extinction, distractions, and rewarding appropriate behaviour" (Hearing Held in Washington DC, 2010, p.61) and secondly, to use other methods such as evaluation and management with the help of a school counsellor,

psychologist, paediatrician, psychotherapist or another counsellor. He further emphasised to create a "positive educational exchange" (Hearing Held in Washington DC, 2010, p.60), to establish classroom control by developing a "milieu of effective communication" (Hearing Held in Washington DC, 2010, p.60) for teachers and students with a win-win situation. In addition, to seek scientific means of behavioural adjustments, the inclusion of parents as collaborators in this work was also highlighted (Hearing Held in Washington DC, 2010). It is clear therefore, that in the context of the 21st century, the attitude to corporal punishment and other means of disciplining students has vastly changed. An approach that was tolerated a century ago has been severely condemned with the evolution of human thinking and advanced practices in educational psychology. A US case study shows that;

> [t]he use of violence against students is never an acceptable means of punishment-it harms students physically, psychologically, and academically. The use of corporal punishment in schools is interfering with students' right to be treated with dignity and as a result, is interfering with the right to a quality education (Hearing Held in Washington DC, 2010, p.57).

In the Prize Reports of Fr. Lytton (1910-1912), and Fr. Nicholas (1913-1914), and Fr. Pillai (1940-1960) no reference was found with regards to instances of corporal punishment or student discipline as discussed during Fr. Collin's tenure (1896-1909). Their silence and lack of evidence could indicate how the times have changed and how the new approaches and thinking to enforcing discipline in the school setup was adapted, or alternatively they may not have wanted to mention such isolated instances as a result of possible collaboration with teachers, parents and students. This in a way reflects the struggles of the initial phase of the school to fall into its right shape and order with student discipline, because until certain behavioural patterns and practices take their proper standard and place in the school environment, experiments and changes occupy the vacuum. As Fr. Collin mentioned in his first report "[t]his state of things required no little tact, care and patience on the part of the masters and thanks to their wise and firm action, order and discipline was soon enforced" (PR, 1896-1897, p.1). Moreover, the development of educational thinking in the British Empire and the wider world would have also contributed to a change of thought and the approach of Fr. Collin's successors.

However, the mechanisms Fr. Collin had at his disposal would have been the only available methods acceptable in the latter part of the 19th century in English schools in colonial Ceylon to discipline students as a means of character formation. Subsequently, corporal punishment in Sri Lanka was completely banned in 2016 by the government circular No.12/2016 in all educational settings (End Corporal Punishment, 2022). However, it is impossible to

conclude from these Prize Reports that corporal punishment did not take place at St. Joseph's College during the tenures of Frs. Lytton's, Nichols's, and Pillai, since such disciplinary measures were still common place in the general school system in Sri Lanka up to, and including the 21st century (De Zoysa, Senarath and De Silva, 2021). However, the approach Fr. LeGoc employed to denounce such practices of corporal punishment as a means to character formation would have had an impact on Fr. Pillai to nib it in the bud. Thus, discouraging corporal punishment in the school, as there was no evidence in the post 1939 reports.

5.2 The three stages of child development

The scientific study of child development commenced in the late 19th century and developed during the early part of the 20th century (Lumen Learning, 2016). Situated in this historical context, Fr. LeGoc analysed the significance of behavioural development in children in three stages and argued that rationality is key to the development of virtue in students (PR, 1920). The main purpose of providing education at St. Joseph's for Fr. LeGoc was "to form our own Catholic boys into good Catholics, to develop all their potentialities" (PR, 1919, p.7). He therefore, elaborated in greater detail that "the foremost educational work of the Church had thus been the formation of the heart in moral discipline and the creation of an environment favourable to social progress. But the cultivation of the mind was not neglected" (PR, 1923, p.18). In realising the above objective, he relied first on the traditional axiom that a healthy mind would always lie in a healthy body. He believed that students in their early phase of education, which he defined as "vegetative life" (PR, 1919, p.7), should be provided with proper food in the right quantities with guided exercises in a conducive environment to make them grow healthily. Primarily, a child as he explained should receive three essential elements; food, exercise, and the right environment for healthy physical growth. He confidently assured that he could provide them in the right quantities to the boarders of the College, since they were under his care throughout the day, but he was reluctant to attribute that to day scholars (non-boarders) since they were completely under the care of their parents. This statement of Fr. LeGoc emphasised, that students who received education as boarders had the opportunity to follow a certain formative structure under the supervision of the Rector to gain that healthy physical development in a conducive atmosphere, whereas students who returned home after school were deprived of this opportunity. However, in this analysis, the physical growth of children under the care of their parents cannot be discarded as redundant, simply because day scholars did not stay in the school boarding. Therefore, the role of these parents, in this regard, cannot be ignored because, in the teachings of the Catholic Church, it is to the parents that "… primary and natural responsibility for their children's education belongs" (CCE, 1997: 20). Also, the

assumption that the boarding school was able to provide the necessary environment for physical growth cannot be compared with the home environment of the day scholars because "parents are the ones who must create a family atmosphere animated by love and respect for God and man, in which the well-rounded personal and social education of children is fostered" (Vatican Council II, 1965: 3). Nevertheless, Fr. LeGoc's claim might stand valid as far as parents remain ignorant and consequently failing to support the physical development of the day scholars in their home environment.

 Additionally, the need for the right quantities of nutrient foods was considered essential ingredients of the right physical growth (PR, 1919). Thus, he dealt with the issue of national health and malnutrition of the Ceylonese in general. He proposed that, the answers to hygiene and health should be found through the system of education itself. He identified that, the issue of malnutrition was present not due to the shortage of food, but due to the ignorance of the rational basis in serving the right quantities and the nutritional value of indigenous food (PR, 1938-1939). Therefore, he said, it was by teaching the correct health habits at the school level with practical and scientific methods that malnutrition could be eradicated. The reason why, Fr. LeGoc dealt with this topic of nutrition and health in his reports was because Ceylon was battered by major epidemics such as cholera and malaria in the early 20th century (Langford, 2013). During the tenure of Fr. LeGoc, Ceylon had to battle with the malaria epidemic and famine between 1934-1935 (Kelagama, 2013). For him, these national concerns were to be resolved through the education system by addressing such issues with a scientific and realistic approach (PR,1938-1939).

The next phase of Fr. LeGoc's growth and development proposal was the momentum that happens from vegetative to sensitive state in life (PR, 1919). He identified this state of life as youthfulness and recommended control and direction as necessary elements for growth during this second phase. (PR, 1919). To support the growth of students during this phase, drill and sports were encouraged under the direction of school masters. Thus, Fr. LeGoc advocated the fundamental necessity of healthy physical growth in a child so as to equip himself later with other skills and qualities of life. In this regard, the first three Rectors, have not discussed in great detail the relevance of sports and other extracurricular activities in relation to particular developmental periods in students, but have mentioned sports such as cricket, football and the value of being a cadet in the school, as opportunities for learning, "…qualities of prompt obedience to orders, smartness, endurance, and manliness…" (PR, 1909, p.8). This was mainly because their aim was to promote character education through academic pursuits and the spiritual development of the child. In addition, many sports were

not present at St. Joseph's during the tenures of Frs. Collin, Lytton, and Nicholas. In his last Report, Fr Nicholas, in 1914, mentioned that, only football, cricket, and boxing as sports.

However, in the 1940s during the tenure of Fr. Pillai, the value of sports as a source of character development had emerged and was identified. As Fullinwide (2006) argues that in the modern understanding, sports not only build character, but improve physical, mental, and moral aspects of life. The emphasis and discovery of Fr. Pillai, that sufficient attention had not been given to games in conformity with the entire formation of students, led to the redirecting of the value placed on sports. The first Prize Reports clarified that cricket and football were the first sports introduced to both the College and the preparatory school from the beginning. However, student involvement with other schools had taken place through friendly encounters and inter-school matches and tournaments (PR, 1896-97). But the introduction of popular sports such as tennis (PR, 1910), boxing (PR, 1914.), and participation in inter-hostel sports, representing the Catholic Hostels (PR, 1925) had been added gradually with the progress of the school. Nevertheless, what Fr. Pillai emphasised was that sports had not reached out to every student in the school as an essential component of their development. His concern was to improve the engagement of students in sports for the development of their character. His objective, therefore, was to promote more student participation in sports in the future as an essential element of their character formation. In order to achieve this aim, he promoted sports competitions to be conducted within the school in addition to the annual sports meet, to create more opportunities for student participation (PR, 1941). The creation of the gymnasium and introduction and promotion of sports such as boxing (PR, 1941), gymnastics (PR, 1948), badminton (PR, 1951), rugby, and swimming (PR, 1957) were proof of his determination to improve the quality of sports and open avenues to build character through these activities. Fr. LeGoc's clarification and Fr. Pillai's subsequent execution of these plans to get students engaged in sports in view of character development remain consistent even after many years, up until recently. In a UK report published by the Department for Education, 91% of schools surveyed, use sports and performing arts clubs to enhance the character formation of students. It also revealed that some activities are incorporated into the timetable as co-curricular activities and to improve skills such as leadership, commitment, self-reliance, resilience, and teamwork (DfE, 2017).

In addition to promoting sports, Fr. Pillai initiated the launching of different societies such as Historical, Science, and Natural History and the Classics, and offered their membership to senior students to utilise these opportunities to sharpen their talents by being engaged in co-curricular activities. Other than the College choir and orchestra, to improve performance in music, art, and drama, a fine arts society was also created. In view of making St Joseph's

College a centre of oriental culture (PR, 1941), membership in Tamil, Sinhalese, and English literary associations was made compulsory for all senior students not to deprive any student of this learning opportunity. Thus, as a result of the boost in cultural activities, afternoon concerts and plays were produced to showcase the talents of students. Fr. Pillai's motivation to initiate such cultural activities in students' native languages and performing arts, indicated that the medium of instruction was not a barrier to improving students' skills and talents but provided opportunities for cultural enrichment, identity, and character building (PR, 1941), especially in the light of the historical times leading to Ceylon's independence (De Silva, 1981). During the tenures of the first three Rectors, an English Language Debating Club (PR, 1914) was the only opportunity available for students for such activities other than religious associations. However, during the long spell of Fr. LeGoc, the mention of the Junior Literary Union, the Sinhalese Literary Association, the Tamil Literary Association, the Natural History Society, and the Geographical Association (PR, 1930-1931) (PR, 1919) (PR, 1933,1934) (PR, 1934-1935) (PR, 1936-1937) are recorded. But how effective and productive were these associations in the formation of students has not been elaborated upon in Fr. LeGoc's reports as in those of Fr. Pillai's.

In researching the benefits of extra-curricular activities, Christison (2013) explains, that adolescence who get engaged in extracurricular activities help themselves to develop their character not only by improving academic levels, but also their social and community level engagement. The introduction of societies and associations in the school by Fr. Pillai and the other Rectors, implies that they knew the contribution such extracurricular activities could make towards the formation of their students. These opportunities provide the students to reach a higher level of self-confidence and self-worth, enabling them to identify their strengths and weaknesses, and support the teaching skills of team work, communication, leadership, time management, and constructive criticism (Christison, 2013). Therefore, what is significant in Fr. Pillai's approach is not only being satisfied with the opportunity which was created in the school, but getting the students involved and motivated to utilise such opportunities in their growth and development.

The next stage of Fr. LeGoc's proposal is attributed to the development of rationality. Students have to develop their own rationality by training their minds and will in the right perspective. What was expected of education for Fr. LeGoc was that "[s]uch a formation [should] include[s] essentially knowledge and character; knowledge, as the light to guide human activities; character, or virtue as the power to move along the path shown by that light" (PR, 1919, p.8). In this approach the knowledge which is "the light to guide human activities" (PR, 1919, p.8) as a formative element was to be gathered by the teaching of the

classics and the sciences (PR, 1919). In other words, classroom teaching and learning were the basis of developing the rationality and the intellectual thirst of students for knowledge. For Fr. LeGoc, the rational element which attains its maturity through the learning process in the classroom was fundamental for the formation of character. In the approaches of the other Rectors, the priority given to academic pursuits was unwavering. The first three Rectors very much placed their trust on classical subjects (PR, 1910) and even later accommodated the sciences to keep abreast with new trends in education in the early part of the 20th century (PR, 1909). On the other hand, all five Rectors tried to maintain the academic performances consistently and took pride in recording the academic results of students of the public examinations in their reports. However, in Fr. LeGoc's opinion, the brilliance that a student accomplished through his academic achievements had to be complemented by a virtuous way of life. Thus, the rational element was considered the key component in building character and virtue in oneself, because the character or the virtuous life could not stand alone without the rational element to make a complete human being. In order to foster this virtuous life, which is character, "[m]an must therefore control his instincts: the rational element is the leader and it is this leadership which constitutes the character and is the source of virtue" (PR, 1920, p.28). Subsequently, he proposed the four cardinal virtues as tools to combat the uncontrolled human instinct to nurture man for a virtuous life;

> Instincts as they incline to action contrary to reason are restrained by temperance; Fortitude supplies the effort required to overcome passions; Prudence dictates what is comfortable to reason; and finally, the will regulates rational activity through justice which ultimately makes man virtuous (PR, 1920, p.28).

The reference Fr. LeGoc made to the four cardinal virtues would have received from classical philosophy or Catholic theology, but in this analysis, he has not given them a religious interpretation but has presented them only as tools of self-control for the cultivation of character.

In dealing with the virtues, the Catechism of the Catholic Church describes that "[h]uman virtues acquired by education, by deliberate acts and by a perseverance ever-renewed in repeated efforts are purified and elevated by divine grace… (CCC: 1810). He also suggested that they could be fostered with the support of parents and teachers and through a conducive environment, but most importantly with divine assistance (PR, 1920). However, in the modern Catholic school context, the language of the Gospel values is preferred to the virtues, because "only Gospel values are rooted in Christ and therefore capable of universal application (Devanny, 2019). In developing this argument, Stock (2012) lists the Gospel values based on the Beatitudes as follows: faithfulness and integrity, dignity and

compassion, humility and gentleness, truth and justice, forgiveness and mercy, purity and holiness, tolerance and peace, service, and sacrifice. He goes on to claim that, "these Gospel values should constitute … targets and outcomes of the educational enterprise[s] in every Catholic school" (Stock, 2012, p.16).

However, the frame work for character formation proposed by the Jubilee Centre (2017) deals with the aspect of virtues, but not on the cardinal virtues. Moreover, their approach is a neo-Aristotelian approach. Their interpretation is based on intellectual, moral, civic, and performance virtues that will lead to practical wisdom and eventually to individual and social flourishing. In Fr. LeGoc's argument, he does not build on the Cardinal virtues, but they are explained only as tools available for self-control. He also does not explore any particular strategy in the process of building character, but simply points at a very fundamental structure for students, nor does he deal with the Gospel values or beatitudes anywhere in his reports. Yet, the virtues framework of the Jubilee Centre (2017) presents it as a comprehensive framework for schools to build character in students. Therefore, the structures proposed by Fr. LeGoc alongside that the Jubilee Centre are ideals and models to be explored in character formation within schools. The long-term challenge that stays with any such model is, how far a student can be fashioned with these complete versions of these virtues for the full flourishing of life, because schools as well as families interact with human beings whose capacities vary and choices differ over with age and over time. Nevertheless, the Jubilee Centre promotes "character virtues [to] be reinforced everywhere: on the playing fields, in classrooms, corridors, interactions between teachers and students, in assemblies, … staff training and in relations with parents" (The Jubilee Centre, 2017, p.8). Arguing the supremacy of the Gospel values from a Catholic schools' point of view, Stock (2012) clarifies that the "Gospel values are expressed and enacted through the exercise of the theological, moral, civic, intellectual and performance virtues" (Devanny, 2019, p.3) and concludes that virtues act as vehicles of promoting Gospel values.

5.3 Promotion of social justice and charity as tools of character formation

The final objective of character formation at St. Joseph's was to transform Catholic boys into good Catholics through the formation of their hearts in moral discipline. Realisation and fulfilment of this objective at the end of the school life were to create good citizens "favourable to social progress" (PR,1923, p.18). The teachings of the Church highlight that a Catholic school cannot stand as an isolated institute or an entity, because of its public character, therefore, it must get engaged and involved and "must be related to the world of politics, economy, culture and society as a whole.… be an example and stimulus for other educational institutions…" (CCE, 1998: 16).

In this process of preparing good citizens who would maintain a coherent social order, one of the main purposes of education was to create a sense of justice in the students through the formation of their moral character. Fr. LeGoc underlined the fact that however many laws written in law books are optimistic, they cannot make a country moral or wholesome until they are solidly inscribed in the conscience of its citizens. The definition of justice elucidated by Fr. LeGoc in his report was that "justice is the virtue which inclines us to render everyone what is his due … where justice is disregarded there is nothing but anarchy and tyranny, … oppression of the weak, triumph of the strong … fear between individuals and between nations" (PR, 1932-1933, p.9). For him, the correct practice of justice should start at home and school, because it was a lesson to be learnt through self-sacrifice and love. Thus, personal interests, immediate and other desires must be thrown aside. Therefore, he insisted this moral training should be held as a main objective of the College to ensure the welfare of the Church and society (PR, 1932-1933). This purpose of training students to receive a sense of justice and thoughts of the welfare of the Church and society, would have probably arisen as a result of the impact of the encyclical letter *Quadragesimo Anno*, issued by Pope Pius XI, on the reconstruction of the social order in 1931, which highlighted the social and economic welfare (Pius XI, 1931). This responsibility of transmitting the sense of justice belonged to all the Rectors by virtue of their office, because it was demanded of Catholic schools all over the world by the teaching of the Church. Fr. LeGoc, therefore affirmed that "we are working for the good of souls and of the Church and for the welfare of civil society" (PR, 1932-1933, p.10). This emphasis of Fr. LeGoc on the sense of justice thus links him to the current Catholic teaching on the Common Good guided by the Church's social teachings. This Common Good is composed of three important elements: "respect and promotion of the fundamental rights of the person; prosperity or the development of the spiritual and temporal goods of the society; the peace and security of the group and of its members" (CCC: 1925). As the document on The *Catholic School* emphasises, Catholic schools should be "… sensitive to the call from every part of the world for a more just society … to make its own contribution towards it" (CCE, 1997: 58), because of its constant reference to the values of the Gospel and its Christocentric character. Therefore, the Catholic school should not at any point become a counter-witness to its presence in the world (CCE, 1997).

In the context of St. Joseph's College, Fr. Collin's attitude to welcoming non-Catholic students was an acknowledgment of respect for other religions and cultures in this educational institute, and the non-interference with their beliefs was another proof of accommodating and respecting diversity and pluralism and the right to co-exist in a Catholic school environment. (PR, 1896). Fr. Lytton's resistance to include vernacular subjects in the

syllabus and change the medium of instruction to Sinhalese and Tamil also connotes that such changes would have created division and imbalance in school education (PR, 1910), and thus his stern decisions contributed to the prevalence of unity and harmony in teaching and learning across the school in English medium. Fr. Pillai's stance to fight against the government's proposals to abolish denominational schools, and standing for the rights of Catholic parents, provide examples of how these Rectors lived by the sense of justice, and promoted its impact on the school environment and students. From Fr. Pillai's perspective, this College was established "to train men who would be distinguished by their balanced scholarship, their civic virtues and above all by their capacity for Catholic leadership" (PR, 1946, p.19). This statement communicates the social responsibility of a Catholic school, and it sheds light on Grace's (2015) analysis of the Catholic schools and the common good where he argues that, schools should commit to contributing towards the well-being of the society. He identifies them from three different perspectives as "whole society implications, local community implications, and individual school implication" (Grace, 2015, p.59), which encompasses the school's commitment to the Common Good. In supporting his own argument, Fr. Pillai mentioned that, after 50 years of its existence, this school's past pupils have reached the "highest walks of life, in public service, ... political and professional … [have] formed a considerable portion of the Catholic lay leaders and ...most of our Ceylonese clergy…" (PR, 1946, p.19). However, Fr. Pillai clarified that he was not satisfied with the achievements of the alumni. "In my opinion, all is not well with us. Our Catholic public life is somewhat thin, … weak and poor. It has manifested itself by fits and starts" (PR, 1946, p.19). This version of reality resonates the effort which was incessantly needed to overcome the challenges to make that commitment of Gerald Grace's implications for the Common Good through Catholic education.

However, Fr. Pillai's dissatisfaction expressed in 1946 was not absent during Fr. LeGoc's time, because he also addressed the question of why the social formation of students lacked effectiveness in the 1937-1938 reports. Fr. LeGoc diagnosed its root cause as a failure on the part of individuals in their social interactions and respect for other human beings. To remedy this social paralysis, Fr. LeGoc proposed to liaise, not only with the virtue of justice, but also the virtue of charity. He considered justice and charity as essential components in the formation of school students. He believed that through the implementation of justice and charity that, selfishness, greed, and ambition, which were prevalent in social relationships could be minimised. He argued that the fruits of one's labour should be in proportion to one's effort and that was one's due right. He further emphasised that social justice was a

duty, and this virtue should be taught as elementary sociology in the school curriculum to mitigate social discrimination (PR, 1937-1938).

For Fr. LeGoc the inseparability of justice was charity and that charity was a strict duty because what one places in the hands of the poor was one's gratitude to God who has blessed him in abundance. This practice of charity was called a strict duty (PR, 1937-1938). The reference to the Rich Man and Lazarus (LK. 16: 19-31) and the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10: 25-37) in the New Testament were considered classic examples of defining the meaning and the contradictions of not being charitable. In British colonial Ceylon, by the middle of the 1930s, which represents Fr. LeGoc's period, social disparities had surfaced both in the social and political life of the country. Owing to the British education system "an English-educated minority enjoying good educational and employment opportunities constituted one nation, while the vernacular educated masses with limited educational and employment opportunities constituted an inferior nation" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.433). Quoting Kannangara's criticism of the English education system, Sumathipala (1978) stated that the highest occupation for a student of a vernacular school was teaching because "[t]o him the other posts [were] closed … the civil service posts, the provincial administration posts, engineers, doctors, lawyers- [were] closed" (Sumathipala, 1968, p.176). Therefore, Fr. LeGoc as well as Fr. Pillai would have realised that even St. Joseph's College catered to the English-educated minority to create this social stratification among the Ceylonese. Nevertheless, the social teachings of the Church would have inspired them to share the importance of the virtues of justice and charity probably due to the impact of the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* in1891 and *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931. Hence, to teach students the habits of charity through self-sacrifice and the spirit of love, Fr. LeGoc motivated the parents to train the students at home with acts of almsgiving and by saving their pocket money or their meals, and to be shared with the less privileged. The role of the St. Vincent de Paul society was highlighted as an essential charitable association for the students in order to get engaged "…to visit the poor in their homes and bring to them words of consolation and affection" (PR, 1937-1938, p.9). But, how far all the students got this opportunity to learn this social value was questionable, since the membership of the society did not include all the students. (PR, 1937-1938).

Furthermore, the current teaching of the Church also elaborates on the responsibility of the learner and his social responsibility with which he can make an impact on society. It strongly emphasises on the role of the teachers "to provide their students with opportunities to realise the social impact of what they are studying, … as well as the development of a sense of responsibility and active citizenship" (CCE, 2014: 4). Thus, the forming of habits of charity

in the early stages of child development has been recognised crucial to the sustainability of such habits throughout the lifetime of a person than training students after the age of sixteen. It has also been identified as a process of socialising children to learn the sense of empathy, sympathy and concern. The most influential people on this process of inculcating the sense of charity in students as Fr. LeGoc emphasised half a century ago, have also been identified as parents and educators even today. But, in addition to parents and educators the impact of peers, school and the media are also considered supportive agents of promoting the sense of charity in the attitudes of the children (Body, Lau and Josephidou, 2019). Thereby, the task of forming students with these two important virtues irrespective of time and age stand as crucial elements of social progress which leads to sustain a wholesome society.

5.4 Influence of a healthy environment

The school environment has always been an influential factor in forming character in students. Character is developed through subtle interactions with the environment in which the students occupy (Hallinger, 2016). The Congregation for Catholic Education believes that interpersonal relationships and collaboration in an educating community contribute immensely to the character formation of students (CCE, 1998). It involves "persons, space, time, relationships, teaching, study, and various other activities" (CCE, 1988: 24). The Prize Reports thus elaborate that all the five Rectors believed in the principle that the right environment was necessary for the growth of knowledge and virtue. To achieve this objective in this Catholic College the intellectual, physical, and religious environments were identified as important and influential spaces for character formation.

5.4.1 Academic environment

Firstly, in regard to building the academic environment the role of the masters and teachers were highlighted. All Rectors had penned a special paragraph in their reports for acknowledging their contribution and appreciating their role from 1896 to 1960. In the process of creating the right academic environment, primarily the recruitment of teachers was considered a priority. Fr. LeGoc explained that teachers were selected after proper evaluation of their "intelligence, learning, judgment, character and principles" (PR, 1924, pp.22-23), because the teacher cannot directly pour knowledge and content of the subjects into the ears of students without training, knowledge, and experience, hence;

> …what he can do and must do is to stimulate the intellect to think and to express its thoughts, the imagination to form pictures and phrases, the memory to store a wealth of treasures by supplying the necessary materials and by activating these faculties (PR, 1924, p.22).

This approach of Fr. LeGoc towards teacher recruitment and selection highlights the level of teachers he wanted to be on the academic staff. His academic plan for intellectual development remains current with the 21st century, because the way of teaching in a classroom was considered more important than its subject contents (PR, 1924) thus, teaching should enable the active involvement and participation of students to develop in them the skills such as problem-solving and the art of research. In the process of teaching and learning the relationship that develops should promote "mutual esteem, trust, respect, and friendliness" (CCE, 2014: III) and it should also lead to shunning the "climate of individualism, antagonism, and mutual coldness" (CCE, 2014: II). From the onset of teaching at the College, the academic staff was comprised of Catholic Oblate priests, Europeans, and native masters who had graduated from English Universities (PR, 1896-97, 1903). This informs that the academic environment was male dominant but, there was no evidence to clarify why female teachers were absent on the College staff at the beginning. However, Fr. Lytton recorded the service of the teachers in the 1910 report as proof that the academic staff consisted of both male and female staff members.

In analysing the impact of the teachers, it was recorded that at the beginning of the College, the masters had to spend a reasonable period of time building a rapport with mutual trust, since both students and masters were unknown to each other. It had been a walk from their unknown to their known between them. In this regard, Fr. Collin had to appeal to the boys to consider the school masters as their friends for their betterment and growth. Therefore, to establish this academic environment inside the school, guided by the school masters, Fr. Collin used a technical term called "affectionate vigilance" (PR, 1902, CM, p.3) to emphasise the necessity of a network of relationship between masters, students, and parents. This effort of Fr. Collin to position the academic staff and the students at the appropriate distance to support teaching and learning, demonstrated that he had recognised the role of the masters in building a healthy academic culture and the contribution they could make for student progress. As Fr. Collin believed, See and Arthur (2011) argue that teachers have a great influence on the students as they constantly come in contact with them, but they also highlighted that teachers are also limited in a certain way in their contribution to character education. Nevertheless, the English Department of Education underscores the importance of staff engagement with the students as a key role for "…firstly modelling of desired character traits, such as communication, discipline, confidence, and self-control; and secondly being approachable and engaging, such as that students felt able to be open with them and to take on board their ideas" (DfE, 2017, p.38). In this analysis, Fr. Collin's view is well absorbed, because he wanted the masters to get engaged with the work of the students

which he defined as affectionate vigilance. In other words, if the students felt that teachers were approachable, straightforward, and trustworthy (DfE, 2017) they could easily build a rapport with them for growth and resolve their difficulties and issues. This was considered key to the formation of student character.

In Catholic schools, teaching is regarded as a vocation (Diocese of Westminster, 2022). Even in the early part of the 19th century, teaching was a better profession in Ceylon, but among the educated youth at that time, teaching was considered only a springboard to many other popular professions. This denoted that those other professions had been more lucrative, and attractive than teaching for young people. In the context of Colonial Ceylon, teaching was the highest profession a school leaver of a vernacular school could achieve, whereas, for students of English schools, other employments in the civil service were open (Jayasuriya, 1976). However, teacher turnover and attrition surfaced as a challenge at different intervals disrupting the academic environment because of its impact on student performances. In 1913, Fr. Nicholas, recorded the resignation of Mr. Parson who was the Head Master of the preparatory school to accept an appointment in the Excise Department as "allured by the bright prospect of a substantial appointment" (PR, 1913, p.12). This situation of teacher attrition and mobility is common even in today's school context. For example, the national teacher attrition rate in the US is 8% (Thomas and Hammond, 2019) while currently the UK rate is 8.8% in 2022, which explains that 39,930 teachers have left the profession for other reasons other than retirement (Henshaw, 2023). Also, another instance of high turnover of teachers was recorded during Fr. Pillai's period due to the attractive offers of the Government schools after World War II for teachers. Fr. Pillai called it the "migration of personnel" (PR, 1947, p.29) and "crimping by Government of teachers from denominational schools" (PR, 1947, p.29). For Fr. Nicholas and Fr. Pillai, financial constraints and limitations would have stood as barriers to retaining the teachers in their context, as St. Joseph's was a government-aided school.

It is therefore a fact that teacher turn over affects the student performance and the overall academic environment of a school (Thomas and Hammond, 2019). A study conducted by Durham University reveals that leadership support, additional incentives, financial incentives, bursaries, high wages, scholarships, induction programmes, and mentoring would contribute to improve teacher retention and recruitment in schools (See, Morris, Gorard, El-Soufi, Abdi and Lu, 2019). However, the instructions of the Congregation for Catholic Education insist on the necessity of sound teacher training programmes as remedies to counter the rapidly changing educational culture, and to retain the evangelical identity of a Catholic school by promoting lifelong training of teachers (CCE, 20014: III) because they

"need a formation of the heart" (CCE, 2007: 25) for their educational commitment. Therefore, to sustain the educational vision of a Catholic school, not only just teacher training, but the need has arisen to groom teachers with a profound commitment to their noble profession. A teacher in a Catholic school environment is envisaged as one who is "… able to motivate the young to a complete formation, to encourage and direct their greatest energy and skills towards a positive construction of themselves and their lives, and to be a serious and credible witness of the responsibility and hope which the school owes to society" (CCE, 2007: 22).

Secondly, the academic environment was comprised not only of teachers, but of the subjects that were taught in that curriculum, with a major emphasis placed on the classics. St. Joseph's College initially offered subjects conducted on the classical curriculum because it could pave the way for liberal professions and opportunities for higher education in English Universities in Great Britain. The compulsory subjects in the College were Latin, Mathematics, one modern language, and English. Greek and Science were taught to a selected group of students (PR, 1909). Of these subjects, the first few decades were dominated by classical subjects and their potential to create employment opportunities for students. In this context, Frs. Collin, Lytton, and Nicholas strongly believed that a classical curriculum could build character in students. To prove the stability of the classical curriculum, Fr. Collin highlighted that within a short period of 13 years in the field of education, St. Joseph's had produced three doctors, six advocates, twenty-one proctors, and sixteen law students, and in addition, several students had pursued higher education in Medicine in British Universities such as Oxford, Edinburgh, Liverpool, and London. Likewise, the College had produced eight Catholic priests, who were ordained to Colombo and Kandy Dioceses for the service of the Church (PR, 1909). Fr. Lytton who was Fr. Collin's Vice Rector from 1896 to 1909 also continued on the same line of thought on the classics. To counter the argument that classics had very little utilitarian value, he said that;

> it is a mistake to consider the school as an office or workshop and the school Masters are not supposed to offer technical training in the school…The classical training opens up the mind and the young man who has profited by it naturally takes the lead amongst confreres… (PR, 1910, pp.3-4).

Fr. Lytton also expressed his displeasure over the proposal to include Tamil and Sinhalese in the school curriculum. He believed that it would not comply with the standards of classics because, in his opinion, it could deprive the students of the opportunity of applying for higher government posts and simultaneously could disconnect the link with English Universities in England for higher education. To further strengthen his argument, he stated that classical education was required for the services of the state and the Church. Although he was not

against teaching commercial and technical subjects as well as vernaculars in other educational institutes, his clear standpoint was that St. Joseph's should continue as a Catholic secondary English college because, the sole objective and vision of the founders was the teaching of classics (PR, 1910). Consolidating more on the aspect of classical teaching, Fr. Lytton highlighted that the master's duty was not to consider the school as a technical workshop or an office, but "to develop the mind and enlighten the conscience of his pupils, … in forming habits of reflection and modesty which will enable them later on to turn to the best account, the talents which God has entrusted [to] them" (PR, 1910, p.3). This approach to classical education was aimed at ensuring the formation of the student through the formation of the heart. With this in mind, "Catholic educators must attain a special sensitivity with regard to the person to be educated in order to grasp not only the request for growth in knowledge and skills, but also the need for growth in humanity" (CCE, 2007: 24).

Fr. Emil Nicholas too admitted the value of following courses in classics. He also supported classical training and education, because by 1912, the College had produced students for liberal professions such as law and medicines. However, Fr. LeGoc recognised not only the necessity of classics, but also the relevance of science and character as fundamental components of secondary education. Fr. LeGoc himself was a botanist and a scientist who had graduated from the University of Cambridge, therefore his approach to education after World War I was different to that of his predecessors. His intellectual and academic vision incorporated forming learned, honest, enlightened, and loyal citizens by promoting the human, academic, spiritual, and social dimensions of a student. His perspective on the curriculum was however broader, because he carefully separated professional or technical education from secondary education as a means of employment for economic reasons (PR, 1919), and stressed the contribution made by the classics. To the criticism that Latin was of no use to the boys of the East, Fr. LeGoc clarified that "it shapes the brain as probably no other language does; it is conveyed in a sober and orderly expression which is a necessary counterpoise to the exuberance-in imagination and expression-of the Literature of the East" (PR, 1931-1932, p.9).

However, in the efforts of building the academic culture Fr. Pillai wanted to make St. Joseph's a centre of oriental culture. He being the first native Rector was supportive of the establishment of the University of Ceylon, and conducting locally organised examinations (PR, 1942). His period was sandwiched between the years leading to the independence from British colonial rule and the introduction of local examinations in line with the University of Ceylon. In 1942, the University of Ceylon was established as a degree-awarding institute and the abolition of London-based examinations gave way to the Senior School Certificate

Examination conducted by the Department of Education in Ceylon (Jayasuriya, 1976). Thus, the inclusion of Pali, Sanskrit, Sinhalese, and Tamil as subjects in the curriculum of the College was a clear indication that the dominance of the classics has drifted from its popular position by the end of World War II (PR, 1941). Also, by the year 1948, which marked the year of independence from the British empire, the national languages were made the media of instruction in secondary and tertiary education in Ceylon (Jayasuriya, 1976). Therefore, Fr. Pillai's attempt to create St. Joseph's as a centre of oriental culture, finds no surprise, because the country's education system was on the verge of a major transition with the change of medium of instruction in education from English and the classics to native languages. These Rectors therefore, indicate that they attempted to develop character through the subject streams which guided the school curriculum. This practice is still present in the school system today. For example, in the current British education system, 89% of schools employ subject lessons to teach character education (DfE, 2017). Also, the current understanding of the teaching of classics seems to support the views of these Rectors because, even today the classics seems to deliver similar pedagogical results in schools, where classics are taught, because classical education sharpens the skills to think critically and improves research abilities, and opens the path to enhance cultural and language literacy with self-efficacy (Impact Report, 2010-2020).The significance of this argument is that, these Rectors in their historical context had identified the value of subjects such as classics for student character development, the impact of the curriculum and the potential embedded in the subjects to form character in students, which is also universally recognised today in promotion of character in school education (Pikea, Harta, Paula, Lickonab, and Clarke, 2020).

5.4.2 Physical environment

The surroundings of the physical environment of the school, namely the buildings, playground, plants, skies, flowers, the school gate, etc. collectively contribute to making the physical climate conducive to education. The definition of the hidden curriculum explains that it "… refers to the unspoken or implicit values, behaviours, procedures and norms that exist in the educational setting" (Alsubaie, 2015, p.1). This explanation presents the benefits of using the hidden curriculum in the right way for educating students. However, Fr. LeGoc some eight decades before such publications of research findings, had identified the significance of the impact of the hidden curriculum, present in the physical environment. In his opinion, "[t]hese stately buildings that confront the boys as they enter the college daily, speak to them of solidity, robustness, strength and orderly proportions. Even the ancient gate that stands …is a symbol of strength, a gate to knowledge" (PR, 1924, p.23). These

expressions confirm, that Fr. LeGoc knew the positive value of the hidden curriculum embedded in the outer environment for student learning. Nevertheless, he regretted that all did not profit from the impact of the physical environment, because they were driven either by external forces or they missed or avoided it by their resistance to cooperate with the learning stimulus of the physical environment (PR, 1924). In the current understanding of the hidden curriculum, Agboo and Tsai (2012) called it an everyday opportunity found in the school environment, and the UK Department for Education outlined the impact of the day-to-day activities and organisational structure, as one of the key components of character formation. For example, school assemblies, house systems, form or tutor groups, etc. (DfE, 2017). The Congregation for Catholic Education also underpins that the physical environment of the school should become "an extension of their own homes" (CCE, 1988: 27) for the students to experience a family environment. Thus, the school climate contributes to the formation of character immensely by the interaction of "different components at work in the school" (CCE, 1998:14).

5.4.3 Religious environment

The Congregation for Catholic Education highlights that "complete education necessarily includes [a] religious dimension" (CCE, 1977:19). Therefore, the Church considers that it is one of her important responsibilities to look after the "moral and religious education of all her children" (Vatican Council II, 1965: 7) because it is "to draw out the ethical dimension for the precise purpose of arousing the individual's inner spiritual dynamism and to aid [in] his achieving that moral freedom which complements the psychological" (CCE, 1977: 30). St. Joseph's being a Catholic school, all five Rectors have contributed to improve the quality of this religious environment from religious and spiritual perspectives.

According to Fr. Lytton, the means available for teachers for the formation of students were instruction, discipline, and religion, but the completion of the task of formation was eventually entrusted to religion. So, he urged the masters and teachers to emphasise the fact that one's duty towards God was fundamentally essential for integrity in life. The absence of the knowledge of God was the root of all educational problems according to Fr. Lytton, because "till religion occupies its due place in the school, education must always give rise to discontent…religion is at once the mainspring and the balance of the whole plan of education" (PR, 1911, p.4). This emphasis on religion breaks open the fact that instruction and discipline in a school context are human operations, but religion functions with the guidance of the divine, and religion has the power to transform what is absorbed and learnt through instruction and discipline to find meaning for life. The document on *Catholic Schools* shares the view of Fr. Lytton spoken about teachers, because "the nobility of the

task to which teachers are called demands that, in imitation of Christ, the only Teacher, they reveal the Christian message not only by word, but also by every gesture of their behaviour" (CCE, 1977: 43). Hence, Fr. Lytton's vision resonates with the document *Catholic schools*, which highlights that "[t]he teacher can form the mind and the heart of his pupils and guide them to develop a total commitment to Christ, with their whole personality enriched by human culture" (CCE, 1977: 40).

At the beginning of the College, the students' knowledge of religion had been very poor, since most of the new College students had come from non-Catholic schools. The objective of St. Joseph's was to offer the Catholics of the entire country the opportunity for education with the fervour of religion. For Fr. Collin, religion was an essential component in education, therefore to intensify and improve the knowledge of religion and approach to Christian spirituality, a three-day retreat was introduced as an annual event for Catholic boys in 1896. In supporting this endeavour, Fr. J.A. Maver was appointed as the first spiritual director in 1898. Thereby, the right perspective of religious education in a Catholic College was systematically inaugurated (PR, 1896-97). Having seen and felt the motivation of his predecessor, Fr. Lytton also believed without the support of religion, the formation of character and conscience would not be achieved. And in fact, he said though there had been a lot said about character building, education alone does not have the capacity to remove the stains of original sin therefore, "a well-formed enlightened conscience" (PR, 1911, p.4) was primarily necessary to accompany the students until they finish their education and further beyond their school life. Thus, he affirmed by forming "a well-formed enlightened conscience" (PR, 1911, p.4), humility and intelligence could illuminate their minds to rectify their errors with honest and sincere repentance. One practical suggestion he brought forward was, to introduce the lives of the saints as a means of spiritual support, to transform student life because every Christian is called to become a saint (1 Peter 2:9).

In the approach of Fr. Nicholas, the theme of religion and its contribution to education was interwoven with duty. He explained that "we do our best to foster in our boys a sense of duty based on religion, which is after all the only sound foundation …" (PR, 1913, p.9). For Fr. Nicholas, the success of a student was learning about what his duty was, and then being duty conscious as an individual. He considered it ultimately as something pleasing to God. Fr. Nicholas' approach stems from the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament (Exodus 20:1-17) which was explained by Christ as one's duty towards God and one's neighbour (Matthew 22:37-41). Thus, he popularised the sense of duty by being obedient to the commands of God. He also contributed to improve the effect of the religious environment by inaugurating

the Immaculate Heart of Mary Guild for the conversion of sinners in the College under the direction of Fr. J. Cajetan. (PR, 1913).

Fr. LeGoc expounding on the necessity of Catholic schools for the education of Catholic children explained that Catholic schools should become an instrument to infuse in the students the doctrine and the practice of faith in the supernatural life, if not, he said any other institute or education could expose them to danger. Therefore, "[t]his is the reason why a Catholic boy can be educated in the highest sense of his belief and of his life by no other institution than that of Catholic Church" (PR, 1919, p.9). However, of the non-Catholic students, Fr. LeGoc said that they received a general education on "respect for order and authority, a sense of reverence for the Supreme Good and Beauty" (PR, 1919, p.9). Since there was no discrimination against their faith, non-Catholic parents chose to apply for the College knowing that their boys would be well looked after, and they would enjoy a viable atmosphere for their education in a Catholic school environment. As a policy, Fr. LeGoc also said "[w]ithout the written and spontaneous consent of their parents, we never interfere with their religious beliefs" (PR, 1919, p.8). This attitude to inclusive education was also a characteristic of Catholic education at St. Joseph's. This approach to other religions is further explained by the Congregation for Catholic Education, which advocates that Catholic schools to "be present with her own special affection and help for the great number who are being trained in schools that are not Catholic" (CCE, 1977: 7). In this respect, the policy of Fr. Collin which Fr. LeGoc underpinned, clearly expressed their view towards non-Catholics. "As regards non-Catholic students who compose about one-fifth of the College, they are not admitted to the classes of religious instruction nor to religious services, unless they desire it and their parents' consent" (PR, 1896-97, p.7). This attitude of these two Rectors exemplified the value of religious freedom and the respect they offered to other beliefs and their practices. This could also be explained as an example to be duplicated in a pluralistic context where differences ought to be accepted and respected. Fr. LeGoc furthermore raised the awareness of harnessing moral and spiritual energies as an important exercise to reflect on life after death. His view was that the resources of education in the school environment should lead each individual to fix his eyes not on temporal things but on heavenly things, because the destination of a Catholic was ultimately Heaven, and the aim of Catholic education becomes incomplete if it does not facilitate the way for the salvation of souls (PR, 1922).

Another important topic taken up by Fr. LeGoc was the spirit of religion. He wanted to see the spirit of religion guiding the field of education. "The spirit of religion is the one which gives life, inspires self-sacrifice and elevates the individual as well as the nations. This spirit

is the guide and aim of life and therefore also of education" (PR, 1925, p.17). He developed this idea basically to communicate the importance of self-effacement over self-assertion and to promote the value of being obedient to God and his commandments. Fr. LeGoc explained the effect of the spirit of religion by calling St. Joseph's, a College of "Corpus Christi and Blessed Mary" (PR, 1925, p.20) owing to the Catholic spirit that moved and animated the College through instruction, prayer, frequenting the Sacraments and by two annual retreats and work of two religious guilds of the Blessed Sacrament and the Immaculate Heart of Mary (PR, 1925), because for the faith to take its roots in the mind, the will, the heart and that the constant practice of religion should continue to exist. The yearly retreat was an enduring phenomenon to improve and sustain this activity, and its effects (PR, 1923). Therefore, religious training was considered one important objective of a Catholic school. This programme of training as Fr. LeGoc explained was comprised of "teaching of doctrine, exercise of piety, the practice of Christian virtues and the formation of character" (PR, 1933-1934, p.12). He believed that training them in healthy moral exercises such as prayer and penance would lead them to sound character building. But for him, self- control was the main constituent of moral and religious formation, which governed the body and the mind that led to make a strong man.

According to Fr. LeGoc, one challenge confronting religion was the debate about science and its harmful effects being impacted on the West. It was a result primarily because of the threat to morality and religion. The activities in the world were seen as determined by "[b]rute force and selfishness" (PR, 1936-1937, p.13), because they alone seemed to have the power to survive. The place given for the Ten Commandments, Gospel values, and Christian virtues had been considered redundant. The effect of this conflict was further expressed in these words. "Laboratories, Museums, Theatres, and Cinemas will be the temples of the future and the Cathedrals of the religion of human progress" (PR, 1936-1937, p.13). Despite all that, he suggested that there was a need to place Science in its proper orbit and then to make it an efficient servant to support mankind. For Fr. LeGoc, what was paramount in importance in the College was to welcome science and the new knowledge for use in the new era, but he maintained his convictions to justify the supremacy of religious formation in education stating that;

> above all we shall teach our children and our young men that their moral formation is more important than their scientific or literary attainment; and that when moral sense disappears the whole of the social structure is shaken; and that for the happiness and inner progress of man for this world and for the next there is nothing equal to the virtues of the Gospel (PR, 1936-1937).

The involvement of Fr. Pillai on the path of spiritual life marked the introduction of single-day retreats in 1941. Except for the annual retreat, two other day retreats were conducted per term, and these were called the days of recollection. They were meant to intensify the spiritual development of students. This indicated the strong influence of religiosity prevalent in the school at that time. The record of the progress of religious associations, such as: the Altar Servers' Association, Apostleship of Prayer, and the Mary Immaculate Guild, and forming of the Catholic Youth Movement C.Y.M among the students to train leaders for Catholic action were important milestones of religious formation during Fr. Pillai's tenure. It was under the influence of Pope Pius XI, a formal organisation called Catholic Action was initiated in an effort to train and empower laity to guard and support the progress of the Church at that time (Pollard, 2012). The St. Vincent de Paul Society was recognised as a place where students learn to make sacrifices, and visit the poor and their stark situations of poverty, and subsequently form the hearts and minds of the students for true social service (PR, 1941). Also, the voluntary daily Mass during the school lunch interval attracted the students to grow in their devotion to the Holy Eucharist (PR, 1958). To support the formation of student life and character, other than the annual retreat, the day retreats, the confraternities, the associations, the guilds also contributed towards the shaping of the religious environment of the school (PR, 1926,1930-1931).

These initiatives and activities of the Rectors to promote the religious atmosphere and climate of a Catholic school resonate the teachings of the document on *Religious Dimension of Education in Catholic Schools*, which identifies that "[f]rom the moment that a student sets foot in a Catholic school, he or she ought to have the impression of entering a new environment, one [illuminated] by the light of faith, and having its own unique characteristics" (CCE: 1988: 25). However, one major challenge present in Catholic schools today is that the large numbers leaving the institutional Church and as a result "[r]eligious ignorance and illiteracy", have crept into Catholic schools. In addition, teachers and educators "who are believers is shrinking" (CCE, 2014:3:1, g) creating a weak witness of the faith they live and practice. Deculturation also has impoverished the Catholic student of receiving the catholic inheritance and culture in his living environment. In certain countries "Catholic religion courses have been threatened and risk disappearing from syllabi" (CCE, 2014, 3:1: h) Thus, these factors have emerged today as pastoral challenges to religious education in Catholic schools in general (CCE, 2014, 3:1: g). However, religious education has been recognised as a substantial contributor of forming moral character and developing sound judgement which guides and shapes the individual life. The role of religious education in schools has also been recognised as a substantial contributor to improving adolescent

mental health which addresses how to face adverse and difficult situations in life (Estrada, Lomboy, Gregorio Jr, Amalia, Leynes, Quizon and Kobayashi, 2019).

5.5 The necessity of constant effort, perseverance and dignity of labour

Resilience, perseverance, and persistence are among the prominent character traits prioritised by schools in the 21st century in the UK (DfE, 2017). The educational aim of Catholic schools contributed also to the same objective in its endeavour to form strong wholistic personalities (CCE, 1998: 6). Among the research findings on the impact of the character formation of the Rectors, one theme that emerged distinctly from the others was that of effort and perseverance, whose main proponent was Fr. LeGoc. His repeated use of the word 'effort' in 1927-1928 and 1930-1931 reports drew attention to the need of constant effort. According to him, sterner methods of learning had been replaced by easy methods (PR, 1930-1931) because of the changes brought into the curriculum in 1928 by the Education Department from kindergarten to standard 8 (Jayasuriya, 1976). Instead of learning arithmetic in three years, an extension of five years had been given and these changes were heavily criticised by Fr. LeGoc, since such alterations, according to him had completely hindered the progress of learning. Consequently, he asserted that children who were brought up "under the … law of minimum effort" (PR, 1930-1931, p.18) escaped from studying grammar, parsing, systematic geography, history, or arithmetic in the first five years and even in more moderate proportions later. Moreover, Fr. LeGoc assumed, that when learning methods with certain challenging and strenuous applications were discouraged, the capacity to overcome or accept the hardships of life, would be lacking in such students. He also disagreed with the views of psychologists, when they stated that "… the child must not be interfered with; he must be allowed to grow according to his natural inclinations and even made to think for himself" (PR, 1930-1931, p.4). Nevertheless, this statement of Fr. LeGoc discloses an authoritarian view and a negative reaction to the progressive developments in educational thinking of his time and the relevant application of child psychology to school education. He seems to believe in the approach of strict interference in matters of child development in the formation of students. Given the fact that Fr. Collin used corporal punishment as a method of disciplining students, he recognised the limitations of students with their different academic skills as some were more able, less able, and unwilling to participate (PR, 1902). However, Fr. LeGoc's argument was that a student who was brought up under these theoretical principles would dislike the "stern law of effort" (PR, 1930-1931, p.18), "drudgery" (PR, 1930-1931, p.18) and "perseverance" (PR, 1930-1931, p.18) and even subjects like mathematics and grammar. So, he insisted that student development in character formation would always rely on the law of constant effort. He disagreed with the concept of making a happy-going schoolboy, who got accustomed to a very comfortable and

easy way of life. Thereby, this law of minimum effort, according to him, had to be shunned. He stated that "[p]rogress is in proportion to the effort made…The habit of hard work acquired at school will accompany the grown-up men throughout life and be within them a source of self-discipline, of regulated activity, and of success" (PR, 1930-1931, p.19). He believed when individuals were capable of sustained efforts, that was "by the effort made to conquer [the]self and to gain a command over the forces of nature" (PR, 1930-1931, p.19), they not only build themselves, but the future of a country as well. Even though Fr. LeGoc's explanation of constant effort was appealing to his time in the 1930s, which was guided by the management theories based on factories with strict orders and commands (Rost and Baker, 2000), it would however contradict the modern child development approaches in education, because such strict interferences as Fr. LeGoc expounded would "…steal[s] self-confidence, eat[s] away at enthusiasm for learning, and encourage[s] students to be dependent on external sources, rather than cultivating self-reliance" (Haskins, 2010, p.10).

From another perspective, the theory of cause and effect was used to elaborate on "well-ordered and balanced activity" (PR, 1922, p.21) using the "[u]niversal biological law" (PR, 1922, p.21), where "progress and construction achieved in and through a suitable environment" (PR, 1922, p.21) as found in the organic world is used as the point of reference for interpreting progress in a student's life. He stated that the outcome of a student's success in physical, moral, and intellectual spheres, depends on the effort he made towards the realisation of it. Similarly, the effect of an intended plan would produce results, if a proportionate effort were directed towards it, because ultimately, it was the cause that generates the effect. Therefore, his advice was not to align with extremes, but to keep the balance in executing the proportionate plan because, "excessive leafing, excessive vegetative growth is detrimental to the fruiting" (PR, 1922, p.21). His strategy proposed was to teach the value of equilibrium in all educational activities by conducting one's efforts effectively in the intellectual, physical, and moral domains. Consequently, he believed the development of a student's life would reach its full potential in due course.

In the teachings of the Congregation for Catholic Education, this aspect of 'effort' is seen as a diminishing value among children and young people and explains that they eventually miss the religious and moral formation due to this tendency of quitting;

> [p]upils who shun effort, are incapable of self -sacrifice and perseverance, and lack authentic models to guide them, often even in their own families. … they are not only indifferent and non-practicing, but also totally lacking in religious or moral formation (CCE, 1988: 06).

In motivating and providing a practical explanation for his theoretical arguments on what persistent effort could do, Fr. LeGoc developed an agricultural farm at Waragoda, Kelaniya

for the practical education of college students. These lessons on farming were taught at this experimental farm and he envisaged that this effort would become a springboard and a guide to make Ceylon an agricultural land. "This is only a small beginning; but I hope it will be a stimulus for further development on this line" (PR, 1934-1935, p.6). The motivation to handle the spade and the plough was a clarion call from a Catholic school for fifteen million people in the early 1930s on the island, because Fr. LeGoc believed that education should lead a country from progress to development (PR, 1934-1935). In addressing the then-emerging problem of unemployment among the College leavers, he saw the cultivation of the land as a solution to the acute problem among the educated. Regretfully he noticed and mentioned that even the graduates had lined up to become ticket collectors in the railway department. Supply and demand in the job market in the latter part of the 1930s had become a serious issue since the supply way exceeded the demand. This competitiveness was a result of the lack of vacancies available in the Government sector for the locally English educated (Jayasuriya, 1976). His conclusion on this whole issue was that "if we add to this the habit of work at an early age, we shall soon find in our boys and girls the necessary stamina for facing the problems of life (PR, 1935-1936, p.12). Simultaneously, a rural scheme of education had also been introduced to state schools creating more room for practical education in the school curriculum in 1931. Whether Fr. LeGoc's Agri-school was also inspired by this initiative of the government is difficult to conclude, but as the then Director of Education of this time reported that "…[t]he excellent example set by the young farmers in paddy cultivation and in the systematic growth of fruit and vegetables according to modern methods has been followed with marked results even by the older generation of farmers" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.438). This example denotes that practical or vocational education had been identified as a necessary component of school education in the mid-1930s in Ceylon.

To support Fr. LeGoc's theory of constant effort and perseverance, Fr. Pillai's also contributed to promote the value of perseverance and constant effort among students. The best example of perseverance was vividly captured when students departed from college premises in 1941 due to the then emerging threats of World War II to branch schools established in Homagama, Kelaniya, Gampaha, Dematagoda, and Borella. As a result, education was continued uninterruptedly and however, this exodus from Colombo would have taught both students and teachers how to face challenging circumstances and adjust themselves to new situations through the practice of perseverance and tenacity. Although co-curricular activities had suffered a lot due to the disruption caused by the dispersions, spiritual nourishment provided through the annual retreats continued for the students at both

Borella and Homagama (PR, 1941). This relocation programme during the Second World War was a testimony of the students' perseverance in the face of a horrendous threat of war.

From another perspective, human effort is also a paradigm of human labour. Catholic social teaching considers the dignity of human labour and work as one of its fundamental precepts expounded in the Holy Scriptures, encyclicals, and papal teachings of the Church (Sison, Ferrero, and Guitian, 2016). Pope John Paul II in his encyclical letter *Laborem Exercens* considers "[t]he world of agriculture, which provides society with the goods it needs for its daily sustenance, is of fundamental importance" (John Paul II, 1981: 21). Fifty years prior to this Papal Encyclical, Fr. LeGoc addressed the importance of the dignity of human labour and analysed it from the perspective of agricultural potential in Ceylon. He condemned the contempt of manual labour and appealed to schools all over the country, especially to school principals, young university professors, and the state council to teach and promote the value of the dignity of labour, in an effort to stop discrimination against human labour. In colonial Ceylon, English education had hampered the social mobility of the natives and education in English was the only route to social accomplishments (Ryan, 1961). The creation of an elite native strata loyal to the British colonial system was a result of the then-British education system, which eventually made a disparity in society and among Ceylonese on occupational choices and differences (Sumathipala, 1968). Despite such social barriers, Fr. LeGoc's bold initiative to address the aspect of human labour found its practical explanation through the Agri- school at Kelaniya, where the training of students took place to appreciate and value the dignity of human labour in farming (PR, 1934-1935). This pioneering step of Fr. LeGoc was a strong message to the educated strata of society to change their attitudes held about the working class and appreciate the dignity of human labour. In the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, dignity of work and rights of workers is considered as one of the seven principles of the social teachings (US Conference of Bishops, 2017). What was notable here was, a foreigner confronting the educated locals with a practical approach to transform the country by raising awareness of the dignity of labour and by showing the path of prosperity through agriculture. However, on the other hand, in solving the problem of unemployment, Fr. LeGoc proposed that the answer lay in agriculture, "[i]t is only a question of digging without ceasing, and stirring up the ground round about everywhere" (PR, 1935-1936, p.12) because for him the land of Ceylon was a treasure trove hidden in the grounds. To motivate the young minds, Fr. LeGoc called out to the youth of the country not to wait upon the government to provide employment or to expect something ready-made at the end of the school carrier, but to trust in "self-reliance, grit and perseverance" (PR, 1935-1936, p.11) because "[w]hat is wanting is not opportunity, but application, energy, [and] perseverance"

(PR, 1935-1936, p.12). Thus, Fr. LeGoc proposed to maintain a plot of land in every school to teach the utility value of farming, and to solve the problem of unemployment and food shortage (PR, 1938-1939). This approach would have been an ideal remedy in approaching the 1934-1935 famine and malaria outbreak, which also resulted in a focus by local government to improve health, education and food security (Kelegama, 2013). In the reports of the other Rectors, this theme on agriculture has not been discussed, as it was Fr. LeGoc's learning and interest in agriculture and his approach to local issues in his vicinity. Being a botanist and author of a text book, *Introduction to Tropical Botany* for students of Ceylon and India, and a lecturer in Biology at the Medical College, lecturer in Botany at the University College and a lecturer in Nature Study at Government training College in Ceylon, he was well placed to identify the needs for agricultural reform and there by propose solutions and improve the situations of the locals (The Oblate Rectors of the Past at St. Joseph's College, Colombo).

The current research literature on the theme of effort and perseverance elaborates that what Fr. LeGoc elucidated eight decades ago in Ceylon is still relevant, and applicable to school students, since the same character traits such as resilience, grit, perseverance, and effort are recognised as most essential and important attributes of character formation for schooling children (Centre for Curriculum Redesign, 2020). For example, in the curriculum of primary schools' character education programmes in the UK, 'resilience' stands as a main attribute of character formation (Case study report, 2017). Therefore, what Fr. LeGoc presented eighty years ago, still stands valid and relevant to the present school environment around the globe. Moreover, the approach taken to appreciate and value the dignity of human labour by Fr. LeGoc through constant effort and perseverance indicate the desire to promote the dignity of labour in the school curriculum as the necessary ingredients of character formation. A student who knows the art and meaning of constant effort and perseverance would appreciate, value and honour the dignity of labour. The official Church documents such as *Rerum Novarum-1850*, *Octogesima Advenie-1971*, *Centesimus Annus-1991*, *Gaudium et Spes-1965, Laborem Exercens 1981, Laudato Si-2015* also have outlined and upheld the unique position the Church has continuously offered for the dignity of human labour highlighting the collaborative role of man in salvation (Diocese of Westminster Education Service, 2018). Therefore, the initiatives of Fr. LeGoc and his vision to train students to value the dignity of human labour, constant effort and perseverance could be understood as a pioneering approach to transform social structure through education.

5.6 The role of parents

Parents are "the primary and principal educators" (Vatican II, 1965: 3), and their role in the education of children cannot be replaced or substituted because of their irreplaceable character. It is in and through the atmosphere of the family that "well-rounded, personal and social education of children is fostered" (Vatican II, 1965: 3). When analysing the approaches of the Rectors, in the light of the teachings of the Church, recognition given to the role of parents by Frs. Collin and LeGoc was noticeable. From the outset, Fr. Collin, the first Rector, made several attempts to engage parents and involve them in the process of character formation of students (PR, 1897), because he assumed that human formation was a result of a collective effort of both parents and the school. His first appeal was to stop the hasty preparations enforced by parents because of the examination system, and secondly to send the children at the right age to the right grade of the College to pursue the path of education from Form One. Thirdly, he urged the parents not to take their children as paragons of virtue as "never wrong and never deserving of punishment" (PR, 1896-1897, p.3) because in his approach the room for correction was essential both at home and in school. He considered that the first lessons of discipline should properly begin from home. His fourth concern for parents was the attention they paid to their children and their education.

These appeals of a Catholic school Rector at the beginning of the 20th century reflect the current teachings of the Congregation for Catholic Education. Fr. Collin's interest to engage the parents in the concerns of the students directs them to the importance of creating the "educating community" (CCE, 1997:18), because parents have a key role to play in the educating community, "since it is to them that primary and natural responsibility for their children's education belongs" (CCE, 1997:20). On the other hand, Fr. Collin raised the need of collaboration and cooperation of the parents through communication to support the formation of students. This was basically to achieve the educational aims of the school (CCE, 1988). Moreover, Fr. Collin expressed his disappointment and complained that, parents did very little supervision at home and replaced their role with a private tutor for home exercises of students. He cautioned that it could deliver disastrous results since students made a very poor attempt with their homework. His advice to parents was that "[l]et your boy do his homework as best he can; it is better that he should do it imperfectly though his own exertions than perfectly with the help of another" (PR, 1896-1897, p.3). Thus, he summoned the attention of the parents for the need for home supervision. Also, he expressed his displeasure to the parents who made their children stay in nearby lodgings in the city without admitting them to the school boarding and also for not being accompanied by their parents. He denounced this approach as a "criminal economy" (PR,1896-1897, p.4) because "for the

training, the education and the morality of the child are sacrificed for the saving of a few rupees" (PR, 1896-1897, p.4). What he insisted upon here was the parental care and presence which are fundamental supportive ingredients of character development. Hence, he vehemently opposed this choice of the parents because such decisions were detrimental to character development as the boys were exposed to manifold dangers of the city. For Fr. Collin, a few school hours of the day were not sufficient for such students who lived without their parents being present. "What good can we in this College do, during a few hours of tuition…" (PR, 1896-97, p.4). The intention of the school management and the Rector are reflected in this exchange of views with parents to determine a wholistic education which necessitates the co-operation of parents. Moreover, Fr. Collin's attempt to convince the parents of their primary role and need of engagement and involvement with the school illustrates the current teaching of the Church on "decisive space for cooperation between school and family…" (CCE, 2007: 48). However, what is absent in this exchange of views is the alternatives offered to parents whose children stayed in nearby lodgings. Fr. Collin seems to have not proposed any affordable alternative to them other than being critical of their action. This opportunity would have been utilised to strengthen the confidence of the parents to support their struggle by providing workable solutions for the benefit of the students. In the current teachings of Catholic education this could be interpreted as lacking the "…decisive space for cooperation between school and the family…" (CCE, 2007: 48).

In the reports of Frs. Lytton, Nicholas, and Pillai, instances of parent-school communications were not mentioned. Nevertheless, Fr. LeGoc in his report in 1929-1930 made demands of parents for co-operation. Other than financial assistance, his major request to them was to have closer contact with the school, and to monitor the progress of their children. School attendance and following up on the progress of the students in their annual report with their grades in each subject had been neglected by some of the parents, which in his observation was a matter of negligence by them (PR, 1929-1930). The approaches of both Frs. Collin and LeGoc reflected the intention they had for parental involvement and co-operation in the education of students. The Congregation for Catholic Education, a century later, reflects the attitude held by Frs. Collin and LeGoc with regards to having essential parental support because in "…welcoming parents' cooperation, Catholic schools consider essential to their mission the service of *permanent formation offered to families* to support them in their education task (CCE, 2007:48).

5.7 The role of alumni -a reflection of character formation

The Catholic school community is also an agent of service to society for the common good (CCE, 1977: 63). This theme which is outlined in this document was evident and manifested

by the way of life, achievements, and contribution displayed by the alumni of the College. Their prospects also reflected the quality and the identity of the College in their contribution to society. In the analysis of this theme, past students and graduates of the College were considered an inspiration to the school (PR, 1902). Their link with the school was established through the Old Boys' Day and the annual friendly cricket match between the present and the past students, and the Old Boys' dinner and inauguration of St. Edward's debating club and literary society. These occasions created opportunities for the older students to interact with the current students and provide inspiration to the younger students to persevere in a wholistic education in the school, because for Fr. Collin "they are a living testimony to the sound education imparted … and the best advertisement for the College" (PR, 1902, CM, p.3). In 1903, they established the Old Boys Association to welcome all the past students of the College (PR, 1903), but the founding of the Old Boys Union was recorded in 1917 (PR, 1919). The efforts put in for training students in character as Fr. Collin mentioned had not gone in vain but had produced duty-conscious adults within society. The feedback received from a head of a department where an alumnus of the College was employed, recorded that "I have already under me several old boys of your College and I am quite willing to take more; for your boys are trained to discipline, and that is what we want men who know how to obey orders" (PR, 1905, p.3, CM, 1905). This example of Fr. Collin, depicted that the strategy of character formation had resulted in enabling students to be employed after leaving school with pride and recognition. Another such compliment, about a past student, was recorded by Fr. Lytton from St. Boniface's College in Plymouth in England, received from his headmaster, "I am most pleased with Mr. Robert Fernando, and if his companions from St. Joseph's College, Colombo, are anything like him I should be pleased to have many of them" (PR, 1910, p.7). Another compliment received about the alumni from the missionaries in local parishes was that the past students were keen to receive the Sacraments and were faithful to the religious observances and practices (PR, 1911). Ex- students from the College enrolled in different professions, such as priests, doctors, advocates, proctors, planters, brokers, traders, and contractors (PR, 1920) embodied the most lucrative professions in that society, and the College took pride in mentioning them in the annual report as a kind of honour bestowed on the College by the past students. However, there would have been other professions taken up by the alumni which did not take to the Prize Report, because of the insignificance of social and academic stature of those professions to the esteem of the College. And, Fr. LeGoc questioned this phenomenon in his report in 1922, addressing the imbalance of the education system in Ceylon. His argument was, Ceylon's education system had sided with legal and medical professions and had not recognised the dignity and the importance of other professions (PR, 1922). Thus, he recorded the appointments of Hon.

C.H.Z. Fernando as a member of the Chilaw legislative council and Mr. N. D. Stephen Silva as Chairman of the low country products association, acknowledging their achievements in other professions in 1925. Therefore, by the end of Fr. LeGoc's tenure, the Old Boys Union had become a clear guiding light to the students of the College as a reflection of the school motto *in Scientia et Virtute* (In knowledge and virtue)*,* because of their achievements and example in life. Therefore, Fr. Pillai encouraged all the alumni to join the Union since he saw a formative dimension involved in being reunited with the College through this Old Boys' Union (PR, 1941).

Fr. Pillai's regular inclusion of the achievements of the past pupils in their respective fields and professions, and recording of obituaries of some eminent old boys and priests, motivated the present students to feel the sense of their belongingness to a strong tradition and culture upheld by the College for decades (PR, 1944). On commenting about the contribution of St Joseph's to the Catholics of Ceylon, Fr. Pillai expressed that "St. Joseph's has formed a considerable portion of the Catholic lay leaders and has trained most of our Ceylonese clergy including our two Lord Bishops and Lord Abbot" (PR, 1946, p.19). Fr. Pillai named it a "revolution in the Catholic life of this country" (PR, 1946, p.19), and proclaimed with pride and sincerity that "[m]any of the most glorious pages of our Catholic history have been written by St. Joseph's and its products" (PR, 1946, p.19). To prove this bold statement, he mentioned the election of some old boys in the first parliament as parliamentarians, and as ministers or senators, as well as five old boys being appointed as new cabinet ministers of the new parliament (L.A Rajapakse, C. Suntheralingam, A.E Goonesinghe, E.A.P Wijeratne, and G.G. Ponnambalam), and further recorded the appointment of the new Archbishop Most Revd. Thomas Cooray as testimonials of the achievements of Catholic education received at St. Joseph's (PR, 1948 June & November) by its alumni. This was to prove that the College guided by the Rectors had the skill and the capacity to train and mould men of character through their involvement and instrumentality of Catholic education for the service of the Church and of the country.

5.8 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the research findings guided by the first reserch question on character formation of students. The employment of the tool of discipline, the three stages of child development, the promotion of social justice and charity, the influence of a healthy academic, physical and religious environment, the necessity of constant effort and perseverance with reference to the value of the dignity of labour, the role of the parents and the role of the alumni, incorporate the initiatives, views and efforts of the five Rectors. However, the most notable factor was that Fr. LeGoc dominated some of the themes with

his views and Fr. Pillai also contributed to strengthened some of these themes during his period of Rectorship. The main cause of their dominance in some Reports is that they held their leadership roles as Rectors for more than 20 years, whereas the other Rectors held their posts for less than four years with the exception of Fr. Collin. Therefore, in this discussion, the impact of Fr. LeGoc's views and initiatives compared to that of the other Rectors stand out more prominently. In the next chapter, the educational leadership roles of the Rectors are reviewed in the light of three leadership approaches and to examine how they exercised their roles in their capacity as leaders of St. Joseph's College

Chapter Six

The practice of educational leadership of the first five Rectors from three leadership perspectives

Educational leadership has been widely discussed in relation to school-based leadership. From a general point of view educational leadership is "the act of influencing others in educational settings to achieve goals, and necessitates actions of some kind" (Connolly et al., 2019, p.504). However, this understanding of educational leadership, discussed by Connolly et al. (2019) is attributed primarily to senior roles in an educational institute, because it is through their leadership, school changes and developments are implemented. In a Catholic school setting, school-based leadership is exercised through several types of leadership models underpinning the overarching identity of a Catholic school (Murfitt, 2019). This chapter presents the research findings on the second research question, based on the educational leadership of the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College. These research findings discuss how these Rectors viewed and exercised their roles in the light of instructional, distributed, and situational leadership approaches. The main themes discussed under the instructional leadership approach are: the examination systems, cramming for examinations and internal supervision, the constructive guidance for academic success, enhancing and developing the curriculum and teacher recruitment, retention and development. Under the distributed leadership approach, the shared leadership of the Rectors is explored and discussed. Under the situational leadership approach, the problem of unemployment among the educated youth and the issue of denominational schools and other educational initiatives are presented.

6.1 Practice of leadership from an instructional leadership perspective

Instructional leadership in the schools primarily aims at developing teaching and learning. It is directed at improving student learning and academic performance because for school improvement, the most essential leadership function is to "enhance the quality of teaching and learning" (Harris, 2002, p.67). Instructional leadership enables the realisation of;

> [a] strong focus on learning, developing teaching and learning objectives, holding high expectations of students, creating and supporting student learning goals, monitoring learner progress, protecting instructional time, coordinating curriculum, providing instructional support, Supporting teacher learning (Fevre, 2019, p.1).

In the following analysis, instructional leadership provided by the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College to achieve the objectives in the areas of student and teacher development are discussed.

6.1.1 The examination systems

One of the dimensions proposed in the instructional leadership model by Hallinger was the clarity of the school's mission which defined "that the school has clear, measurable goals that are focused on the academic progress of its students" (Hallinger, 2003, p.332). The aim and objective of having St. Joseph's College established were to "provide for the Catholics of the island the benefits of higher education…" (PR, 1903, p.3). To create the academic culture of providing higher education for Catholic students, the College curriculum was developed on classical and scientific subjects in view of the Cambridge senior examination, with Latin, Mathematics, English, and one modern language being compulsory in the curriculum, while Greek and Science were taught only to a selected group of students based on their performance. It was recorded that from 1896, students had been sent for both the Junior Cambridge Local and the Senior Cambridge examinations. According to the first Prize Report in 1897, seven students had been sent to sit the Junior Cambridge Local examinations in the first year of the College, and later on, students were prepared either for Senior Cambridge or Matriculation Examinations (PR, 1903). The other major public examinations which were later offered to students from the time of Fr. Collin to Fr. Pillai were as follows: London Intermediate Arts and Intermediate Science, Cambridge Junior and Senior School Certificate Examinations, and Ceylon University Entrance Examination. The Senior School Certificate was later held as Ordinary Level or General Certificate Examination from December 1960 (PRs, 1909,1912,1914,1919,1938,1960). This proves that all the five Rectors knew what they were supposed to achieve through their instructional leadership, and by continuing on the academic traditions of their predecessors, they prepared students to secure the intended objective of accessing higher education. In maintaining this academic progress and developing this academic culture all the five Rectors contributed in varying degrees to build on what was started by their predecessors to prepare students to take up public examinations and prepare them for higher education.

The initiative of the British colonial government to establish an affiliation with the University of London to offer Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees for students in Ceylon had succeeded by the year 1904. In this regard, Fr. Collin had underlined not only its benefit to the prospective candidates but that the whole island would greatly benefit from the establishment of a university so as to spur on the aspirations of advanced scholars to the primary and secondary teaching levels (PR, 1904). His vision for higher education was manifested by his interpretation, that University education could transform the entire education system in Ceylon. However, with the proposal to start a University in Ceylon, Fr. Lytton held a different view altogether because he was not in favour of a public University,

rather he preferred being affiliated with the University of London. Moreover, he emphasised, that Catholic students to be in a Catholic environment even in the stage of higher education. Therefore, he organised Arts and Science classes in preparation for the intermediate examination of the University of London for students of Catholic schools, in order to retain Catholic students to safeguard their faith in a Catholic environment (PR, 1911). However, such proposals of Fr. Lytton, contradicts the approach of the Catholic Church in the 21st century on inclusive education, fraternal humanism, and inter-religious dialogue (CCE, 2022), and reveals the attitude of the pre-Vatican Church, with regards to the Catholic faith. For example, Catholic children were strictly prohibited from attending non-Catholic schools in Ceylon, and if they did so they were strictly dealt with, because "without the permission of the bishops … if they obstinately persist in their fault, unworthy of receiving the sacrament of penance" (Perniola, 2010, p.124). In addition, Fr. Lytton's intention furthermore discloses that, he had little regard towards the multi-religious and pluralistic social context in Ceylon, because his approach contained an exclusive vision of higher education for Catholics. His standpoint perhaps reflects the then teaching of the Catholic Church because the church promulgated, that salvation was not possible outside the confines of the Church till the pronouncement of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council on the dogmatic constitution on the Church, where it was clarified that the Church is necessary for salvation and above all God wills the salvation of all (The Apostolate for Catholic Truth, 2015; Vatican II, 1965, LG: 14). However, Fr. Pillai aligning with Fr. Collin's proposition to higher education expressed his complete support for the inauguration of the University of Ceylon in 1942, and also, he desired a transformation in the local education system through the establishment of the first local University (PR, 1942). Thereby, he envisaged that it would establish a robust and sound higher education system contributing to the individual, social, and economic well-being of its citizens (Teague, 2015). This clearly shows how Fr. Pillai differed from the approaches of his predecessors. On the one hand, to hold this progressive attitude towards higher education, he would have been guided by his academic background, and on the other hand, driven by the then nationalistic movements for independence from the British empire, he would have ascertained that establishment of a local university would transform the education system and the future generations of the country.

Another notable milestone in the examinations history of Ceylon was the abolition of the London-based examination system during the period from 1936 to 1948 and replacing it with the Advanced School Certificate and Senior School Certificate Examinations in 1943 (Jayasuriya, 1976). The main purpose of introducing this new examination system locally was due to the discrepancies that existed with the London Cambridge and Matriculation

Examinations and their irrelevance to the needs of the local students and their situations. British representatives who came to assess the education system in Ceylon such as J.J.R Bridge in 1912 and W.G.A. Ormsby Gore in 1928 also admitted, that the education system in Ceylon had not delivered the expected results, but had served only a small percentage of the population. They pointed out that the British education system had hampered the expectations of the natives primarily by "denationalising, de-ruralising and intellectually and socially cramping results of the system of education" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.436), and secondarily, the examination system that was carried out had "wholly out of touch with the needs, traditions, mental gifts and aptitude of the people" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.436). Fr. Pillai stood alongside with the above decision and accepted that the London-based examinations were far from the expectations of the Ceylonese. Fr Pillai in this regard supported the proposal which came from the Head Masters' conference to conduct a local Senior Examination similar to the Cambridge Senior Examination. He believed that "it is unreasonable to suppose that we in this country are incapable of holding a satisfactory examination [system]" (PR, 1941, p.71). Therefore, he supported the decision to establish the High School Certificate Examination and Senior School Certificate Examination replacing the London Intermediate Examination and London Matriculation Examination. He strongly believed that these two examinations were capable of offering the students of Ceylon the opportunities to be employed in the right profession with a sound educational background (PR, 1942). However, this argument discloses that the three predecessors to Fr. Pillai simply followed the education structure in line with the British examination system without discerning its relevance to the local situations or needs of the native students, but collectively, the efforts and the initiatives of the Rectors in preparing students for public examinations and getting them to pursue higher education in London Universities and later at the University of Ceylon and at Aquinas University College, however, illustrate their purpose and commitment in their instructional leadership role, because it is the responsibility of the school principal to define in clear terms, the academic perspective and mission of the school as the instructional leader (Hallinger, 2003).

6.1.2 Cramming for examinations and internal supervision

In his involvement with the development of academic progress, one issue addressed by Fr. Collin was the problem of cramming in preparation for examinations. As he explained, this tendency had emerged owing to the lack of motivation of students for literary taste, and instead, they had learned to memorise the passages that probably might appear in exams (PR, 1897). This information reveals that even though the student competitiveness was present for exams in the school, even the masters had taken the procedure of the students for granted,

because the only service required of the masters for such students was, to show them some hints to study those passages for examinations, but not the appreciation of literature. On the one hand, this situation sheds light on the unfamiliar nature of the students to the subjects being studied, because they were foreign to them and they were following a syllabus of a foreign education system (Sumathipala, 1968). On the other hand, it seems that masters had not devised any other revision alternatives for students. Subsequently, having observed this teaching and learning shortcoming, Fr. Collin hoped that a solution to this academic issue was to be found in changing the structure of the exam papers. He spoke highly of such changes made in the Matriculation Examination of the University of London aiming to avoiding the practice of cramming (PR, 1904). However, this teaching and learning situation with regard to the exam preparations implies that both teachers and students did not have a remedy other than depending on the University of London to change the format of the Matriculation examination at the beginning of the 20th century. Also, Fr. Collin did not make any references to any alternatives in teaching or learning habits to be introduced into classroom practices.

However, the issue of cramming was a common phenomenon even in the late Victorian period in England. J.M Lane who critiques the education system of this time explained that "[w]hile full of the facts necessary for passing the University of London exams, the book was carefully designed to promote knowledge, rather than memorisation" (Lane, 2018, p.40). Lane also suggested that remedies to such situations were found in good teachers and instructors, not in text books, because teachers always stand above the textbooks (Lane, 2018). In addressing an issue that had arisen in the late 19th century, though still continuing to exist among school learners, Walck-Shannon, Rowell, and Frey (2021) argue that good study habits and making learners more self-confident and independent can contribute to their increased performance. In the context of the late 19th century, the only mechanism available was the dependence on teachers but, if they were incompetent to deal with such exam-related learning issues, students were left to follow or use previous exam preparation methods. However, Fr. Collin insisted in his role as Rector, that in the process of preparing students for public examinations, it should not be done in haste, but that preparation should happen carefully and methodically to avoid cramming. Therefore, in this instructional process, the place of the teacher plays a critical role in promoting the learning habits for students. Even the Church document *Gravissimum Educationis,* stresses in this regard that "[teachers] should therefore be very carefully prepared so that both in secular and religious knowledge, they are equipped with suitable qualifications and also with a pedagogical skill that is in keeping with the findings of the contemporary world" (Vatican II, 1965: 8).

In improving the teaching and learning process as well as examination preparation, the instructional leadership of the other Rectors were also equally noticeable in their Reports. During the tenure of Fr. Lytton, a Board of Studies was appointed for the smooth running of the academic department. The members of the Board of Studies were directly responsible for the teaching, learning, and curriculum development and all examinations in the College. On the Board of Studies, the most responsible person after the Rector was the prefect of studies, whose role was mainly to hold examinations and improve the quality of performance of the students. Besides the role of the prefect of studies, the four other members were in charge of one of the main subjects in the curriculum - English, Classics, Mathematics, or Science. In this way, Fr. Lytton gave a boost to the academic administrative structure to better support the students and teachers in their teaching and learning, and their preparation for examinations (PR, 1910). Fundamentally, he expected good results at public examinations. Therefore, Fr. Lytton wanted all students of form five (School year for senior examination) and form four (school year for junior examination) classes to be equally prepared for the Cambridge Junior and Senior Examinations. He demanded that "boys … fit for these forms should be equal to these tests" (PR, 1910, p.5). This new stance of Fr. Lytton indicates the establishment of a systematic and an organised management structure with clear educational goals for his instructional programme for the students and teachers. This initiative also informs that he was well advanced in his approach, because among current educational trends emphasis is still placed on "managing teaching and learning as the core activities" (Bush, 2007, p.400) of schools in order to influence the teachers to improve the quality of teaching and learning. This reflects that instructional leaders have the capacity to build new academic cultures in a school set up in order to raise the quality of teaching and learning as well as academic results (Hallinger, 2003). Fr. Lytton's approach could be envisaged therefore as a building of a new academic culture creating a positive teaching and learning environment.

Moreover, Fr. Lytton's successor, Fr. Nicholas placed his interest on the school's academic achievement as a mechanism of improving the academic culture of the school. He welcomed the government's suggestion with regards to Cambridge Junior and Cambridge Senior Certificate Examinations, since "[o]nly schools inspected and approved for the purpose will be permitted to send candidates" (PR, 1913, p.8). As a result, schools had to meet the benchmarks of improving classroom teaching and learning to qualify candidates for Cambridge Junior and Cambridge Senior Certificate Examinations. In this regard Fr. Nicholas's approach could be recognised as an extension of Fr. Lytton's initiative, which included the internal supervision of student progress. An inspection report by the Divisional

Inspector of Schools during Fr. LeGoc's tenure, provided examples of how comprehensive and productive the suggestions and remarks were for the improvement of the school. Commenting on the methods of teaching, the inspector had remarked that "[t]eachers did not seem to appreciate the aim and purpose of notes of lessons which they have ignored altogether. Knowledge of the subject and experience in teaching it needs to be reinforced by notes of preparation to make teaching efficient and effective" (Triennial Inspection, 1937, p.9). This school supervision platform would have positively supported the instructional leadership of the school to pay attention to weaker areas for improvement. This positive approach to school supervision which Fr. Nicholas accommodated hundred years back is essentially present in today's school system as an imperative because secondary school supervision generally aims at achieving the educational goals of a school. Thus, inspections aim to promote classroom teaching and learning and improving school principals', teachers', and administrative effectiveness (Oghuvbu, 2007). In the current literature on instructional leadership "supervising and evaluating instruction, coordinating the curriculum and monitoring student progress" (Ng, Nguyen, Wong and Choy, 2015, p.391) are considered the key responsibilities of the instructional leadership which Frs. Lytton and Nicholas implemented a century ago at St. Joseph's College.

6.1.3 Enhancing and developing the curriculum

The evaluation of the instructional process was an imperative of the instructional leader (Sarikaya & Erdogan, 2016) and at the same time, they concentrate on the curriculum to create an effective school (Horng and Loeb, 2010). In the first three decades, the college curriculum was dominated by the classics. However, the first three Rectors proportionately allowed the sciences also to remain on the curriculum (PRs., 1909,1910,1913). Fr. Collin's statement in 1910, clarifies the above proposition because he had not only focused on Latin and Greek, and English, but he had every reason to improve the modern side of education with Mathematics and Science. Hence, he made it compulsory for college students to learn Mathematics and for those who chose Science, to study Chemistry and Physics, providing the science students with a moderately well-equipped laboratory, so as to achieve this academic benchmark (PR, 1910). However, post-World War I, greater attention was given to accessing science subjects in the school curriculum. Fr. LeGoc was seen in this context as one who encouraged both Classics and sciences, and elaborated on the benefits of both streams for education and life and he stipulated that "[w]hile the mind is well-formed by the use of three fundamental subjects, English, Latin, and Mathematics, we believe that a fair chance should be given to boys who wish to have a scientific training" (PR, 1931-1932, p.9). This focus also sheds light on the evolution and the development of the curriculum with the

passing of time because it was noticed that a small number of schools had the facilities to teach science and even those schools had to depend on the textbooks received from Britian and apply the situations in Britian for learning within the local context (Jayasuriya, 1976). One of the major criticisms of the curriculum of the London examinations was that they did not match the local circumstances because "…the world of education was alien to the world in which the children lived their daily lives" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.376), catering only to a minority of citizens through the medium of English.

In the analysis of a balanced curriculum in the 21st century, it should "provide learning programmes or a curriculum that have suitable breadth, depth, and relevance so that they meet any … statutory requirements, as well as the needs and interests of children, … and employers, (Hall, 2018, slide 4). It is obvious therefore, that the Rectors had followed a syllabus that was relevant to British colonial education available in Ceylon at that time, and had not addressed sufficiently the local needs of the children in their curriculum.

Into this Curriculum, commercial and technical subjects were introduced during Fr. LeGoc's period. Fr LeGoc's report in 1920 mentioned the inclusion of book-keeping and shorthand as a preparation to introduce commercial subjects into the curriculum (PR, 1920). "To our curriculum of studies, we have added this year classes of book-keeping and shorthand" (PR, 1920, p.29). However, commercial subjects were interpreted as suitable for weaker students who could not perform well in examinations (Jayasuriya, 1976). Thus, it was not considered for their prospect of future employability, but, however, Fr. LeGoc's perspective on technical subjects was, that it could broaden the outlook and lead to wider engagement with the world. On the suggestion to teach tailoring, carpentry, and such similar subjects, Fr. LeGoc saw them as having very little utility value, or potential for employment (PR, 1931-1932). He justified his argument, since the curriculum had more or less classically driven, and that employability through other subjects had not yet been adequately recognised, except in the fields of medicine and law.

Fr. Pillai during his tenure also recognised the importance of technical subjects in the curriculum with the view to improving the skills of the students. His pioneering effort to establish a workshop with a printing press, and extending it with a metalwork department, carpentry section, radio technology section, foundry, and the arts and crafts section on the College premises was proof of his contribution to the evolving educational needs of the country and providing the educational environment for creativity in the students. His vision for students was "to compel them not only to realise the value of purely academic pursuits but also to make them machine-minded and take a joy in the creative work of the hand" (PR, 1951, p.37). This move of Fr. Pillai could be understood in the context of *The Ceylon*

Technical College being raised to the status of an independent department under the Ministry of Education, which became the centre of technological studies in 1942. Thus, it provided opportunities for different courses in vocational training, which led to greater employment in the country (Jayasuriya, 1976). The criticism raised against the colonial rule was that "neither agriculture nor industry advanced appreciably as the government was not interested in promoting them above their traditional level" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.377), but in quoting the Times of Ceylon editorial in 1908, Jayasuriya questioned that "there is really no reason why the country that contributes materially to the rubber supply of the world should not manufacture its own rubber goods" (Jayasuriya, 1976, p.377). However, in the light of the recognition given to technical subjects and the opportunity provided for employment through such vocational paths, Fr. Pillai's application to bring them into the curriculum indicated that he placed the College curriculum relatively in a better position within the local educational context.

What was noticeable in this analysis is, that the Rectors had not stubbornly continued the traditions of their predecessors, but had attempted to offer the students the right educational choice, suitable to their situation and context to pursue their higher education, and to seek employment opportunities in the job market.

6.1.4 Constructive guidance for academic success

In the perspective of providing constructive guidance for academic success of students, it is demanded of the school leadership to create "a new administrative perception and a new administrator. This administrator will manage the school from classes and corridors and be available when needed" (Sarikaya and Erdogan, 2016, p.72). In the administrative roles of the Rectors, this new phenomenon, which is discussed in the 21st century was visible in the exercise of their instructional leadership.

Fr. Collin, in the early stages, had identified the capacities and strengths of students noting that "[s]ome are bright and willing; these are our pride. Some are willing but not bright; these are our hope" (PR, 1902, p.3). He was also aware of the "bright" students who were not "willing", and the students who were neither "willing" nor "bright" (PR, 1902, p.3). This indicates that Fr. Collin as the Rector had recognised the intellectual capacities of students and identified the gaps where teaching and learning should be more involved with providing extra support (PR, 1902). Secondly, he was against the discrimination of students, based on their intellectual capacities. He respected the variety and the diversity of the students and did not want to be unfair to those academically challenged, by focusing special attention only on the more able students in preparation for the University Scholarship Examination. He

considered it to be a "vain honour" (PR, 1902, p.3) to prepare one set of students, whilst neglecting the rest, so as to gain public admiration at public examinations. These views of Fr. Collin were later reflected in the teachings of the Congregation for Catholic Education when commenting on the diversity of learners, recommending that the "… diversities related to the presence of particular situations of frailness affecting cognitive abilities… should always be recognised and embraced…" (CCE, 2014: 5).

In the exercise of instructional leadership one important aspect to touch upon, is the human dimension, which strengthens the interpersonal relationships through communicating and motivating others to reach the educational goals (Sarikaya and Erdogan, 2016). Fr Collin in his capacity can be seen as a mentor who co-journeys, with the students, understanding them and their capacities, encouraging and supporting them, and being available for them to reach their potential. Another such example was the support extended to bright and clever students who were economically unable to pay College fees. They were provided with the opportunity to continue their studies by winning academic scholarships annually. This arrangement was to retain the promising students, despite their inability to pay the school fees. This initiative of Fr. Collin (PR, 1909) prompted his successors also to continue the good tradition of supporting the academic progress of poor but bright students through scholarships (PR, 1926).

In addition, the instructional leadership of the Rectors was guided by the monitoring and evaluation of student progress, because it was the responsibility of the instructional leader to do "continuous assessment, monitoring, and evaluation, … development and achievement levels through various assessment tools…" (Sarikaya and Erdogan, 2016, p.73). From the time of the first Rector, academic progress had been monitored. As Fr. Collin recorded in his report in 1897, some had failed to benefit from learning and instruction due to their negligence. However, what steps and measures taken to address these issues were not found in his report. But, despite the success of many students, academic excellence had been maintained by enforcing stern decisions on students. Fr. Nicholas recorded expelling students in the 1913 report. As the report explained "[o]n this account after repeated warnings and due notice to the parents, boys were removed from the books -on one occasion as many as twenty-five after the quarterly examinations" (PR, 1913, p.12). This account proves a strong administrative structure that was in operation following the establishment of the board of studies, and the policies put in place by the prefect of studies with regard to academic progress. This incident reflects the rigidity and authoritarian face of the school management at that time. No mention of alternative measures was mentioned in the report to clarify why students were dismissed from the school other than their continuous poor

performance in studies. There the Rector's direct involvement was not mentioned, but the strict academic policies of the board of studies reflect the instructional leadership approach of the Rector. Furthermore, Fr. LeGoc also recorded that even though the overall results from London Matriculation and London Cambridge Examinations appeared commendable, there was a percentage of students who did not succeed in their examinations due to their lack of constant effort and perseverance in their studies. According to the statistics in 1927, only 50% of the senior students had completed their studies at the end of their school career to obtain the Senior Cambridge School Certificate (PR, 1927-1928).

These benchmarks of constructive guidance imposed by the Rectors towards student progress stand as signposts of instructional leadership provided for the progress of sustaining and achieving student academic goals.

6.1.5 Teacher recruitment

For successful teaching and learning, the most essential component is the teaching staff. Instructional leadership is therefore geared to "promoting a positive school learning climate" (Hallinger, 2003, p.332), where teachers are provided with the right stimulus and opportunities for growth. The teachers in the College from its inception had been a composition of both religious and lay academic staff members. As Fr. Collin describes they were oblate priests and lay masters employed in the College (PR, 1903). The participation of the laity in the mission of the Church is a new phenomenon which has received much attention in Church documents in recent history. Their role has been recognised as being "vital[ly] important" (CCE, 1982: 1). The Congregation for Catholic education calls it the "spiritual communion" (CCE, 2007: 27). and defines the role of the lay teacher as a vocation where they actively participate "in the educational mission of the church" (CCE, 2007: 32). Thus, by their active involvement in the mission of education, they together carry out the "spiritual animation of the community" which is the school (CCE, 2007: 32). Even though this awareness is recently brought to light through the Church document on the role of the laity, it had been in existence in secondary schools like St. Joseph's, but this new understanding and missionary and pastoral awareness would not have been there since this kind of approach was not provided by the Church teachings for the laity as well as for consecrated persons working in the same educational milieu.

The reference made concerning the quality of teachers, Fr. Collin underscored that the lay masters were mostly British and they had qualified at British Universities and were learned men (PR, 1903). His recruitment process was aimed at raising the standard of the quality of teaching and ensuring the strength and the quality of the tutorial staff of a Catholic English

College. As Horng and Loeb argue "…staffing a school with high-quality teachers…" is a task of the organisational manager who is the instructional leader (Horng and Loeb, 2010, p.67). This aspect of teacher recruitment with qualified and committed teachers indicates that Fr. Collin was a strong organisational manager. Another sound example of teacher recruitment was provided by Fr. LeGoc. He mentioned that teachers were recruited on the criteria of "intelligence, learning, judgment, character and principles" (PR, 1924, pp.22-23), and they were either trained at the teacher training College or were trained later under the senior teachers of the College (PR, 1924). These two examples provide evidence that Fr. Collin and Fr. LeGoc "do not fit the conventional definition of instructional leaders but … do fit the new, expanded definition of instructional leadership that includes organisational management" (Horng and Loeb, 2010, p.67). Even though in the Reports of the other Rectors, a special mention was given to teachers of the College, no reference was found dealing with the criteria of teacher recruitment.

6.1.6 Teacher development

Instructional leaders focus their attention to improve the teaching quality as well as student outcomes (Hallinger, 2003). In the observation of the instructional process of the teachers, Fr. Collin used to guide and support them. His acknowledgment of the successful teaching carried out to improve the poor knowledge of students in religious education, and recognising their improvement as "a [decisive] improvement in this respect" (PR,1 897, p.6) due to the "teaching imparted to them" (PR, 1897, p.6) reveals that he monitored and observed the process of classroom teaching and learning. The instructional leadership model developed by Hallinger (2005) strongly advises managing the instructional programme by the instructional leadership in the school. This level of leadership shares the tasks of "supervising and evaluating of instruction, coordinating the curriculum and monitoring student progress" (Ng, Nguyen, Wong and Choy, 2015, p.391). Fr. Collin's example attests to the evaluation of instruction, which was a task even a hundred years ago entrusted to the instructional leadership of the school principal. However, during the time of Fr. LeGoc, the inspection and supervision of teachers and their classes had been conducted within the College through the instrumentality of the prefect of studies. It was mainly to support the teachers to improve their teaching and classroom management (PR, 1919).

Guidance was another aspect of proper instruction to happen in the classroom. Fr. Nicholas instructed that teacher "ought to work not for examination results, but for the real progress of their pupils" (PR, 1913, p.7). This expression unfolds that in his instructional role, Fr. Nicholas was guiding the teachers to focus their attention for the real success of students beyond examination results. Fr. LeGoc's advice to teachers was that the task of the teachers

in the classroom was to "stimulate the intellect" (PR, 1924, p,22) to create the "best intellectual environment" (PR, 1924, p,22). It was within such teaching and learning environments that clarity of thought, speech, and writing could result from the teachers' efforts. (PR, 1924). In Fr. LeGoc's view, the teaching methods which were not practical and thus failed to support student learning had to be discarded, because the damage they caused was greater than the support they gave for student improvement (PR, 1927-1928). His suggestion on launching a Diploma in Education, attached to the University of London, as an external study programme was a clear sign of his intention to improve the quality of teachers, helping them to learn the science of teaching (PR, 1919). These views of Fr. Nicholas and Fr. LeGoc emphasise the need analysis they had done for proper teacher development and improvement in their skills in delivery. It also communicates that the skills of professional instruction were lacking among the teachers to reach the educational goals. Therefore, in regard to professional training, the Congregation for Catholic Education mentions "if adequate professional preparation is required in order to transmit knowledge, then adequate professional preparation is even more necessary in order to fulfil the role of a genuine teacher" (CCE, 1982: 16). However, in 1920 government teacher training college had been functioning with English and vernacular departments with two years training programme to support the improvement of teachers in schools. In addition, among the six assisted teacher training schools four had been under the management of Roman Catholics (Jayasuriya, 1976).

6.1.7 Teacher motivation and welfare

In the principal's leadership role, the relationship with the staff and uplifting their morale is considered of vital importance because the school principal is "responsible to meet the desires of staff, to promote their integration with the school and to positively affect their morale and performance to accomplish [their] tasks…" (Sarikaya and Erdogan, 2016, p 73).

In the instructional leadership practices of Frs. Collin, LeGoc, and Pillai, attempts were made to establish the staff well-being in a positive environment. In promoting this mutual atmosphere, the appraisal given to the members of the first academic staff by Fr. Collin in 1897, acknowledging them as a good blend of lay and ecclesiastical members with European and native Masters, was a profound encouragement and motivation to their service as members of the academic staff. "I take this opportunity to thank every one of the masters for the patient, laborious and spirited manner in which they have accomplished their difficult mission" (PR, 1897, p.5). Fr. Collin appreciated the strenuous effort of the masters for training and developing the minds of the students, because teaching and learning were still evolving through the interactions of the masters in that initial phase of the College. He

wanted to build a strong rapport between students and masters in a healthy master/student relationship to improve the quality of teaching. This example of Fr. Collin in his exercise of instructional leadership has exhibited the behavioural traits of "appreciating teachers, encouraging them to take risks, treat them with sympathy and empathy, promote behaviours of cooperation among teachers and make teachers feel that the principal is supportive to their efforts" (Sarikaya and Erdogan, 2016, p.73). This instance further elaborates the active presence and engagement of the Rector with the staff as a positive motivator.

Building on Fr. Collin's endeavours to promote motivation in staff, Fr. LeGoc's inclusion of staff qualifications in his reports could be seen as a positive impetus, encouraging the academic staff (PR, 1919). The motivational factor which Fr. LeGoc had infused into the system was further intensified by the instructional practice of Fr. Pillai. The commencement of the staff guild for the teachers of the College and of the preparatory school provided opportunities for social interaction and welfare. This opportunity could be interpreted as an opportunity created by the Rector for team building and promoting solidarity among the staff, which eventually created an environment with trust for professional and social engagement. Also, it provided access to work and improve teacher welfare by being part of the educating community (CCE, 2007). Moreover, this introduction of the teachers' guild for their welfare relates to Fr. LeGoc's interest in social justice. This might have evoked and prompted the need for teachers to be aware of their rights and privileges as staff members of a Catholic school, because he was instrumental in creating two magazines by the names 'Social Justice' in English and '*Samaja Samaya*' in Sinhala in 1937, to educate on the rights and privileges of the worker and addressed issues such as "the workers' wage issue, senior citizen pension, the establishment of the Employee's Provident Fund (EPF), Paddy Land Bill and the National Housing Programme" (Shanthikumar, 2018, p.1). He also tried to organise "instructive talks and discussions" (PR, 1941, p.70) to improve their skills. To further motivate them to improve their role as teachers, Fr. Pillai created two staff reading rooms and a reference library for teachers (PR, 1941). These practical steps of Fr. Pillai listed above in motivating and encouraging teachers with ongoing training and development resonates with the teachings of the Congregation for Catholic education which recommends such opportunities for teacher training and development (CCE, 2014: 7). Also, the strong objection raised by Fr. Pillai against the proposal to abolish the denominational training College in 1942, was a clear sign of his regard for staff welfare to protect the rights of the teachers of denominational schools such as St. Joseph's. These examples mentioned, prove the active, participatory, instructional leadership roles of these three Rectors in guiding and directing the academic staff with the right motivation to achieve the educational goals at St.

Joseph's. In the Reports of Fr. Lytton and Fr. Nicholas also the invaluable contribution of teachers was recorded, but noteworthy instances related to motivation and welfare were not identified.

6.2 Practice of leadership from a distributed leadership perspective

The concept of distributed leadership has emerged today as an essential component in school leadership practice (Bolden, 2011). It is also interpreted as shared leadership, democratic leadership or team leadership. Distributed leadership practice in a school context is understood as an interaction between school leaders, their stakeholders, and their situations (Spillane, 2005). The composition of distributed leadership which Spillane describes is created when "leaders act in situations that are defined by other's actions. From a distributed perspective, it is these interactions that leadership practice is constructed" (Spillane, 2005, p.145). Larsson and Lowstedt (2020) argued that educational infrastructure in a school is key to creating an individual and collective sense-giving direction for school leaders and teachers to practice their roles in a given situation. But for Harris (2011) distributed leadership is "… a repositioning of the role from exclusive leadership to a form of leadership that is more concerned with brokering, facilitation and supporting others in leading innovation and change" (Harris, 2011, p.8) which reflects a clear shift from bureaucratic to a collaborative form of leadership. The following analysis discusses the approach of the Rectors from a distributed leadership perspective.

6.2.1 Shared leadership of the Rectors

Among all the five Rectors, the key person who seemed to have associated closely with this concept of distributed leadership was Fr. LeGoc. In three of his reports (PR, 1920,1923,1924), he mentioned the perspective of the division of labour. The term division of labour in his context would not have any theoretical implication to the recent distributed perspective of leadership, but Bolden (2011) argues that the origins of the concept of distributed leadership dates back to 1250BC since this terminology has been used in achieving the organisational goals through human involvement. However, Bolden cites Gibbs (1954) to indicate the first use of the term distributed leadership in his writings to mean "… a set of functions which must be carried out by a group" (Bolden, 2011, p.3). Moreover, Serrat (2017) argues that "[t]he starting point of distributed leadership is the division of labour that characterises most organisations" (Serrat, 2017, p.664) because different specialisations, competencies, skills, and knowledge are shared in coherence in achieving organisational goals. Thus, in the light of this concept of division of labour, "distributed leadership … means multiple sources of guidance and direction, following the contours of expertise in an organisation, made coherent through a common culture" (Serrat,

2017, p.664). Also, Bolden (2011) referring to Gronn (2000) establishes the argument that "distributed cognition and activity theory as key concepts within DL" (Bolden, 2011, p.4), because this mediated and collaborated activity of distributed leadership recognises the division of labour as a point of interaction. Therefore, Bolden (2011) acknowledges that there is a rich diversity in the understanding of distributed leadership.

In the light of the above argument, Fr. LeGoc's use of the term division of labour falls within the attributes of distributed leadership which he shared through his leadership role with his colleagues. He believed in an organisation with cooperation, where the unity of actions was to be accomplished through collective effort. "It might seem a difficult task to manage such a large institution; but the whole problem resolves itself into a question of organisation and division of labour" (PR, 1920, p.29). Thus, his elaboration on this concept reveals that he believed in the effectiveness that the school could achieve through distributed leadership. As Angell argues "a singular leader-centric school cannot operate as efficiently as one in which leadership roles are distributed" (Angelle, 2010, p.1). Fr. LeGoc explained that if the internal structures were clearly defined in a school, its effectiveness was achieved with greater efficiency. To prove his exercise of distributed leadership, he mentioned that "…the studies are under a vigilant prefect; another prefect controls successfully the discipline and the games; the preparatory school is doing well under an able Manager; the finances, diet, and the material upkeep are carefully looked after by the Bursar…" (PR, 1920, p.29). Building on Fr. Lytton's initiative, who established the Board of Studies in 1910, Fr. LeGoc further improved and organised the shared leadership of his role by involving his co-worker priests to carry out his responsibilities during his tenure. His sharing of leadership had created trust in himself of his leadership as he noted in his report, "… in the end, the Rector is left with very little to do beyond writing letters" (PR, 1920, p.29). The importance of trust is a key indicator of shared leadership, because it depicts the practice of distributed leadership in an organisation. Fr. LeGoc's confident expression of trust on the shared leadership was an indicator that he believed in elementary factors such as "collaboration, communication, joint problem solving, and honest feedback" (Angelle, 2010, p.3) in his distributed exercise of leadership because "[r]elationships built on trust can operate at the individual, interpersonal, whole school or community level" (Angelle, 2010, p.3). For example, in 1926, while he was away from the island, the leadership of the College had been conferred upon Fr. Y.M. Le Jeune to function as the Acting-Rector in his absence. Fr. Le Jeune read the annual Prize Report in 1926, being fully responsible for the activities of the College for the year 1925/1926. This is a clear reference to how leadership had been shared and developed within the College among the co-worker priests to deal with the educational

demands and tasks. Fr. LeGoc's sense of shared leadership was also attributed to the teaching staff thanking them for "their loyal co-operation, without which the College could not have won its laurels" (PR, 1927-1928, p.7).

Fr. Pillai also relied on the same school structure as his predecessor, and shared the responsibilities with his co-worker priests. He was found to have provided a kind of job description for some of the roles. For example, the role of the prefect of studies was described as someone who was in charge of timetables and the courses of study. In his report, he commented that it was the co-worker priests who had supported him to carry out his role as Rector of the College (PR, 1941). The strength of the distributed leadership was well tested and proved with the dispersion that took place during the Second World War. The College was taken to several localities as branches under the leadership of priests in the school since the College had to be vacated at short notice. The boarding school was moved to Homagama which was under the leadership of Fr. Nanayakkara, the Gampaha branch was led by Fr. Joseph Perera, the Kelaniya branch was under the care of Fr. B. J. C. Pinto, and another branch was in St. John's School Dematagoda (PR, 1941). Despite the difficulties and disruptions, teachers at the College had contributed collectively to the managing and running of these branches to provide education to students (PR, 1942). This kind of unified response to an urgent call would not have been achieved in such a very short period, without the prior experience of shared leadership and responsibilities they had accumulated under the distributed leadership of Fr. LeGoc during his 21 years. The team spirit and the benefit of being together, had infused in the priests on the staff, the collective sense of direction and confidence to rise up to situations of such demanding tasks.

 Up until 1954, the leadership roles were shared only among co-worker priests, because no lay person was asked to assume such responsibilities in the College. This could indicate that, on the one hand, the passive role of the laity prior to the second Vatican Council, and on the other hand, the less impact of movements like Catholic Action in the1930s promulgated by Pope Pius XI to promote laity in the Church (Borelius, 2019). However, Fr. Pillai in his 1954 Prize Report mentioned the assigning of responsibilities to lay masters in the capacities of the assistant prefect of discipline and prefect of games. Thus, the inclusion of lay staff members along with the other co-worker priests in shared responsibilities of the school was established. Nevertheless, in the case of both Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai what was not explained nor clarified in their reports was, whether the power and the authority were transferred via the distributed roles and responsibilities to exercise their leadership roles in pursuance of the educational goals of the school or were distributed ad hoc, because as Angelle argues "delegation of tasks or dividing responsibilities according to role is not distributed

leadership" (Angelle, 2010, p.2). Moreover, Harris states that if the right distribution of authority and power was not vested in such responsibilities, it becomes a deprived delegation (Harris, 2003). Bolden (2011) also argues that despite leadership being distributed, if access to power and resources is hampered, imbalance could creep into the organisational activities of the school. Therefore:

> it will be important to ensure that distributed leadership is not simply misguided delegation. Instead, it implies a social distribution of leadership where the leadership function is stretched over the work of a number of individuals and where the leadership task is accomplished through the interaction of multiple leaders *"* (Harris, 2005, p.261).

In the first two decades, the College's Prize Reports, do not provide exact information to discuss distributed leadership implications except in the Reports attributed to Fr. Lytton. This could indicate that the concept of shared leadership was being developed by later Rectors within the religious community and the staff.

6.3 Practice of leadership from a situational leadership perspective

The situational leadership theory explains the ability of a leader to adjust himself or herself to the current working environment with the best suitable style of leadership to act. Directing, coaching, supporting, and empowering staff are considered basic situational leadership styles to describe how they should adapt according to their situation (Murphy, et al., 2021-2022). The situational approach of the Rectors in carrying out their roles is presented below.

6.3.1 The issue of unemployment

An issue of unemployment among the school leavers emerged during the tenures of Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai. However, in the opinion of Fr. LeGoc, a well-balanced equilibrium was not found in the system of education in Ceylon (PR, 1922), because of a one-sided occupational structure that had been established through the school curriculum in the country due to English and vernacular school system. His argument was that, the curriculum taught in English schools had raised medicine and the legal profession to be very prestigious, and thereby that of other occupations had consequently received minimal recognition. Subsequently, he discussed the plight of the students who were misemployed and unemployed, even after finishing their education in English schools. Through the curriculums of Cambridge and London examinations, school leavers had been deprived of their right to employment due to the excess of candidates for the few vacancies on the government job market. Fr. LeGoc raised this issue as a problem of the system of education in the country and strongly articulated that what the country wanted had not been taught in our schools (PR, 1935-1936). His view was also supported by the reports of the British inspectors of colonial education J.J.R Bridge and W.G.A. Ormsby Gore about the mismatch

of British education in Ceylon with the needs and aspirations of Ceylonese (Jayasuriya, 1976). Moreover, Fr. LeGoc criticised the unnecessary dependence on the government, and the allegiance and interest paid for job opportunities in governmental sectors. His concern and plea were to build up commerce and agricultural occupations with "self-reliance, grit and perseverance" (PR, 1935-1936, p.11) so as to change the outlook of this deflated job market. In approaching this issue of unemployment among the educated youth of the country in general Fr. LeGoc appears to be harnessing the situational leadership model in his practice. As Paul Hersey who developed situational leadership theory explains "a prescription without diagnosis is malpractice … you need to do your diagnosis first and then act on it to provide those things that can make a difference" (Shermerhorn, 1997, p.8). Unwittingly, Fr. LeGoc had diagnosed the cause of the problem and had attributed it to the system of education. Thus, he made use of the competencies of a situational leader to adapt, communicate and get students initially to learn the skills of agriculture from his Agri-school so as to advance their engagement (Centre for leadership studies, 2017), because for him the answer to the problem of unemployment rested in agriculture. He maintained that "[a]griculture [was] the most essential occupation for the welfare of this country, yet it [was] neglected by the educated Ceylonese because of the lack of appreciation of the dignity of labour" (PR, 1932-1933, p.11). He further motivated them to reach this agricultural potential through the example of his experimental farmhouse at Kelaniya. In his vision, knowledge gathered should be applied to improvement and progress, and, without the right application, knowledge ceases to retain its efficiency. The situational leadership approach provided by Fr. LeGoc was not only confined to St Joseph's College, but his vision was for the entire country and its future citizens. His criticism of the set curriculum and its deficiencies, and his regret about the social stigma placed on commercial and agricultural professions, should have opened the eyes of those concerned with education in creating and developing employment opportunities for the youth of the country. As Jayasuriya commented, the problem of unemployment further increased after the free education system was introduced in 1947 due to the presence of many qualified young people seeking employment opportunities in a narrow and limited job market (Jayasuriya, 1976).

Fr. Pillai also addressed the problem of unemployment among the educated youth in his discussion on the special committee report on education in 1939. The arguments he raised, disclosed the need "…of adapting our education to the possibilities of employment in the country" (PR, 1941, p.68) and demanded that a special committee member analyse and assess the amount of unemployment present among the educated in the country. In his later reports also, his views against the special committee proposals suggested, that school leavers

of this country did not have a clear picture of employment opportunities available in the country for their future dependence and assurance (PR, 1948 June). But in his analysis, Fr. Pillai explained that the agricultural economy had failed to create satisfactory employment opportunities for school-leavers who had finished their education through the current system of education (PR, 1948, November). His diagnosis of the problem had differed from Fr. LeGoc's and this view also contradicted Fr. LeGoc's situational approach to the problem of unemployment through agriculture. However, Fr. Pillai, being a native priest, proposed a complete change in the system of education to answer this increasing problem. Even though the students who continued their higher education seemed to have received a slightly improved chance for employment, the majority were seeking opportunities in the local job market. Therefore, he identified the significant disparity that existed between the expensive investment in education by the parents, and the contradictory results the students faced for unavailable employment opportunities. His reply to the existing imbalance was, to redesign the whole system of education with a new education plan (PR, 1948 November) that incorporates primary education for all, ensuring the utilisation of special talents and creating an educational scaffolding enabling the financially disadvantaged to achieve their potential with the help of scholarships. The situational approach of Fr. Pillai in this context could be identified with the design of a practical, wise leadership practice model, proposed by Zee (2022), in the mission of Catholic education. Fr. Pillai seemed to have adopted the three principles of looking inwards, deliberating with others, and deciding what to do (Zee, 2022) in proposing his approach to the existing problem in the education system from a very progressive perspective.

However, despite the changes in the curriculum from London Cambridge and Matriculation Examinations to GCE O/ L and A/ L, and having created more opportunities for tertiary education in the post-independent era, the problem of unemployment among the educated youth in Sri Lanka still has not been solved. According to the labour force statistics of the Department of the Census and Statistics of Sri Lanka, the highest unemployment rate among the students who have finished their advanced level and other higher academic qualifications was 7.5 % in the first quarter of 2022 (Department of Census and Statistics, first quarter, 2022).

		Unemployment Rate (%)		
Level of education	Sri Lanka Number	Sri Lanka	Male	Female
Sri Lanka	373,272	4.3	3.0	6.5
Below GCE O/L	127,654	2.6	1.9	4.1
GCE O/L	79,799	5.0	4.4	6.4
GCE A/L & above	165,828	7.5	5.1	9.9

Table 13- Number of unemployed and unemployment rate by level of education (adapted from Sri Lanka Labour Force Statistics, first quarter, 2022, p.3)

		Unemployment Rate (%)		
Level of education	Sri Lanka Number	Sri Lanka	Male	Female
Sri Lanka	419,163	5.0	4.2	6.4
Below GCE O/L	126,220	2.7	2.7	2.5
GCE O/L	103,983	6.8	5.7	9.1
GCE A/L & above	188,960	8.7	7.4	10.0

Table 14- Number of unemployed and unemployment rate by level of education (adapted from Sri Lanka Labour Force Statistics, third quarter, 2022, p.3)

The comparison of the Sri Lankan government's statistics between the first and the third quarters indicates that the unemployment rate had increased in the third quarter from 7.5% to 8.7% in 2022 among the employable Sri Lankans who have passed G.C.E Advanced level and above higher qualifications (Department of Census and Statistics, Third quarter, 2022). The issues and concerns raised by Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai on the problem of unemployment continue to remain valid even in the current context in Sri Lanka, since the education system is still in need of advancement and improvement so as to address the problem of unemployment satisfactorily among the educated youth of the country.

6.3.2 Denominational schools and other educational initiatives

The assisted school system in colonial Ceylon was started after religious denominations received permission to open schools to educate children with a government financial grant. (Don Peter, 1992). Governor Robinson was recorded to have started the grant-in-aid system in 1870. The denominational system of education had first come into existence with the financial support provided for Christian schools in 1843, and from 1885, Buddhists, Muslims, and Hindus, had also joined this system (Jayasuriya, 1976).

It was during Fr. Pillai's period that a significant threat to the existence of denominational schools arose. Fr. Pillai was an ardent supporter of the denominational assisted schools. He in fact in his report in 1950 mentioned that "…denominational schools form an integral part

of the educational structure of the country" (PR, 1950, p.7). In many of his reports (1941, 1942, 1946, 1947, 1950, 1957, 1958, 1959) from the beginning of his tenure, one of the major issues he addressed was the threat raised against the Catholic denominational schools by the state and other social groups. It was primarily because of the increased number of Catholic schools which had dominated the education system in Ceylon. The following table illustrates the increase of Catholic grant-in-aid English schools in Ceylon from 1925 to 1948.

Denomination	1925	1948
American Mission	10	8
Baptist	4	4
Buddhist	25	22
Church of England	50	42
Hindu	5	19
Muslim	1	3
Presbyterian	5	5
Roman Catholic	65	117
Wesleyan	20	23

Table 15-Grant-in-aid English schools,1925 and 1948, adapted from Jayasuriya, 1976, p.518.

The severe criticism raised against Christian denominational schools by 1941 was that they enjoyed 70% of the government grant for 9.9% of the Christian population in the country, whereas 61.6% of the Buddhist population, 21.8% of the Hindu population, and 6.7% of the Muslim population were not benefiting from government grants given to schools since they were outnumbered by Christian, and mostly by Catholic denominational schools (Jayasuriya, 1976). This was a result of the strong managerial structure that existed in Catholic grant-in-aid schools and the competency of the English language and the prevalence of resources and personnel in such schools than other schools.

When the Buddhist advisory council to the Minister of Cultural Affairs of the Government proposed to take over the denomination schools which did not contain 50% of the student population of the religion of their respective school manager, Fr. Pillai raised his voice denouncing such undemocratic claims and stood for the rights of the parents to protect their freedom of choice of schools for their children. He quoted the constitution of the United Nations Articles on Human Rights, to vehemently oppose this political move against the denominational schools. He pointed out the invaluable contribution that the denominational schools had made to the local education sector through their high academic standards, cultural traditions, moral formation, and character training (PR, 1957). His strong view was

that government could not interfere with the choice of the parents, because it was the fundamental right of their freedom to choose. He considered it an oppressive measure and an open persecution of Christians. Fr. Pillai, in this context, defined the stand of the Catholic schools and explained that they were not at all against the Buddhist schools being opened and Buddhism being taught to Buddhist students (PR, 1958). He supported the proposal to start government Buddhist schools, Muslim schools, Hindu schools, and Christian schools because of the popularity and success of the Scottish government model of denominational schools, which was already in practice in the Scottish education system during this period (PR, 1958). His continuous fight and argument against all views to take over assisted denominational schools showed his commitment and vision for Catholic education, because for him, "such a course of action is unjust and is an outrageous violation of parental freedom" (PR, 1959, p.1). In his defence, Fr Pillai lined up examples from countries such as Great Britain, Canada, Belgium, India, Pakistan, and Burma to show the distinction between them and opposing views based on the USA examples, because in the United States, there was no funding from the government for assisted schools and no religion was taught in government aided schools as a policy (PR, 1959). However, due to campaigns for a unified education system by groups such as *Education Front,* criticism was intensified against the denominational school system in Ceylon after the educational ordinance in 1947 (Jayasuriya, 1976, Sumathipala, 1968). They argued that "[w]hat is meant by religious atmosphere is really and truly the opportunity to indoctrinate children with a particular set of tenets and beliefs" (Sumathipala, 1968, p.405) and denounced the proposition of the Catholic and denominational stance by interpreting that "… most of the troubles of present day Ceylon, the gross inequalities of opportunity, the denial of the fruits of freedom to the masses, are the legacy of the much vaunted denominational system of education" (Sumathipala, 1968, p.405). They further raised the question that even if it was a democratic right to be exclusive, the taxpayer's money cannot be spent on individual education bodies, but should only be for a unified system of education.

However, despite all efforts of Fr. Pillai for denominational assisted schools, the government brought the denominational assisted school system to a close by the Assisted Schools and Training Colleges' Act, no.5 of 1960 (Don Peter, 1992). Thus, St. Joseph's College chose to be a private non-fee levying school in 1960 to function without government aid and school fees, in defence of its school ethos and identity for future generations (PR, 1960). The situations leading up to this point in 1960 were also politically motivated due to the instability that prevailed from 1956 to 1959. The assassination of Prime Minister SW.R. D Bandaranayake in 1959 and consequently holding two general elections in 1959 and 1960

and the change of ministers of education also affected the educational progress at that time. Moreover, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party which obtained power in 1960 had already assured in their election campaign that they would establish a unified system of education under their governance to be managed under state control (Sumathipala, 1968).

Fr. Pillai's struggle to defend the denominational school system, though it did not succeed, was a single-handed effort by a Rector of a Catholic-assisted denominational school. His courageous effort was to safeguard the country's denominational school system which had immensely contributed to the education sector of the country for over one hundred years in Sri Lanka. However, the display of his ability and confidence in making St. Joseph's a private non-fee-levying College (depended on private donations to cover the expenses and no government aids were supplied) in the face of the Government take-over of denominational schools, demonstrated his application of situational leadership in determining the future of the College.

In addition to the changes made in educational legislation, the practice of situational approach in the roles of Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai to Catholic education beyond the confines of St. Joseph's College is worth stating because their approach to situational leadership impacted the whole of the Catholic education network in Ceylon. By identifying the gaps in education, taking remedial measures to address them had shown that they were capable of translating situations into opportunities for the benefit of education in Ceylon. Fr. LeGoc founded St. Peter's College Bambalapitiya, which was initially called St. Joseph South (PR, 1925) and St John's School in Dematagoda (PR, 1938-1939), and St Paul's School in Kelaniya (PR, 1934-1935). In these initiatives of Fr. LeGoc, he attributes to himself the effectiveness of leadership in his interactions with situations and his behaviour, because such leaders tend to "…have advantages including [level of] intelligence …, situation sensitivity, effective work [ethic], initiative, self-confidence, individuality, technical and professional competence, effort, high ethical standards, flexibility and vision" (Maisyaroh, Juharyanto, Imron, Satria, Burhanaddin, Puspitanigtys, 2019, p.74) in realising their organisational goals.

In addition, Fr. Pillai inaugurated the Aquinas undergraduate department in the College premises in January 1954 with Arts, Science, and Economics faculties with 480 students and 25 members of staff (PR, 1954) which today, stands as the first Catholic University College in Colombo. What Fr. Lytton discouraged and subsequently rejected in 1910, Fr. Pillai would go on to create for the country fifty years later. The dependence on the British education system during this time seems to have been taken over by freedom and independence in the post-colonial period. Also, this period could be understood as a time leading to the second Vatican Council where the spirit of Catholicity was understood by reaching out to all. As St.

John Paul II clarified "[t]he Church through the Council, did not want to close itself within itself, …, but on the contrary, it wanted to open itself more fully" (John Paul II, 1985). Fr. Pillai's initiative on the one hand was a bridge between Catholic secondary education and Catholic tertiary education. On the other hand, it stands as a profound symbol of the presence of the Catholic Church in tertiary education in the country.

6.4 Chapter summary

The three leadership theories chosen to discuss the approaches of the Rectors in their educational context reveal, how they have practiced their roles in different situations and with different individuals and groups. The capacity to hold their leadership roles and discuss their vitality through the lens of these three theories testify to the strength of their individual roles as Rectors of this College. Their agreements, disagreements, deviations, and standpoints highlight the stature of their roles as Catholic school Rectors. The next chapter will elaborate on the implications and recommendations which have impacted the current education field based on these research findings.

Chapter Seven

Implications, Recommendations and the Conclusion

In this final chapter, I aim to showcase what was sought by this research, and what was eventually achieved. This chapter presents the summary of the themes that were taken for discussion in chapters 5 and 6 in the light of the research findings and situate them in relation to the relevance of current literature and their claims and contribution to knowledge and education. The chapter ends by indicating how this research could have an impact on current school leadership, especially Catholic schools with the scope for future expansion.

7.1 Review of research aims and structure of the study

The aim of my research was to examine the impact of the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College, Colombo, on character formation and educational leadership provided by them during their tenures of service from 1896 to 1960. The objective of this study focused on how effective and productive were the efforts of these Rectors in promoting character formation and educational leadership. In the field of education, character formation and educational leadership are two essential and vital components and they have also emerged as recurrent topics in educational discussions in recent years (DfE, 2019, DfE, 2022, Jubilee Centre, 2017). In the teachings of the Catholic Church, especially the documents issued by the Congregation for Catholic Education have continuously dealt with the above two topics extensively with regard to Catholic school leadership and mission entrusted to Catholic education (Vatican II, 1965; CCE, 1997, 2021). Therefore, in order to establish the historical context of my study, a brief history of Sri Lankan education leading up to the founding of St. Joseph's College was presented in chapter two with a brief introduction to the first five Rectors of this College. The third chapter explored the research scope in the current literature on character formation and educational leadership with special reference to the teachings of the Catholic Church and its current perspective. Chapter four discussed the research methodology. The data set for this research was the Prize Reports complied by the first five Rectors of St. Joseph's College from 1896 to 1960. The methodology employed in this qualitative research was documentary research and the data analysis process was guided by the thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The research findings based on character formation and educational leadership were discussed in the fifth and sixth chapters.

7.2 Summary of the themes based on character formation

The overarching themes of the data set were developed in the light of the two research questions prevalent in the Prize Reports from 1896 to 1960. Some of the overarching themes under character formation were dominated by the views of Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai, but the subthemes contained the views of Fr. Collin, Fr. Lytton, and Fr. Nicholas. The main reason why Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai dominated in some of the themes was due to the length of tenure in the office as Rector. Thereby, they penned a larger number of Prize Reports while in office-over 20 years. The following overarching themes were discussed in chapter 5 in the light of the first research question: How did the first five Rectors promote character formation in the school?

The first theme in the fifth chapter was the use of discipline as a tool of character formation exercised during Fr. Collin's tenure. However, Frs. Lytton, Nicholas, and Pillai have not commented on corporal punishment or any other form of physical punishment in their reports. On the contrary, Fr. LeGoc completely disagreed with the use of physical punishment as a means of character formation. The silence of Fr. Pillai, who was the immediate successor of Fr. LeGoc on the subject of student discipline indicated that, either he was guided or influenced by Fr. LeGoc's approach to discipline or perhaps such concerns were not deemed necessary to bring into the Prize Report for discussion. However, the attitude of Fr. LeGoc, not to consider physical punishment as a tool of character formation identifies that he was well ahead of his time and his approach holds with current educational thinking of the 21st century (WHO, 2021).

The second theme discussed under character formation was the three stages of child development proposed by Fr. LeGoc, which incorporated healthy physical wellbeing (vegetative state), physical development assisted through sports and other extracurricular activities (sensitive state), and the improvement of the rational element through academic progress. Nevertheless, out of these three stages, the key phase that supports character formation substantially was the rational element, because Fr. LeGoc's premise was that a virtuous life could not stand without the rational element. The main contribution to these three stages therefore, was provided by Fr. LeGoc, but with regards to the sensitive state of life, Fr. Pillai's contribution was a welcome addition since he was very much involved with promoting sports, establishing associations, and in the indigenous cultural life to support the student life. Also Frs. Collin, Lytton, and Nicholas equally supported the development of the rational element to the same standard of Frs. LeGoc and Pillai.

The third theme was the promotion of social justice and charity as tools of character formation. This was propagated mostly by the views of Frs. LeGoc and Pillai. The necessity

of forming this sense of justice and charity was attributed both to the school and the home as its training ground. This eventually reinforced the students' contribution to the common good in society. Fr. Pillai further elaborated on the necessity of Catholic schools to promote a sense of justice, in and for, the formation of good leaders in society. Nevertheless, both Frs. LeGoc and Pillai admitted that not only justice but charity should also accompany the formation of students so as to create a sense of a common good and active citizenship among their students.

The fourth theme was the influence of a healthy environment. This theme was discussed under the impact of academic, physical, and religious environments as essential ingredients of character formation. The academic environment was surrounded by the impact of the teachers, and their interaction with their students, with emphasis on subjects, predominantly the classics, but later on focusing on the oriental culture and the native languages. The physical environment was the College grounds and surroundings, its buildings, playground, etc., which was considered an extension of the home environment. The religious environment was extended from the knowledge of religion in the classroom to aspects related to God's commandments, the frequenting of the Sacraments, Religious retreats, Guilds, the practice of Christian virtues, and the formation of a good conscience guided by the spirit of the Catholic faith. However, religious freedom was assured by promoting inclusive education and respecting the beliefs of non-Catholic students. In regard to this theme of the influence of a healthy environment, the voices of all five Rectors were mostly represented in the religious environment.

The fifth theme was the necessity of constant effort and perseverance. Fr. LeGoc contributed most of this through his theoretical and practical application of constant effort and perseverance. He made use of natural theories such as cause and effect and balanced activity to explain the value of perseverance in constant effort and practically demonstrated the results of perseverance through his Agri-school in Kelaniya. His explanation on the value of constant effort also led him to emphasise the dignity of human labour, which ought to be taught in the school as an appreciation of constant effort.

The sixth theme was the role of the parents. It was mostly led by the views of Fr. Collin and Fr. LeGoc, focussing on the need of parents to build a stronger rapport with the school and the necessity for a mutual communication strategy between school leadership and parents.

The final theme under the first research question was the role of the alumni. In the interpretation of Fr. Collin, College alumni made a substantial impact on the College and the current students. They were recognised as the best advertisement of the school. He incorporated their achievements to emphasise the social impact the school had made on

society. Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai also highlighted their religious, social, economic and even political status to be regarded as a result of the impact of character formation which they received from the College. Their endeavours were considered an inspiration and a stimulus to the younger students in the College.

Chapter six focussed on the educational leadership practices of these Rectors in the light of three overarching themes. Amongst these themes, one was dominated by Fr. Pillai because of his interaction with the historical situation of his time. In the other two, the voices and views of the other four Rectors were represented in varying degrees.

7.3 Summary of themes based on educational leadership of the first five Rectors

The first theme discussed in this chapter was the application of instructional leadership practices of these Rectors. This overarching theme on instructional leadership practices was comprised of five subthemes. These subthemes were the British examination system and University education, cramming for examinations and internal supervision, enhancing and developing the curriculum, constructive guidance to academic success, and teacher recruitment and development. All five Rectors in varying degrees contributed to building this overarching theme focussing on student academic performances in classroom teaching and learning and providing teacher training and development through motivation and their welfare. However, the views of Fr. Collin and Fr. Pillai were to a greater extent more dominant because these represented the first and the last phases of this particular era which included colonial and post-colonial times.

The second overarching theme was guided by the application of distributed leadership practices. This theme was mainly the views of Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai, but the views of Fr. Lytton were also incorporated into this discussion. The role of the distributed leadership was firstly presented through the sharing of leadership among co-worker priests, but later through Fr. Pillai's initiative, it was shared with both co-worker priests and lay teachers. However, what cannot be verified in this discussion is, how much of the power was delegated and shared in the exercise of distributed leadership with these co-worker priests and lay teachers by the Rectors.

The third leadership theme was situational leadership, practiced by Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai. The discussion of this theme was guided by two sub-themes: the problem of unemployment and denominational schools and other leadership initiatives of the Rectors. These subthemes emerged as a result of the historical reasons, which prompted these two Rectors to get involved in addressing the issues of unemployment among school-leavers and the threat to denominational schools. Their approach to these two major issues not only represented the school they represented but the whole of education and the country at large. The absence of

the views of the other three Rectors was due mainly to their historical and social backgrounds and the situations in which they operated.

7.4 Relationship to other research and contribution to knowledge: character formation

Character formation and educational leadership are essential components of any secondary school environment. Recent educational discussion on character formation in UK schools has been largely influenced by the virtues education framework promulgated by the Jubilee Centre (2017). Some Catholic schools also have adopted this framework guided by Christian virtues (Devanny, 2019). The Congregation for Catholic Education (CCE, 1997, 2007, 2022) in line with the teachings of *Gravissimum Educationis* (Vatican II, 1965) has been continuously emphasising the importance of the formation of character in Catholic schools.

In the approaches of the Rectors to character formation, the views of Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai stand out among the others because of their pioneering thoughts and ideas. Frs. Collin, Lytton, and Nicholas who represent the era before the First World War interacted mostly within their context and were controlled by historical times. But Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai were moving with the evolving social, political, and educational life in Sri Lanka.

The approach and attitude to discipline with regards to corporal punishment which Fr. LeGoc (PR, 1924) insisted upon positions himself with the current educational practices in secondary schools supported by educational psychology and the findings of the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2021,) and reflects the teachings of the Church which underlines the dignity of the child and the lasting impact corporal punishment can have on children, damaging their future growth (Popcak, 2023). Therefore, Fr. LeGoc's view on corporal punishment defines the dignity and respect secondary schools should foster for students who come under their care (Stock, 2012).

The framework provided by Fr. LeGoc for a virtuous life, to be accomplished in a child's life, the child has to be supported with good physical health, cheerful youthfulness with active engagement in sports and extra-curricular activities, cultural enrichment, and most importantly with intellectual and academic progress. He concluded that a virtuous life cannot stand on its own, but these layers have to be organised and supported for the flourishing of a virtuous life. This framework proposed by Fr. LeGoc stands as a logical formula to support character formation in a child's life. Moreover, Fr. LeGoc's explanation occupies a place in recent literature on virtue-based character education enunciated by the Jubilee Centre and adopted by some Catholic schools (Jubilee Centre, 2017, Devanny, 2019). However, in the subtle argument between virtues and values Stock (2012) clarifies that Catholic schools promote Gospel values through a virtuous life.

The US bishops' conference brings out the fact that "for its safeguard and completion, the stern law of justice looks to the gentler but nonetheless obligatory law of charity" (Charity and Justice, 2023). The sense of Justice which Fr. LeGoc (PR, 1932-1933) enumerates with the help of Fr. Pillai (PR, 1946) emphasises the combination of both justice and charity in order to achieve the common good in society (CCE, 1997), because charity goes beyond justice (Benedict XVI, 2009: 6). The training and learning to ignite the sense of justice in students, Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai emphasised the home and school partnership. Therefore, the formation of character is a co-responsibility of both school and family (Vatican II: 3, 6) in promoting justice and charity.

The academic, physical, and religious environments highlighted by the Rectors heavily contribute to character formation. The influence of a conducive environment is primarily and essentially necessary for this process to operate (CCE, 1988: 18, 19). The Congregation for Catholic Education (1988) reiterates the impact of the school climate and the different components operating in it, for the formation of character and the creation of an educating community. The view of the Rectors, in this regard, was that the impact of the religious environment was essentially important because it holds the potential to create an enlightened conscience in students (Diocese of Superior, 2019).

Constant effort and perseverance are notable character traits prioritised by schools today in varying degrees and terminologies (DfE, 2017). The elaboration of Fr. LeGoc on perseverance through constant effort leads to a balanced life and appreciation of the dignity of human labour. This contradicts the "pupils who shun effort, are incapable of self-sacrifice and perseverance… (CCE, 1988:6). Thus, constant effort and perseverance stand as key motivational slogans for students. It also goes to teach the dignity of labour and appreciate and value human effort as well as human labour (US conference of Bishops, 2017).

The role of the parents is one key theme in many Church documents in the Congregation for Catholic Education, because they are the first educators of their children (Vatican II, 1965: 3). The engagement and cooperation of parents with the school life and the rapport they build with the school management helps the school to support students to grow in their character formation. Fr. Collin's voice echoes down through the generations of genuine parent-school cooperation and understanding (CCE, 2007: 48).

A college's alumni help its ethos and its culture to be transmitted and propagated (Roberts, Harding, and Menzies, 2010). These past pupils can become a reflection of the efforts of the Rectors in character formation. They can also become an example and an inspiration to younger students allowing them to emulate and learn from them on how to grow in character and virtue as they progress through their school life.

7.5 Relationship to other research and contribution to knowledge: educational leadership

Instructional, distributed, and situational leadership approaches in an educational context are highly practiced by the educational leadership roles. They enable the school leadership to adapt them according to the needs of the schools to achieve their education goals. (Hong and Loeb, 2010; Schermermerhorn, 1997; Gronn, 2002; Angelle, 2010)

Among the three approaches applied to analyse the leadership practices of the Rectors, the most effective approach they all utilised and were involved with in their leadership practices, was the instructional leadership approach, because instructional leadership encompasses both teachers, students, and all other aspects related to teaching and learning. The distributed leadership approach was employed by Frs. Lytton, LeGoc, and Pillai, but until the time of Fr. Pillai, leadership was shared only with priest colleagues. Therefore, it appears as an approach to be still developed and improved. Although the situational approach was found among Fr. LeGoc and Fr. Pillai, it stands out as the most effective leadership practice, because these Rectors have substantially influenced the education sector in general by their engagement and initiative, and in particular the Catholic education of the country by leaving an indelible mark in their exercise of leadership.

7.6 Implications for practice

This study thoroughly examined the views of the Rectors published in their Prize Reports. As suggestions emanate from the impact of these Rectors on character formation and educational leadership, several implications could be identified by all those who take on leadership roles in secondary schools. They suggest that leadership has to be an involved and connected activity within the school environment, otherwise, its impact will not have a bearing on neither the students nor the teachers. To make character formation more effective, it has to be a collective endeavour of the key stakeholders, such as school leadership, parents, teachers, students and alumni, being supported within a positive educational climate. This climate in which student character develops and forms should provide the necessary ingredients for building character. Therefore, in order to promote a virtuous life within character formation, the growth process of the whole child has to be taken into consideration. As a result of this, in a Catholic school setup, Catholic social teaching has to be taught and implemented in a positive way for the establishment of the common good in society. The more knowledge and exposure students have to the social teachings of the Church, such as justice and charity and the dignity of labour, they will develop a greater understanding and an adherence to the social teachings of the Church supporting the common good of the society and recognising the value of fraternity.

In the practice of school leadership, all three leadership approaches of the Rectors were deemed essential. Through the process of instructional and distributed leadership, a strong internal management structure could be established, strengthening the operational vitality of the school. Instructional leadership should not only monitor and supervise the progress of students and teachers, but should also support and encourage them to reach their highest potential in teaching and learning. If the distributed leadership defines itself as shared leadership within a management team, it enables the school to maintain an effective and efficient management structure. However, it is through situational leadership that school leaders can interact more intensely within their school setting, especially rising to the challenges of their work environment and influencing others to effect necessary changes. It is in this mode of situational leadership that one can find both instructional and distributed leadership acting together for the smooth running of the school, improving the learning and teaching environment.

7.7 Future orientations

If I were to expound this research further, I would like to take the opportunity to study the Prize Reports of the Rectors of St. Joseph's College from 1961 to 2023. This would allow me to compare and contrast the Reports of the first five Rectors and how they impacted on the later Rectors in relation to character formation and their exercise of educational leadership as portrayed through their Prize Reports. The most interesting factor would be to analyse whether there are any new overarching themes and how the older themes that were dominant pre-1960s either developed or lost importance in post-colonial Sri Lankan education. In regard to leadership approaches and practices, it would also be interesting to examine how the later Rectors viewed and practiced their leadership. Especially to see whether they were also influenced by the first five Rectors on instructional, distributed, and situational leadership practices or whether they developed other leadership practices in their approach to their school leadership. Future studies on the post-1960s Prize Reports would shed light upon new dimensions in character formation and education leadership within a Catholic secondary school environment.

7. 8 Conclusion

It is with great satisfaction that I write this conclusion to this thesis due to the fact I was able to learn about the scope of education under the guidance of five secondary school Catholic Rectors. They were not only instrumental in building a culture of education in Ceylon, over seven decades, through their personal endeavours and leadership skills, moulding and reviving Catholic education during colonial and post-colonial times. This study was built on a strong foundation supported by the history of education in Ceylon, which explored the

historical development from the ancient period and eventually provided the historical setting to understand the reasons behind the establishment of St. Joseph College in the British colonial period. In pre-colonial education history, character education and educational leadership were developed around the learning centres established through indigenous religious places both in the north and the south of the island. However, following with the invasions of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, missionary education dominated the island till the early part of the post-independence period. Consequently, character formation and educational leadership were strictly carried out through systematic educational establishments of the foreign missionaries. Within this historical context, especially in the latter part of the British colonial period, Catholic education was revived and enhanced through the efforts of the Oblate Missionaries of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I). St. Joseph's College and these first five Rectors, therefore, represent the historical presence of the Oblate priests in Ceylon and their contribution to Catholic education. In determining the impact of the first five Rectors on character formation and educational leadership, it was apparent that these aspects represent the two sides of the same coin because they stand as two vital components in the progress of school education. The review of literature presented how significant these aspects are in school education, and how important they are considered in the teachings of the Catholic education and in current research.

The impact of the Rectors on character formation showed that they had identified several important key factors which supported student character formation. Their claims after several decades, seem applicable and relevant in a 21st century educational system. Elements such as respect for the dignity of the child; the need of a healthy physical and rational well-being to support virtues and values education; the promotion of social justice; the necessity of a positive academic, physical, and spiritual environment; the value of constant effort, perseverance and appreciation of the dignity of labour and the need of active involvements of parents and alumni were highlighted as necessary components of character formation. Amongst all these indispensable factors of character formation, from a Catholic school perspective, the promotion of social justice and social teachings could be considered all-embracing in the formation of a child. In determining the impact of the leadership practices of the Rectors, situational leadership takes a prominent place because it has the capacity to absorb and accommodate both instructional and distributed leadership practices. Therefore, I wish to comment that these five Rectors of St. Joseph's College have taught that effective school leadership role of a principal, whether it could be instructional, distributed, or situational, contributes immensely to the progress of the school. Although their views and initiatives and decisions varied due to their historical and social circumstances, it was their

strengths, faith, and capacities which ultimately led them to make them efficient and effective in their leadership roles of a Catholic institution.

In concluding this thesis, my genuine feeling is that I am truly glad that I had the opportunity to meet and know these pioneering Rectors through their writings of the Prize Reports. This academic endeavour allowed me the chance to comprehend their vision and analyse their impact on character formation and educational leadership. The knowledge which I accumulated based on the research findings on character formation and educational leadership, would be of guidance and benefit to me in promoting these in schools, especially in Catholic schools in Sri Lanka.

8. References

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9. Appendices

9.1 Appendix A-Pictures of the first five Rectors

Fr. C. Collin OMI

Fr. C. H. Lytton OMI

Fr. E. Nicholas OMI

Fr. M. J. LeGoc OMI
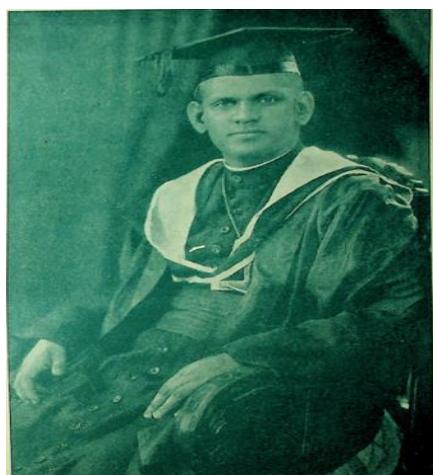
Fr. P. Pillai OMI

9.2 Appendix B- List of the Prize Reports used for this research

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9.3 Appendix C- Samples of Prize Reports from Blue and White Magazine and Catholic Messenger

Prize Distribution.

SATURDAY, the 2nd of December last was our Annual Prize-day. The fact that it was a day of prizes and guerdous might have been noticed on many a bright hopeful face, and was tangibly clear a couple of hours later when still brighter and happier lads marched down the stair-case with their share of the valuable tomes rich in quality, rich in contents, richer still in the honour they brought to the winners.

The function commenced at 5 p. m. by which time the Bonjean Hall was full to crowding and the festive colours waving outward of the Hall were happily matched by and blended with the picturesque scene presented by the select audience within. The Hon. Mr. Macrae, Director of Education, presided and with him were His Grace the Archbishop of Colombo, the Very Rev. Father Griaux, the Hon. Mr. Justice T. E. de Sampayo, the Hon. Dr. G. J. Rutherford, the Hon. Mr. A. C. G. Wijekoon, Major H. L. Reed, M. Dupuy, Messrs. A. S. Harrison, N. D. S. Silva, Padionra Mudaliyar and the Rev. Father M. J. LeGoc, Rector of the College.

Proceedings commenced with the reading, by the Rector, of his report for the year—a document which, as will be seen, was of wide educational importance, and which, while it made no parade of results secured, gave ample testimony to the good and successful work carried on at the College. The following was the

REPORT FOR 1922

Sir,—It is with great pleasure that we give you a hearty welcome on this your first visit to St. Joseph's College. Since your arrival in Ceylon you have been doing your work in an unostentatious manner; but allow me to add, Sir, that never perhaps before has the question of Education in this Island been given more careful consideration. The problems you have had to face and solve are numerous and important. Judging, however, from the circulars, which have been published and from the code which is in preparation, I am confident that your career among us will be noted as one of prudent, wise and practical administration. Your efforts on behalf of the Vernacular schools in particular, in spite of the

strained financial position of the country, will be regarded by all as a beneficent revolution.

I wish to take this opportunity to draw attention to one feature of education which is of great importance to the individual and to the State; namely, the question of well-ordered and balanced activity. While the great bulk of the material world is inorganic and characterized by passivity, the organic world on the contrary is small in extent but high in perfection and characterized by spontaneous activity. The activity of the non-living world is a process of degradation and destruction, the spontaneous activity of an organism is on the contrary one of progress and construction. Hence we see plants growing vigorously when a suitable environment allows full play to their vital functions; hence we see animal developing in a healthy manner by the normal exercise of their faculties. The activities of the school boy do not escape this universal biological law. The progress made by a boy on a given line, physical, intellectual, moral, is always in proportion to his well directed efforts. This is an important principe deserving the serious consideration of pupils, teachers and parents. They are all extremely concerned in securing results; but there is sometimes danger of labouring under the illusion that an effect may be obtained without the application of a proportionate cause. It is the application of the necessary cause that matters, as the cause carries the effect within its compass.

The supreme value of the cause once admitted, there still remains the danger of ill-balanced activity. Excessive leafing, excessive vegetative growth, is detrimental to fruiting. The vine grower is well aware of the necessity of pruning. Now the lines of activity of a school boy are numerous and varied; too much care given to the body, too much attention paid to sports, may interfere with his moral and intellectual progress, just as too much concentration of the mind may affect disadvantageously the constitution and development of the body. What is needed is a just equilibrium.

What is true of an individual boy is equally applicable to a social organism such as a school, or still more perhaps, to a larger unit such as a nation. Are the educational activities in this Island working in a well-balanced equilibrium? Are they not for instance too generally directed towards what are called Professions such as Law and Medicine? Is the country sufficiently impressed with the dignity of many other occupations?

Is the moral formation on a level with intellectual instruction? I know, Sir, these are problems which are receiving your serious consideration.

The activities of St. Joseph's College may be gauged by the results obtained. The past year has been on the whole satisfactory, although we must always strive towards improvements. In the Cambridge School Examinations 47 Juniors were successful. With 30 passes in the Senior—all of them *fresh* passes—we headed the list in numbers. We had in all 18 Honours, 24 Distinctions, larger numbers than any we have ever secured. Since January last 20 of our boys matriculated in the University of London, while three others are entitled to exemption from the London Matriculation. Last September 6 Josephians gained admission to the Medical College. At the University College 4 of our boys are holding Scholarships and Exhibitions, without counting the students in Training, while 2 more are in England on Government Scholarships. On the opening of the University College our Intermediate Form was closed; but we had some satisfaction in that out of 10 successful candidates for the whole of Ceylon at the last London B. A., and B.Sc. Examinations, 5 had been students of our Intermediate Form. The only Ceylonese Professor at the University College, Professor C. Suntharalingam, is an old boy of St. Joseph's. Mr. N. Sinnadurai, 1st in the order of merit in the last Third Professional, Mr. M. V. P. Pieris, 1st in the order of merit in the last Second Professional Scholarship, the winner of the Chalmer's Medal for Anatomy, and the de Heer Medal for Physiology (Medical College), Mr. S. Sivasubramaniam 1st in the order of merit at the Law Final, are Old Boys of St. Joseph's College.

In the field of physical activity, I think our boys have shown themselves good 'sportsmen' and met all the other schools in the right sporting spirit. At football we were champions for the third time in three successive years. In cricket we yielded victories to Kandy, but did not find ourselves beaten by any of the Colombo Colleges. Our Cadets have to their credit the Senior Cadets Sports Cup, the Tug-of-war, the Junior Relay Race Cup, not to mention numerous individual successes. In the All Ceylon Athletic Meet our boys won 6 prizes.

While devoting our attention and care to the physical and intellectual development of our boys, we do not forget that man has a higher destiny, a higher sphere to live in, which he can reach only by calling into play moral and religious energies.

The present life is transitory, the life to come is permanent. That truth is a beacon that shoots its beams to us from the distant coast of the homeland to guide thither the ship of the soul tossed about by surging waves and driven in uncertain directions by treacherous currents. That is a light which shows steady, partaking of the fixity of the rock on which it stands. It will, I hope, lead our boys in time to come, safely home.

I should not conclude this Report without mentioning the more important changes that have come about during the year. As regards the personnel, Father Thedore de Silva has passed from the Preparatory School to the College. Father Monnier has come from the Seminary to the School and finds plenty of scope for the employment of his methodical spirit. Father Georgesz, once a brilliant student of the College, has brought to us the enthusiasm of youth with dispositions for, and devotion to, the work of education. Father Lejeune enjoys the privilege of bilocation; while presiding over the destiny of the Catholic Hostel, he remains still with us during the hours of teaching. Fathers D. J. N. Perera and E. Morel are directing the growth of the New Branch in the South. Mr. Peter Perera has completed 25 years of unselfish devotion to the work of the College. Father Lytton, who laid the foundation of the Institution has come home again; he assists us with his advice, edifies us by his example and even brightens the playground by his presence among the boys. We remember with gratitude and respect one who lived and worked in these buildings and spent himself unto the end: we mourn in great sorrow the loss of Father Martin. His life has been an example and a stimulus to all of us; his character and work have made a deep impression on this College; his influence shall last after him: *consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa.*

On the material side there are important transformations. The front road has been widened, but the Cricket field has been narrowed. We have found compensation in putting a foot into the Lake. During the coming year we shall enter the present Catholic Club and transform it into a spacious Science Block. As, however, we are anxious to keep our friends close to us, a new Club will be erected on another part of the College grounds. With the advent of a Kindergarten and the increasing popularity of the School its numbers had rapidly outgrown the available accommodation. A New Branch was opened last January at Wellawatte called St. Joseph's South, or New St. Joseph's by the

Sea. No sooner was it opened than it was filled; there is already need for further extensions: the grounds are ample, but resources are wanted. I desire on this occasion to pay a tribute to the generosity of our benefactors. Their names are numerous; but I must mention at least a few of the present year's contributors: Messrs J. Jayesuriya, Marthelis de Silva, S Paul de Silva, P. M. John, M. Fernando. To them and to others our gratitude goes out. As the buildings grow as the School flourishes, theirs will be the right to claim their share in the work and progress of the Institution. I have had many promises of subscriptions and even invitations to come and collect contributions. I expect the speedy fulfilment of the promises and, as soon as some spare time is allowed me, I will gladly accept the invitations.

In conclusion it is my pleasant duty to thank all the Prize Donors for their generous help, His Grace the Archbishop for his paternal solicitude, all the Ladies and Gentlemen who are encouraging us here by their presence and you, Sir, for your sympathetic direction and for presiding at the Prize Distribution.

M. J. LeGOC, O. M. I.,
Rector,

Complete Prize Report in 1922 by Fr. LeGoc available in the Blue and White Magazine
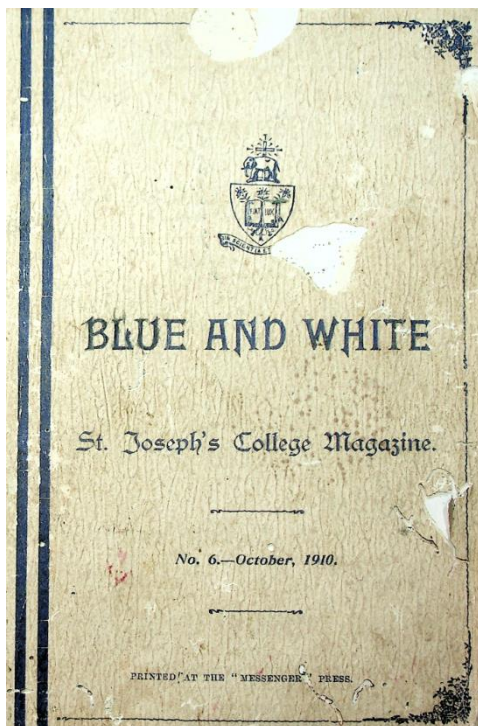
Cover page of Blue and White Magazine 1910 -available at
the school Library of St. Joseph's College Colombo.

Prize Report of 1902 of Fr. Collin obtained from the Archdiocesan archives in Colombo.
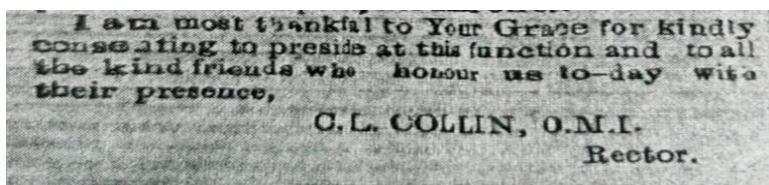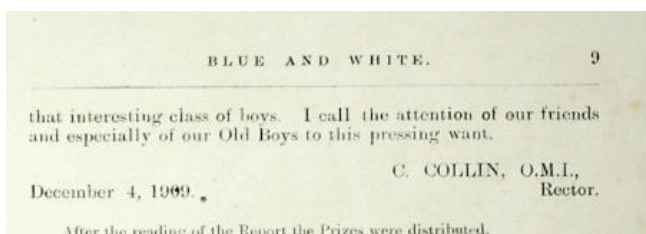
Signature and authorisation of the Archivist of the Archdiocesan
central archives in Colombo for obtaining Prize Reports

9.4 Appendix D- The names of the Rectors as they appear in the report

> I am most thankful to Your Grace for kindly
> consenting to preside at this function and to all
> the kind friends who honour us to-day with
> their presence,
>
> C. L. COLLIN, O.M.I.
>
> Rector.

Fr. Collin's name at the end of the Prize Report of 1902 *(Catholic Messenger)*
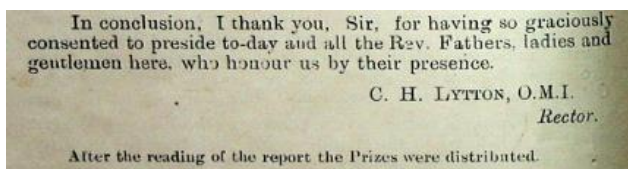
> BLUE AND WHITE. 9
>
> that interesting class of boys. I call the attention of our friends
> and especially of our Old Boys to this pressing want.
>
> C. COLLIN, O.M.I.,
>
> December 4, 1909. Rector.
>
> After the reading of the Report the Prizes were distributed.

Fr. Collin's name at the end of the Prize Report of 1909 *(Blue and White)*
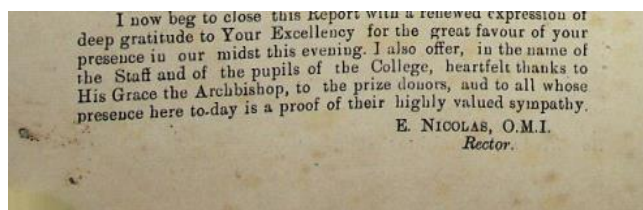
> In conclusion, I thank you, Sir, for having so graciously
> consented to preside to-day and all the Rev. Fathers, ladies and
> gentlemen here, who honour us by their presence.
>
> C. H. LYTTON, O.M.I.
>
> Rector.
>
> After the reading of the report the Prizes were distributed.
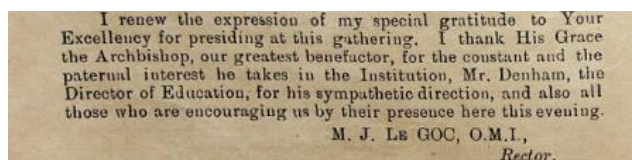
Fr. C.H. Lytton's name at the end of the Prize Report of 1910 *(Blue and White)*

> I now beg to close this Report with a renewed expression of
> deep gratitude to Your Excellency for the great favour of your
> presence in our midst this evening. I also offer, in the name of
> the Staff and of the pupils of the College, heartfelt thanks to
> His Grace the Archbishop, to the prize donors, and to all whose
> presence here to-day is a proof of their highly valued sympathy.
>
> E. NICOLAS, O.M.I.
>
> Rector.

Fr. E. Nicholas's name at the end of the Prize Report of 1914 *(Blue and White)*

> I renew the expression of my special gratitude to Your
> Excellency for presiding at this gathering. I thank His Grace
> the Archbishop, our greatest benefactor, for the constant and the
> paternal interest he takes in the Institution, Mr. Denham, the
> Director of Education, for his sympathetic direction, and also all
> those who are encouraging us by their presence here this evening.
>
> M. J. LE GOC, O.M.I.,
>
> Rector.

Fr. LeGoc's name at the end of the Prize Report of 1920 *(Blue and White)*

> Let me now thank the members of the staff for their loyal and devoted co-operation, the Prize Donors for their generous encouragement, all present here for having honoured us with their presence and Your Excellency for presiding at this function and Her Excellency Lady Moore for kindly consenting to give away the Prizes.
>
> PETER A. PILLAI, O.M.I.
> Rector.

Fr. Pillai's name at the end of the Prize Report of 1948 *(Blue and White).*

9.5 Appendix E- Structure of the Prize Report

Words of welcome to the Chief Guest

REPORT FOR 1930–1931.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Ten years ago, when you were Colonial Secretary, we were honoured by your presence and that of Lady Thomson at our Annual Distribution of Prizes. Whenever any occasion arose, you showed yourself a good friend ready to give us every encouragement by your words and your deeds. To-day, you come to us in a higher capacity as Governor of Ceylon; we beg to renew our hearty welcome and our deep appreciation to you, Sir, for presiding at this function and to Lady Thomson for kindly consenting to give away the Prizes. The best encouragement you give to school boys and also to grown up people is that of your example as an organizer and a promoter of efficiency.

(3)

Special message or the topic discussed by the Rector

In these days of *depression* and of struggle for existence, there is a tendency everywhere to be somewhat downhearted, and one feels that this atmosphere has even affected school boys. The right spirit in which to face the present situation should be different ; the watchword should be : "*let us be up and doing*": it is energy and perseverance, for the individual as well as for society, that will win and triumph over the difficulties of the times.

Ministers of the Council of State. A man's career and a country's future are mostly built up at school by the effort made to conquer self and to gain a command over the forces of nature.

Dealing with academic results

We rely on the results of the Cambridge Senior Examination for Matriculating our boys in the University of London. Out of the 21 who passed the Senior, 16 were entitled to an exemption from the London Matriculation. When these are added to the six passes in the London Matriculation Examination, we get the fair figure of 22 for the London Matriculation. The follwing results were obtained from our University Entrance Class. K. G. Karunaratne and F. A. P. Savundranayagam passed the Inter-Arts ; M. L. D. Caspersz, the Inter-Science and F. A. L. Fernando, the 1st M. B. of the University of London.—One of our boys, K. Satchithananda, has won the Sir Marcus Fernando Agricultural Scholarship on the results of the Cambridge Examination ; another one, A. T. A. de Souza, has won an Exhibition at the Entrance Scholarship Examination held in April last by the University College. On joining the University College these candidates will find in that Institution a pleiad of Scholars who won their awards from our University Entrance Class. They are all a credit to their *Alma Mater.* I wish to

Sports activities

In the field of Sports we have kept the flag flying as usual. We were recognized as Champions in Cricket at the end of the last Inter-Collegiate season; and as for Foot-ball, (Association) during the last ten years we have lost the Championship only once; this was, I believe, three years ago. Our Cadets are kept the whole year in good training. At the last competition our Juniors were awarded the Sports Cup. The Senior Cadets got only near winning a Cup for general efficiency—I owe special thanks to the Prefects and to the Masters in charge for the trouble they have taken in training our boys.

Extra-curricular activities

There are many other activities connected with the College life; a Junior Literary Union, a Senior Debating Society, a Guild of the Blessed Virgin, a Guard of Honour of the Sacred Heart, an Altar Boys Society and a St. Cecilia's Choir. The latest addition is a Geographical Association. These are all doing well under the fostering care of their respective Presidents.

Commenting on the academic staff

Our Staff is on the whole permanent. Still every year we have to record a few changes. The Rev. Father A. Serru, our devoted Bursar, has been replaced by the Rev. Fr. J. Jamoays. Messrs. V. A. Kandiah and J. G. Fernando have left us to take up other duties. We have welcomed Messrs. S. Thangarajah and K. Herat as new Members of the Staff. We had the great regret of losing the services of Mr. Simon de Silva in January last. He had served the College for over 25 years with great devotion and zeal. Exhausted by his strenuous application to duty, he had to retire at the premature age of 52 and died at the end of May—R. I. P. To all the members of the Staff my thanks go forth for their loyal cooperation. We hope to strengthen ourselves soon by the addition of several new Graduates.

Appreciation of donors and benefactors

ourselves soon by the addition of several new Graduates.

It remains only for me to thank our Benefactors and Scholarship Founders for their past and present support, the Prize donors for continued encouragement, His Grace the

9.6 Appendix F- Initial codes from the Reports

The codes are attached in this word document

Appendix E.docx

9.7 Appendix G- Coded data in their respective categories

9.7.1 Coded data in their categories for character formation

9.7.1.1 Coded data under the category of Rector's Message

Rector's Message
1897 – Fr. Collin
Strangers, Masters & Children
Lack of community feeling
New to Socialization
Masters' efforts – tact/care/patience/wisdom and firm action
Order and discipline enforced
Unsuitable boys left
A few were expelled
Habits of order, punctuality, prompt obedience and perfect discipline (indispensable element of success)
Leading principle is discipline
Use of severity/disagreement with parents
Home discipline vs school discipline
Motivation for examinations
Effect of the methods
Perseverance in studies
Encouragement to students
Honesty in studies
Advice to parents on home supervision and home work
Day scholars
Moral education
1902
Student Discipline is for future happiness
Masters are to be considered as their friends (discipline)
1903
Examinations are not the end. Exam pressures are detrimental
Balance in education
Preparation for future
Well disciplined & well-mannered boys
1904
Excellent conduct of boys
Bright and cheerful
Habit of obedience
Respect for elders
1905
Done some good entrusted to our care (Youth)
Catholic School - Faith
Piety and devotion to Holy Church
Classical Studies
1909
Influence of Catholic Church to Catholic education
Catholic schools in the island
Achievements of old boys
Need of constant application for studies

Cadets – prompt obedience, smartness, endurance, manliness
1910-Fr. Lytton
School is a place to develop the mind and enlighten the conscience
Forming habits of reflection and modesty
Classics is his chief instrument
Conflict of modernity and antiquity
Commercial and classical
Impact of classical education on character
Identity of St Joseph's College
Being a boarder
Exemplary behaviour of senior students
1911
Habits of industry and obedience amenable to the voice of a well-formed enlightened conscience
Humility and intelligence
Knowledge of God and consequences of absence of the knowledge of God
Three means available for teachers to formation of youth
1912 – Fr Nicholas
Appointment of Spiritual Director
Old Boy Priests
1913
Sense of duty based on Religion – Do what you know to please God
Influence of religious faith and reverence
Classical training
1914
The balance of academic and religious life of school
Guild of the Immaculate Heart of Mary - commenced
Annual Retreat
1919 – Fr LeGoc
Collective effort of Staff
Aim of education – our own catholic boys into good Catholics
Develop their potentialities
Healthy body and healthy minds
Vegetative life & sensitive life.
Training of the mind and the will
Rational life.
Education: knowledge & character
Character = Virtues
Admission of non-Catholic students
Training in classics/science and character
Respect for non-Catholic students and their faith
Education in the supernatural life for catholic boys
Standard of education is its fruits
1920
Post war situation
Cry for better education
Little attention given for formation of character
Instincts nature and rational nature of man
How to control instinct guided by rational element
Cardinal virtues.
Need of light and strength from above to exercise self-control

Character and training in virtues
Support of family and school
Right environment & atmosphere for formation of character
Importance of self-control.
1922
Well-ordered and balanced activity
Universal biological law
Excessive – ill balanced activity
Necessity of moral training
1923
Form man according to the model of Christ
The role of the church in education
Formation of the heart in moral discipline
Creation of an environment favourable to social progress & cultivation of the mind
Catholic Church – main power station
Role of the priests in education
Cricket / Football / Tennis
1924
Real education in homes and in schools
Suitable environment and external conditions
Task of the teacher- stimulate the intellect
How to create the intellectual atmosphere
Views against disciplinarians and corporal punishment
Example and witness of teachers for growth in virtue
Their moral example
Result of a non-supportive environment to grow in knowledge and virtues
1925
Organisation with cooperation
Unity of action
Organisation for unity of action
Common good
Cooperation for the common good
Self-effacement vs self-assertion
Team Work
Spirit of religion with self-sacrifice
Effort is the key to success
Achievements and accomplishments of old boys in other countries.
1926 – Fr LeJeune
Altar Servers Association
Guard of Honour of Sacred Heart of Jesus (Confraternity)
Use of the college motto
Spiritual advancement
1927-28
The danger of taking life easily
Conflict with psychological advice
Dislike of stern law of effort perseverance
Danger of losing the value of effort
Constant effort / heroic actions
One general system of education for all
Non-Catholic students
Why do they come here

Constant and persevering effort
1928-29
Virtue
Moral perfection
Civic virtues
Justice – Right behaviour
Cardinal virtue of Justice
Respect for superior positions
Gratitude for gifts received
The virtue of respect
In Scientia virtute
Knowledge
Knowledge of his destiny
His means to reach it
Religious knowledge
1929-30
Noble work of education
Demand for admissions
Co-operation of parents
Responsibility of the parents
Foster by knowledge and practice – religion
The life spring of education
1930-31
Motivation to persevere
Criticism on happy going school boy with minimum effort
The value of effort
Progress happens in proportion to effort
Sustained effort
Well trained minds
Country's future is dependent on the virtues learnt in school.
Achievements of Old Boys in academic and social level
1931-32
Wide outlook on life
Well balanced mind
Power of self-control
Sense of Justice
Fair play
Self-sacrifice
Formative power of Latin
Knowledge alone is not the whole man
Gentleness, sense of dignity, respect for others
Atmosphere or environment which provides all the means
Religion an essential part of that environment – loving your God and neighbour.
1932-33
Cultivation of a sense of Justice
Formation of moral character (against crime)
Knowledge and virtue are not identical
Virtue of Justice
Law implanted in the conscience
Foundation of Justice
Benefits of the virtue of Justice

Practical application of Justice at home & school
Duty
Self-sacrifice of Christ
Joy is the privilege of a good conscience
The necessity of moral training
Good of souls/the Church
Welfare of the civil society
Lack of the dignity of labour
1933-34
Religious training is the first object of a Catholic College
Teaching of Doctrine
Exercise of Piety
Practice of Christian virtues
Formation of character
Building of strong men aim of parents and teachers
5 minutes visit to the chapel
Fight between higher man and lower man
Healthy moral exercises at home & at school
Self-control the dominion of the mind over the body is what constitute character
Foundation of moral and religious formation
Training of the mind and acquisition of knowledge (2nd purpose)
1934-35
Value of dignity of labour
Experimental farm
1935-36
Self-reliance, grit and perseverance
Not to depend on the government
Plenty of treasures hidden in the grounds in Colombo
To face the problems of life, add the habits of work.
Achievements of Old Boys
1936-1937
Virtues of the Gospel
Ten Commandments
Christian virtues
Conflict of science, morality and religion
Warning against dangers of extremism
Make science an efficient servant
More sacred is building of man
Moral formation is more important than man's scientific or literal attainments
1937-1938
Social formation of boys and girls
Relationship with others
Social virtues of justice and charity
Fatherhood of God
Brotherhood of man
Reward in proportion to contribution
Duty of social justice
Necessity of elementary sociology to be taught in schools
Looking after the poor is a strict duty
Inculcating in the schools the duty and practice of social justice and charity.
The practice of the virtue of charity

Self-sacrifice and love
Training children to practice self-sacrifice and love
Vincent DePaul Society
Example of Vincent de Paul
Universal Peace & happiness for all mankind.
1938-1939
Educational needs of the day
Intellectual, moral or spiritual
Training in health habits by the use of scientific methods and by practical applications
Plot of land for agriculture will teach: healthy exercises, constitution, train them for employment
Healthy exercises
Healthy constitution
Train them for an occupation
for employment
Taking up work which is available and suitable.
Misemployed and unemployed
1941-Fr. Pillai
Support and cooperation are needed for success and it is the team work
1946-Fr. Pillai
St Joseph's is for balanced scholarship
Civic Virtue
Capacity for Catholic leadership
Forming considerable of lay leaders/bishops and priests
It's a revolution in the country
Our catholic public life is somewhat thin and weak
Short of the founders' ideals
Returning home after war
1947
Workshop for radio work and for carpentry and metal work
Initiative to teach creativity
Value of technical education
1948- (June)
Office of school prefect/heroism of a fellow scout
1950
Handwork/woodwork/printing press
Room for creativity
Metal work/metal foundry/casting statues
1951
Not only academic work but make them machine minded
Take the joy in creative work of their hands
Apparatus to be produced in the workshop
The necessity of practical education
Creativity and invention
1957
Character and moral formation are one reason for attraction of other students
1958
Primacy of moral values and the necessity of a religious background to education

9.7.1.2 Coded data under the category of the alumni

Alumni
1896- Fr. Collin
1902-Fr. Collin
OBU connection to school
Forming of debating and literary society of St. Edward
Old boys a living testimony to the school education/best advertisement for college
1903
Establishment of St. Joseph's old boys' association
1905
Fruits of constant effort
Recommendation of a head of a department
1911-Fr. Lytton
Old Boys
1913-Fr. Nicholas
Achievements of old boys locally and abroad
1914
Old boys in Ceylon and England
1919-Fr. LeGoc
Old boys and leading professions
Retreat for old boys
1920
Old boys and their achievements
1923
Old Boys achievements
1924
Old Boys
1925
Old Boys and their achievements
1926
Old Boys
1927-28
Old boys and their achievements
1928-29
Fr. Benjamin Cooray later Cardinal s ordination
1932-33
Achievements of old Boys
Old Boy priests of Ceylon mostly from the College
1933-34
Achievements of old boys
1934-35
Achaemenes of old boys
1935-36
Old Boy priests
1936-37
Achievements of past pupils
1937-38
Achievements of old boys
1938-39
Achievements of Old boys
1941- Fr. Pillai

Old boys' union and their achievements
1943
Old boys' union and their achievements
Old boy priests
1948 June
Old boys becoming parliamentarians
1948 November
Achievements of old Boys
1950
AGM and old boys Achievements
1951
Old boys and their achievements

9.7.1.3 Coded data under the category of sports

Sports
1897-Fr. Collin
Cricket /football
1902
Cricket and foot ball
1903
Cricket and football
1904
Cricket and football build the manliness
1905
Cricket and football
1909
Cricket and football
1910
Football and cricket/tennis
1911
Athletics, football cricket
1912
School championship in cricket and foot ball
1913
School championship in cricket and foot ball
1914
1919 - Fr. LeGoc
Athletics, cricket and football
1922
Cricket and football
1923
Cricket, football and Tennis
1924
Football, tennis, second playground
1925
Cricket, football, Inter-hostel sports
1926/1928/1929
Cricket, football
1930
Cricket, football, tennis

1931	
Cricket, football	
1932	
Cricket football not so successful	
Drill is obligatory for all classes	
1933	
Cricket, football, volleyball, athletics	
1934	
Football, cricket, tennis, athletics	
1935	
Cricket, soccer and athletics	
1936	
Cricket, football, athletics and hockey	
1937	
Cricket football	
1938	
Hockey, public-school athletics Tarbet, Jaffna challenge cup.	
1939	
Cricket, football, athletics	
1941-Fr. Pillai	
Cricket, football, hockey, tennis, athletics, sports meet,	
Importance of games for the complete formation of the normal student	
Physical culture-Gymnasium and training	
Boxing to be started next year	
1943	
Cricket, football, basketball and athletics	
1946	
sports	
1947	
Cricket, football, athletics, tennis, hockey and basketball	
1948 June/November/1949/1950	
sports	
1950	
Cricket, soccer, hockey, tennis, athletics, basketball, boxing	
1951	
Rifle range started	
Football, hockey, tennis, athletics, basketball, badminton, gymnastic, boxing	
Stop sending students to boxing tournaments since the sport was injurious	
Swimming pool	
1954	
Cricket, football, hockey, tennis, athletics, swimming, basketball, table tennis, started rugby football, rowing	
1957/1958/1959/1960	
sports	

9.7.1.4 Coded data under the category of extra-curricular and co-curricular

Extra-curricular and co-curricular
1909-Fr. Collin
Cadets-prompt obedience, smartness, endurance, manliness
1910-Fr. Lytton
cadets
1911
Cadets
arts exhibition
college debating club
1912 Fr. Nicholas
cadets
1914
Debating Club
1919-Fr. LeGoc
Junior literary society
Senior debating club
Natural history society (power of expression)
1922/1925/1927/1929
cadets
1930
cadets
Junior literary union
Senior debating society
St Cecilia's choir
Geographical association
1931
Associations
1933/1934
Clubs and associations
1936/1937
associations
1938
Literary and other associations
1941
cadets
Birth of number of associations-full educational formation of students
Classical, historical, science and natural history societies
A fine arts society for music art and drama
concerts
College orchestra
College choir
English Sinhalese and Tamil literary associations-Tamil plays
St. Vincent De Paul society (Social service, poor and self-sacrifice)
1941
Sinhala and Tamil literary unions, concerts
St. Vincent De Paul society
1946
Societies and guilds
1947
Associations and societies

Natural history society and Radio club
cadets
1948 June
Societies and associations
1948 November
Societies and associations
1949
Cadets
Scouts
Societies and associations
1950
Associations and societies
College orchestra
1951
Dramas in school-Merchant of Venice
Public performances of school dramas
cadets
Scouts well established
Approval for sea scout troops
Associations and societies
Vincent de Paul society
1954
cadets
scouts
societies
School Magazine-New horizon
Catholic bimonthly-Apostolate
1957
Cadets
Scouts
Vincent de Paul society and the poor
Associations and guilds
Junior Red cross
1958
scouts
cadets
choir
societies
Vincent de Paul society
1959/1960
cadets
associations
Societies and associations

9.7.1.5 Coded data under the category of religious

1897-Fr. Collin
Religious instruction
A three-day retreat
Non-Catholic students
1911-Fr. Lytton
Place of religion in school
Need for a College chapel for religious activities- for formation of character and conscience
1912-Fr. Nicholas
Appointment of Spiritual director
1914
Guild of the immaculate heart of Mary inaugurated
Annual retreat
1919- Fr. LeGoc
Religious spirit and faith
Prayer and sacraments-internal
Charity and service-external
1922
Necessity of moral training
1923
Religion is a matter of constant practice
Yearly retreat
Nursery of future clergy
1925
Catholic spirit prevalent in the school
Religious instruction
Prayers
Frequenting the Sacraments
Annual retreats
Guild of the Blessed Sacrament
Immaculate heart of Mary
1926
Alter servers' association
Guard of honour of sacred heart of Jesus
Spiritual advancement
1929
Annual retreat
1930
Blessing of the new chapel
1931
Annual retreat
1933
Grotto in the primary/Lourdes water
1934
Moral formation through religious associations
1937
Annual retreat
1938
The spirit of sacrifice and prayer
Annual retreat

1941
Annual retreat
One day terminal retreat in every term
Apostleship of prayer
Alter servers' association
Guild of the Mary immaculate
Catholic Action-A catholic youth movement CYM
Train leaders for active action
1943
St. Vincent de Paul society
Guild of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
Apostleship of prayer
Catholic Youth movement
Catholic students' society for boys of the 6th Form
Terminal retreats
1946/1948
Annual Retreat
1948 November
Religious societies
1950
Annual Retreats
Statue of our lady of Fatima in the school
1951
Vocations
1954/1957/1958/1959/1960
Annual retreat

9.7.2 Coded data in their categories for educational leadership

9.7.2.1 Coded data under instructional leadership approach

Instructional leadership approach
1897-Fr. Collin
Organisation of school structure with right age for admission
Sending children for examinations
Public examinations (Cambridge Local)
Cramming and hasty preparation for examinations
Progress of students on the instructional level
Home exercises and involvement of parents
School fees for instruction
Free education through burses and scholarships
Appreciation of masters
Need of primary education
1902
Different levels among learners
Fairness in education
For brighter students no special attention
University education
Education relevant to Ceylon
Examination results of Cambridge local
Need of Matriculation classes
Subjects and curriculum
Appreciation of the college staff
1903
Purpose is to provide benefits of higher education
Furnish with the spirit of religion
Instruction on classical and scientific lines
Staff is a mixture of religious and lay Masters
Compulsory subjects
Admission criteria
Examinations: Junior Senior Cambridge and London matriculation
Criticism on University scholarship examination
Mention of best performers in examinations to motivate students
Importance of primary education
1904
Criticism on poor literary taste for English literature
Exam orientation of students and Masters
Views against cramming
University education
London Matriculation exam and Cambridge local examination
Opportunities for higher education in the University of London
Supportive views for a local university and island wide primary and secondary education
Importance of primary education
1905
Classical studies
Classical literature
Poor performance in higher mathematics
Public examinations
Choosing subjects according to the value placed at public examinations

Curriculum based professions: law, medica clerical and engineering
Appreciation of college staff
Publication of blue and white magazine by sixth form students
1909
Classical education
Opportunities in English universities
Achievement of old boys through higher education
Medical and legal professions are well represented
Views on Cambridge examinations and mention of achievers
Winning of the government scholarship
1910-Fr. Lytton
Teaching of classics
School is not technical institute
Criticism against new subjects to replace the classics
Criticism to include Tamil and Sinhalese in the curriculum
The importance of being connected to England for higher education
Attention to brighter students
1911
Public examinations and higher education
Disregarded the concept of having a Ceylon University
Higher education to be in Catholic hands
Problem with English language
Primary education
Disagreement with introducing vernacular to primary school
1912-Fr. Nicholas
University scholarship
Cambridge Junior, senior and Matriculation
UK trained teacher and modern educational drive
Board of studies
Scholarships: Free tuition, free boarding and tuition
1913
Words of advice to teachers on examination results
London matriculation, intermediate arts and science
Cambridge local examinations
Cambridge school certificate vs Cambridge local examinations
School certificate examination and call for school supervision
Comments on curriculum- classics and mathematics
Mention of staff members with qualifications
Leaving of primary head teacher for better position in other profession
Removal of Unperforming students from books
1914
Cambridge exam results
London matriculation and London intermediate examinations
Training of priests on the staff in UK Universities
Three days of school inspection
Conflict between vernacular and English education
Boarding and tuition scholarships
1919-Fr. LeGoc
Public examinations
Classics vs technical education
Motivating the academic staff by mentioning their qualification

Efficiency of a school-exams and reality
Importance of primary education
1920
New subjects in the curriculum
Cambridge exams
London Matriculation
London Intermediate exams
Introduction of technical subjects
1922
Cambridge examinations
London Matriculation
1923
London Cambridge and matriculation examinations
1924
Role of the teacher in teaching
Teacher selection criteria
Cambridge examination
London Matriculation
Intermediate examination
University education
1925
Preparatory school is the main feeder
scholarships
1926
London Matriculation
Cambridge examinations
University College
St Joseph's south becomes separate school
College staff
Scholarships
1927
Cambridge examinations
London Matriculation
London university
Efficiency in primary education
Acknowledgement of academic achievements of staff
1928
Senior and junior Cambridge examinations
Cramming in junior examinations
Superiority of senior examinations
Standard of Cambridge senior
University college opportunities
Agriculture as a subject
Preparatory school and higher elementary section
Bording and tuition scholarships
1929
Advice to parents to monitor the progress of students
Cambridge Examinations
London Matriculation
University College
Preparatory school being independent

Changes on the staff
Boarding and tuition scholarships
1930
Falling off the standards in education
Cambridge examinations
Matriculation examination
University of London
Preparatory school and new recruitments
Changes on the staff
1931
Technical and vernacular subjects
Need of a unifies system of education
Practical and pure science
Results of Cambridge and matriculation examinations
University college
Thanking the staff
1932
Balance in Arts and science in Education
Importance of Latin
Practical and technical education
Farming and gardening and agriculture
Examination results of Cambridge and Matriculation
University College entrance
Scholarships
1933
Cambridge examinations
London Matriculation examination
University College entrance
Audio visual room for learning
Moving pictures of history and industries
1934
Cambridge exam results
Matriculation
University college entrance
Primary school
1935
London Matriculation examination
University college entrance
Preparatory school
1936
Cambridge and Matriculation examinations
Appreciation of the staff
1937
London matriculation
London junior certificate
Primary school
Appreciation of members of staff
1938
Examinations
Preparatory school is the main feeder
Start of St. John's school

1941
Teacher motivation and education through the staff guild
Centre of oriental culture: Pali Sanskrit, Sinhalese and Tamil
Vernacular will be obligatory
Criticism on London matriculation and its dominance
Introduction of local examination for Cambridge senior
Satisfactory local examination
Appeal to parents to trust the school not tuition
To improve the standard of English, reading is recommended
Reading room, laboratory and additional chemistry lab
Change of school time 9.00am -3.25pm
Examination results
Preparatory school
St. John' Dematagoda
St. Pauls Kelaniya
1943
Mother tongue education
Three types of schools
Criticism on 5th standard examination
1944
Appreciation of staff
1946
Examination results
1947
Examination results
1948 June
Examinations
1948 November
Exam results
1949
Exam results
1950
Problem with the staff
Graduates joined the staff
Sufficient variety of subjects on the curriculum
1951
Recruitment of teachers
Problem with salaries
Teachers leaving the school
Teacher retention and stability
Justification of failure in exams but no alternatives suggested
Handwork, arts and crafts
Workshop is enlarged
Printing press and carpentry
Metal work department
Foundry and the arts and crafts section
1954
Medium of instruction in senior classes
Criticism of making Sinhala and Tamil languages the medium of instruction
English teaching in middle forms to be revised
1957

Recruitment of teachers
Leaving of teachers
Acknowledgement to the members of the staff
1958
Leaving of teachers for government schools
New recruitments
Primary school
1959
Teacher recruitments
Teachers leaving the school
1960
The issue of teacher retention
New recruitments

9.7.2.2 Coded data under the distributed leadership approach

Distributed leadership approach
1897-Fr. Collin
Perfect unity of method in instruction which leads to constant progress
Prefect of games
1910-Fr. Lytton
Appointment of prefect of studies and board of studies
1913-Fr. Nicholas
Development in the library by Fr. Librarian
Role of the prefect of studies-removing of students and teachers (weed out)
1919-Fr. LeGoc
Prefect of studies-training of teachers on the job
Board of studies
1920
Division of labour and organization of work
1922
New branch of St. Joseph's south at Wellawatta
1923
Preparatory school
St joseph's south
Catholic hostel
1925
Division of labour and cooperation
Acknowledgement of the contribution of others
1927
Sharing responsibilities
1936
Collective work in the absence of the Rector
1938
Division of labour
1941-Fr. Pillai
work load is shared among the co-worker priests
1942
Branches in Homagama, Gampaha, Kelaniya and Dematagoda
1959
Cooperation of the staff
Vice Rector
Senior prefect of studies
Prefect of discipline
Prefect of middle school

9.7.2.3 Coded data under the situational leadership approach

Situational leadership approach
1896-Fr. Collin
Creation of a sense of belongingness
A healthy tone was created
Relationship with the church hierarchy
1903
Enrolment in the lumpsum grant scheme
Grant in aid school's category
1905
Value placed on public examinations
1909
Opening the curriculum for the modern side of education
Need of scholarships to accommodate poor but deserving students
1910
Stands with conviction for college identity with the vision of the founders
1911
Moral leadership
1912
Lumpsum scheme operates under government supervision
1913
School certificate examination and school supervision
1919-Fr. LeGoc
Progress through collective support
Attending the request of the state
1922
Equilibrium of education
Question of occupations and moral formation
1924
St. Joseph's south
1925
St. Joseph's South
1928
Blessing of the cornerstone of the chapel
1929
Contributions for the college chapel through subscriptions
1932
Views on practical and technical education
1934
Clarifications on vocational occupations, agricultural and industrial training and classics
Agriculture the best occupation for the country and its prosperity
St Paul's school in Kelaniya
1935
Problem of unemployment and education
Want of the country and what is taught has a gap
Agriculture is the answer to the problem of unemployment
Opportunity is present
Application of energy and perseverance
1936
The Agri-farm in Kelaniya
St Paul's school

1937
Farm house and bee club
St. Paul's school
1938
The issue of National health
Real solution lies in the education system
Task of the teacher training colleges to educate on hygiene and rural agricultural science
Criticism on university college not offering a course on agriculture
Plot of land in every school for farming
Reasons for malnutrition and unemployment
Examples from Denmark
St. John's school Dematagoda
St. Paul's school
Agri farm
1941-Fr. Pillai
Tampering the denominational system of education
Special committee on education
Adapting the education to the possibilities of employment in the country
Criticism on the special committee
The issue of unemployment
Suggest to frame anew system of education
Need of framing a vocational educational structure
1942
Raising the issue of assisted denominational schools and training schools
Creation of the university of Ceylon and new hopes
School curriculum and university subjects
Need of creating subjects in the university for the country's future
Life of the nation needs a wide variety of subjects
Functioning in and through branch schools during the war
Staff is acknowledged for facing the challenge of the War
Higher school certificate conducted by the University of Ceylon
HSC replaces London Intermediate examination
SSC in place of London Matriculation examination
1943
Views on the special committee report
Defects of the present education system
Mother tongue education
Three types of schools and need of new reforms
Criticism on free education
1944
Views on special committee report
Educational expenditure
Need of educational reforms further
1946
Educational ideals and government grant
Educationally sound Catholics after 50 years
Recognising past deficiencies and avoiding them for the future
Criticism against the scheme of free education
Threat to denominational schools and their standards
Curtailing of freedom with the government grants
Educational reconstruction: proposed to drop the grant and stand independently

Considering the Views of parents and old boys of being a private school
1947
Criticism on state monopoly of schools with the education ordinance
Threat to denominational schools-no new schools
Violation of rights of parents to choose a school of their choice
Rights of Catholics for catholic education
Threat of totalitarianism and threat to individual freedom and liberty
1948 June
Criticism on the proposal on practical schools
No experimental backing for practical schools and national languages
Need of educational experiment for educational progress
Attempts for bilingual education
1948- November
Views on special committee
Proposals to remedy the educational problems
Proposal to redraw the educational plan
Criticism on free education
1949
Criticism on free education
Comments on Kannangara scheme
Practical education
Special committee
1950
Denominational schools
White paper on education
Uniformed system of education
Free education and unified system of education
Issues with teaching staff: salary, training and quality
1951
Decision to be on the free scheme or to be a private school
Charging fees/facility fees
Becoming a school under the free scheme
Criticism on political influence on education
1954
Issue of medium of instruction
No teachers and text books in vernacular
Change should happen when everything is ready (teachers and text books)
National languages
Stop the dangerous experiments on English schools
Vernacular schools and opportunity for employment
1957
Assisted denominational system
Threat to denominational schools because of government policies
Fr. Pillai raised his voice for denominational schools
Criticism on Communist totalitarianism and democracy
Freedom of denominational schools
United Nations declaration
Rights of the parents
Fighting for the freedom of parents to choose a school
Open persecution on denominational schools
Facility fee issue

Need of educational reconstruction
Teacher turn-over and recruitment
1958
Question of denominational schools
Open persecution
Decision to take over schools by the government
No objection to start Buddhist schools
Rights of parents
Aquinas university college
1959
Future of denominational schools
Danger at school take over
Violation of parental freedom
Invasion of the liberty of parents to choose the school
Opponents and their views on denominational schools
Raising his voice for all denominational schools
National education system vs denominational education system
1960
Decision to become a fee-levying school depending on voluntary donations
Private non fee levying school

9.8 Appendix H- Final overarching themes and the subthemes with their relevant codes

9.8.1 Final overarching themes for character formation

9.8.1.1 First overarching theme under character formation

1897	
Masters' efforts – tact/care/patience/wisdom and firm action	
Order and discipline enforced	
Unsuitable boys left	
A few were expelled	
Habits of order, punctuality, prompt obedience and perfect discipline (indispensable element of success)	
Leading principle is discipline	
Use of severity/disagreement with parents- conflict with parents on discipline	
Home discipline vs school discipline	
Effect of the methods	
1902	**School discipline as a tool of character formation**
Student Discipline is for future happiness	
Masters are to be considered as their friends	
1903	
Well disciplined & well-mannered boys	
1904	
Excellent conduct of boys	
Habit of obedience	
Respect for elders	
1909	
Cadets – prompt obedience, smartness, endurance, manliness	
1924	
Views against disciplinarians and corporal punishment	

9.8.1.2 Second overarching theme under character formation

1910	
Being a boarder	
Exemplary behaviour of senior students	**Three stages of Child development**
1919	
Purpose of providing education	**Sub-theme:**
Healthy body and healthy mind	
Vegetative life & sensitive life- healthy and physical development	**Vegetative stage**
1938	
The issue of National health	
Real solution lies in the education system	

1938-1939	
Educational needs of the day-	
Intellectual, moral or spiritual- Balanced education	
Training in health habits by the use of scientific methods and by practical applications-physical dev.	
Plot of land for agriculture will teach: healthy exercises, constitution, train them for employment	
Healthy exercises-physical development	**Three stages of Child development**
Healthy constitution-healthy life	**Sub-theme:**
Sports and extracurricular	
1897/1902/1903-Fr. Collin	**Sensitive stage**
Cricket /football	
1904	
Cricket and football have built the manliness	
1905	
Cricket and football	
1909	
Cricket and football	
1910	
Football and cricket/tennis	
1911	
Athletics, football cricket	
1912	
School championship in cricket and foot ball	
1913	
School championship in cricket and foot ball	
1919	
Athletics, cricket and football	
1922	
Cricket send football	
1923	
Cricket, football and Tennis	

1924	
Football, tennis, second playground	
1925	
Cricket, football, Inter-hostel sports	
1926/1928	
Cricket, football	
1929	
Cricket football	
1930	
Cricket, football, tennis	
1931	
Cricket, football	
1932	
Cricket football not so successful	
Drill is obligatory for all classes	
1933	
Cricket, football, volleyball, athletics	
1934	
Football, cricket, tennis, athletics	
1935	
Cricket, soccer and athletics	
1936	
Cricket, football, athletics and hocky	
1937	**Three stages of Child development**
Cricket football	**Sub-theme:**
1938	
Hocky, public-school athletics Tarbet, Jaffna challenge cup.	**Sensitive stage**
1939	
Cricket, football, athletics	
1941-Fr. Pillai	
Cricket, football, hockey, tennis, athletics, sports meet,	
Importance of games for the complete formation of the normal student	
Physical culture-Gymnasium and training	
Boxing to be started next year	
1943	
Cricket, football, basketball and athletics	
1946	
Sports	
1947	
Cricket, football, athletics, tennis, hockey and basketball	
1948 June/November/1949	
Sports	
1950	
Cricket, soccer, hockey, tennis, athletics, basketball, boxing	
1951	
Rifle range started	

Football, hockey, tennis, athletics, basketball, badminton, gymnastic, boxing	
Stop sending students to boxing tournaments since the sport was injurious	
Swimming pool	
1954	
Cricket, football, hockey, tennis, athletics, swimming, basketball, table tennis, started rugby football, rowing	
1957/1958/1959/1960	
Sports	
Extra-curricular and co-curricular	
1909-Fr. Collin	
Cadets	
1910-Fr. Lytton	
Cadets-	
1911	
Cadets	
Arts exhibition	
College debating club	
1912 Fr. Nicholas	
Cadets	**Three stages of Child development Sub-theme:**
1914	
Debating Club-Associations	**Sensitive stage**
1919-Fr. LeGoc	
Junior literary society	
Senior debating club	
Natural history society (power of expression)	
1922/1925/1927/1929	
Cadets	
Cadets	
Junior literary union	
Senior debating society	
St Cecilia's choir	
Geographical association	
1931	
Associations	
1933	
Clubs and associations	
1934	
Clubs and associations	
1936	
Associations	
1937	
Associations	
1938	
Literary and other associations	
1941	
Cadets	
Birth of number of associations-full educational formation of students	

Classical, historical, science and natural history societies	
A fine arts society for music art and drama	
Concerts	
College orchestra	
College choir	
English Sinhalese and Tamil literary associations-Tamil plays	
1941	
Sinhala and Tamil literary unions, concerts	
1946	
Societies and guilds	
1947	
Associations and societies	
Natural history society and Radio club	
Cadets	
1948 June	
Societies and associations	
1948 November	
Societies and associations	**Three stages of Child development**
1949	**Sub-theme:**
Cadets	
Scouts	**Sensitive stage**
Societies and associations	
1950	
Associations and societies	
College orchestra	
1951	
Dramas in school-Merchant of Venice	
Public performances of school dramas	
Cadets	
Scouts well established	
Approval for sea scout troops	
Associations and societies	
1954	
Cadets	
Scouts	
Societies	
School Magazine-New horizon	
1957	
Cadets	
Scouts	
Associations and guilds	
Junior Red cross	
1958	
Scouts	
Cadets	
Choir- Associations	
Societies-Associations	
1959	
Cadets	
Associations	

Societies and associations	
1960	
Scouts	
Cadets	
Societies and associations	
████████████████████	
1919	
Training of the mind and the will-rational element	
Rational life	
Education: knowledge & character	
Character = Virtues	
1920	
Little attention given for formation of character	
Instincts nature and rational nature of man	
How to control instinct guided by rational element	
Cardinal virtues	
Need of light and strength from above to exercise self-control	**Three stages of child development**
Character and training in virtues	
Support of family and school	**Sub-theme:**
Right environment & atmosphere for formation of character	**Rational stage**
Importance of self-control self- control and self-control	
1928-1929	
Virtue	
Moral perfection	
Civic virtues	
Cardinal virtue of Justice	
The virtue of respect	
In Scientia virtute-motto	
1930-1931	
Well trained minds	
Country's future is dependent on the virtues learnt in school	
1931-1932	
Wide outlook on life	
Well balanced mind	
Power of self-control	
Knowledge alone is not the whole man	
1946	
Civic Virtue	
Capacity for Catholic Leadership	

9.8.1.3 Third overarching theme under character formation

1919	
Admission of non-Catholic students	
1927-1928	
One general system of education for all	
Non-Catholic students	
1928-1929	
Justice – Right behaviour	
1931-1932	
Sense of Justice	
Fair play-justice	
Self-sacrifice	
1932-1933	
Cultivation of a sense of Justice-sense of justice	
Formation of moral character (against crime)	
Knowledge and virtue are not identical	
Virtue of Justice	
Law implanted in the conscience	
Foundation of Justice	
Benefits of the virtue of Justice	
Practical application of Justice at home & school	
Duty-Justice	
Self-sacrifice of Christ	
Joy is the privilege of a good conscience	**Promotion of social justice and charity as a tool of charcter formation**
The necessity of moral training	
Good of souls/the Church	
Welfare of the civil society-common good	
1937-1938	
Social formation of boys and girls	
Relationship with others-charity	
Social virtues of justice and charity	
Fatherhood of God	
Brotherhood of man	
Duty of social justice	
Necessity of elementary sociology to be taught in schools	
Looking after the poor is a strict duty	
Inculcating in the schools the duty and practice of social justice and charity	
The practice of the virtue of charity	
Self-sacrifice and love	
Training children to practice self-sacrifice and love	
Vincent de Paul Society	
Example of Vincent de Paul	
Universal Peace & happiness for all mankind.	
1946	
Our catholic public life is somewhat thin and weak	
Short of the founders' ideals	

9.8.1.4 Fourth overarching theme under character formation

Academic environment	
1897	
Motivation for examinations	
Perseverance in studies	
Encouragement to students	
Honesty in studies	
1903	
Examinations are not the end	
Exam pressures are detrimental	
Bright and cheerful	
1905	
Classical Studies	
1909	
Catholic schools in the island	
Need of constant application for studies	
1910	
Classics is his chief instrument	
Commercial and classical	
Impact of classical education on character	
Identity of St Joseph's College	
1913	
Classical training	
1919	**Influence of a healthy environment**
Collective effort of Staff	
Aim of education – our own catholic boys into good Catholics	**Sub-theme:**
Develop their potentialities	**Academic environment**
Training in classics/science and character	
1920	
Cry for better education	
1924	
Real education in homes and in schools-academic environment	
Task of the teacher- stimulate the intellect	
How to create the intellectual atmosphere	
Example and witness of teachers for growth in virtue	
Their moral example	
Result of a non-supportive environment to grow in knowledge and virtues	
1931-1932	
Formative power of Latin	
1938-1939	
Train them for an occupation	
1946	
St Joseph's is for balanced scholarship	

Physical environment	**Influence of a healthy environment**
1924	
Suitable environment and external conditions	**Sub-theme:**
1931-1932	
Atmosphere or environment which provides all the means-physical environment	**Physical environment**
1897	
Religious instruction	
A three-day retreat	
1905	
Piety and devotion to Holy Church	
1911	
Place of religion in school	
Need for a College chapel for religious activities- for formation of character and conscience	
Habits of industry and obedience amenable to the voice of a well-formed enlightened conscience	
Knowledge of God and consequences of absence of the knowledge of God	
Three means available for teachers to formation of youth	
1912	**Influence of a healthy environment**
Appointment of spiritual director	
Annual retreat	
1913	**Sub-theme:**
Sense of duty based on Religion – Do what you know to please God	
Influence of religious faith and reverence	**Religious environment**
1914	
The balance of academic and religious life of school-balanced education	
Guild of the Immaculate Heart of Mary – commenced-religious associations	
Annual retreat	
1919	
Religious spirit and faith	
Prayer and sacraments	
Respect for non-Catholic students and their faith	
Education in the supernatural life for Catholic boys	
Standard of education is its fruits	
1922	
Necessity of moral training	
1923	
Form man according to the model of Christ	
The role of the church in education	

Formation of the heart in moral discipline	
Creation of an environment favourable to social progress & cultivation of the mind	
Catholic Church – main power station	
Role of the priests in education	
Religion is a matter of constant practice	
Yearly retreat	
Nursery of future clergy	
1925	
Catholic spirit prevalent in the school	
Religious instruction	
Prayers	
Frequenting the Sacraments	
Annual retreats	
Guild of the Blessed Sacrament	
Immaculate Heart of Mary	
1926	
Altar Servers Association-Religious association	
Guard of Honour of Sacred Heart of Jesus (Confraternity)-Religious associations	**Influence of a healthy environment**
Use of the College motto	
Spiritual advancement	**Sub-theme:**
1928-1929	
Knowledge	**Religious environment**
Knowledge of his destiny	
His means to reach it	
Religious knowledge	
1929-1930	
Annual retreat	
Foster by knowledge and practice	
The life spring of education	
Blessing of the new chapel	
1931-1932	
Religion an essential part of that environment – loving your God and neighbour	
Annual retreat	
1933-1934	
Religious training is the first object of a Catholic College	
Grotto in the primary/Lourdes water	
Moral formation through religious associations	
1936-1937	
Virtues of the Gospel	
Ten Commandments	
Christian virtues	
Conflict of science, morality and religion-threat to religious life	
Warning against dangers of extremism	
Make science an efficient servant	

More sacred is building of man	
Moral formation is more important than man's scientific or literal attainments	
Annual retreat	
1937	
Annual retreat	
1938	
The spirit of sacrifice and prayer	
Annual retreat	
1941	
Annual retreat	
One day terminal retreat in every term	
Apostleship of prayer	
Alter servers' association	
Guild of the Mary immaculate	
Catholic Action-A catholic youth movement CYM-	
Train leaders for active action	
1943	**Influence of a healthy environment**
St. Vincent de Paul society	
Guild of the Immaculate Heart of Mary	
Apostleship of prayer	
Catholic Youth Movement	
Catholic students' society for boys of the 6ᵗʰ Form-societies	**Sub-theme:**
Terminal retreats	
1946	**Religious environment**
Forming considerable of lay leaders/bishops and priests	
Annual retreat	
1948	
Annual retreat	
Religious societies	
1950	
Annual Retreats	
Statue of our lady of Fatima in the school	
1951	
Vocations	
1954	
Annual retreat	
1957	
Annual retreat	
1958	
Primacy of moral values and the necessity of a religious background to education	
1958	
Annual retreat	
1959	
Annual retreat	
1960	
Annual retreat	

9.8.1.5 Fifth overarching theme under character formation

1922	
Well-ordered and balanced activity	
Universal biological law	
Excessive – ill balanced activity	
Necessity of moral training-spiritual	
1927-1928	
The danger of taking life easily	
Conflict with psychological advice	
Dislike of stern law of effort perseverance	
Danger of losing the value of effort	
Constant effort / heroic actions	
Constant and persevering effort-effort and perseverance	
1930-1931	
Motivation to persevere-perseverance	
Criticism on happy going school boy with minimum effort	
The value of effort	
Progress happens in proportion to effort	
Sustained effort	
1931-1932	
Gentleness, sense of dignity, respect for others	
1932-1933	
Lack of the dignity of labour	**The necessity of constant effort, perseverance and the dignity of labour**
1934-1935	
Value of dignity of labour	
Experimental farm-dignity of labour	
1935-1936	
Self-reliance, grit and perseverance -effort and perseverance	
Not to depend on the government	
Plenty of treasures hidden in the grounds in Colombo	
To face the problems of life, add the habits of work.	
1938-1939	
Taking up work which is available and suitable -effort	
Misemployed and unemployed	
1942	
Functioning in and through branch schools during the war	
Staff is acknowledged for facing the challenge of the War	
1946	
Returning home after war - perseverance	
1947	
Workshop for radio work and for carpentry and metal work	

Initiative to teach creativity	
Value of technical education	
1948- (June)	
Office of school prefect/heroism of a fellow scout	
1950	
Handwork/woodwork/printing press	
Room for creativity	**The necessity of constant effort, perseverance and the dignity of labour**
Metal work/metal foundry/casting statues	
1951	
Not only academic work but make them machine minded	
Take the joy in creative work of their hands	
Apparatus to be produced in the workshop	
The necessity of practical education	
Creativity and invention	

9.8.1.6 Sixth overarching theme under character formation

The role of parents	
1897	
Advice to parents on home supervision and home work	
Day scholars	**The role of parents**
Moral education	
1929-1930	
Co-operation of parents	
Responsibility of the parents	

9.8.1.7 Seventh overarching theme under character formation

1902	
OBU connection to school	
Forming of debating and literary society of St. Edward	
Old boys a living testimony to the school education/best advertisement for college	
1903	
Establishment of St. Joseph's old boys' association	
1905	
Fruits of constant effort	**Alumni-a reflection of character formation**
Recommendation of a head of a department	
1911	
Old Boys	
1913	
Achievements of old boys locally and abroad	
1914	
Old boys in Ceylon and England	
1919	
Old boys and leading professions	

Retreat for old boys	
1920	
Old boys and their achievements	
1923	
Old Boys achievements	
1924	
Old Boys	
1925	
Old Boys and their achievements	
1926	
Old Boys	
1927-28	
Old boys and their achievements	
1928-29	
Fr. Benjamin Cooray later Cardinal's ordination	
1932-33	
Achievements of old Boys	
Old Boy priests of Ceylon mostly from the College	**Alumni-a reflection of character formation**
1933-34	
Achievements of old boys	
1934-35	
Achaemenes of old boys	
1935-36	
Old Boy priests	
1936-37	
Achievements of past pupils	
1937-38	
Achievements of old boys	
1938-39	
Achievements of Old boys	
1941	
Old boys' union and their achievements	
1943	
Old boys' union and their achievements	
Old boy priests	
1948 June	
Old boys becoming parliamentarians	
1948 November	
Achievements of old Boys	
1950	
AGM and old boys Achievements	
1951	
Old boys and their achievements	

9.8.2 Final overarching themes for educational leadership practices

9.8.2.1 The first overarching theme: Instructional leadership practices

1897	
Organisation of school structure with right age for admission	
Sending children for examinations	
Public examinations (Cambridge Local)	
1902	
Examination results of Cambridge local	
1903	
Purpose is to provide benefits of higher education	
Examinations: Junior Senior Cambridge and London matriculation	
Criticism on University scholarship examination	
Mention of best performers in examinations to motivate students	
1904	
University education	
London Matriculation exam and Cambridge local examination	**Instructional leadership practices**
Opportunities for higher education in the University of London	**Subtheme 1:**
Supportive views for a local university and island wide primary and secondary education	**The British examination system**
Exam orientation of students and Masters	
1905	
Poor performance in higher mathematics	
Value placed on public examinations	
Choosing subjects according to the value placed at public examinations	
1909	
Views on Cambridge examinations and mention of achievers	
Winning of the government scholarship	
Achievement of old boys through higher education	
1910	
Attention to brighter students	
1911	
Public examinations and higher education	
1912	
Cambridge Junior, senior and Matriculation	
1913	
London matriculation, intermediate arts and science	
Cambridge local examinations	
Cambridge school certificate vs Cambridge local examinations	

Comments on curriculum- classics and mathematics	
1914	
Cambridge exam results	
London matriculation and London intermediate examinations	
Three days of school inspection	
1919	
Public examinations	
Efficiency of a school-exams and reality	
1920	
Cambridge exams	
London Matriculation	
London Intermediate exams	
1922	
Cambridge examinations	
London Matriculation	
1923	
London Cambridge and matriculation examinations	
1924	
Cambridge examination	
London Matriculation	
Intermediate examination	
University education	**Instructional leadership practices**
1926	
London Matriculation	**Subtheme 1:**
Cambridge examinations	**The British examination system**
University College	
1927	
Cambridge examinations	
London Matriculation	
London University	
1928	
Senior and junior Cambridge examinations	
Superiority of senior examinations	
Standard of Cambridge senior	
University College opportunities	
1929	
Cambridge Examinations	
London Matriculation	
University College	
1930	
Falling off the standards in education	
Cambridge examinations	
Matriculation examination	
University of London	
1931	
Results of Cambridge and matriculation examinations	
University College	
1932	

Examination results of Cambridge and Matriculation	
University College entrance	
1933	
Cambridge examinations	
London Matriculation examination	
University College entrance	
1934	
Cambridge exam results	
Matriculation	
University college entrance	
1935	
London Matriculation examination	
University college entrance	
1936	
Cambridge and Matriculation examinations	
1937	
London matriculation	
London junior certificate	
1938	
Examinations	
1941	**Instructional leadership practices**
Criticism on London matriculation and its dominance	
Introduction of local examination for Cambridge senior	**Subtheme 1:**
Satisfactory local examination	**The British examination system**
Appeal to parents to trust the school not tuition	
Examination results	
1942	
Higher school certificate conducted by the University of Ceylon	
HSC replaces London Intermediate examination	
SSC in place of London Matriculation examination	
1946	
Examination results	
1947	
Examination results	
1948 June	
Examinations	
1948 November	
Exam results	
1949	
Exam results	
1951	
Justification of failure in exams but no alternatives suggested	

1897	
Lack of motivation for literary taste	**Instructional leadership practices**
1904	
Views against cramming	**Sub theme 2:**
1910	**Cramming for examinations and**
Board of studies and monitoring	**internal supervision**
1913	
School certificate examination and call for school supervision	

1902	
University education	
Education relevant to Ceylon	
Need of Matriculation classes	
Subjects and curriculum	
1903	
Furnish with the spirit of religion	
Instruction on classical and scientific lines	
Compulsory subjects	
Admission criteria	
1904	
Criticism on poor literary taste for English literature	
1905	
Classical studies	
Classical literature	**Instructional leadership practices**
Curriculum based professions: law, medica clerical and engineering	
1909	**Subtheme 3:**
Classical education	
Opportunities in English universities	**Enhancing and developing the**
Medical and legal professions are well represented	**curriculum**
Opening the curriculum for the modern side of education	
Need of scholarships to accommodate poor but deserving students	
1910	
Teaching of classics	
School is not technical institute	
Criticism against new subjects to replace the classics	
Criticism to include Tamil and Sinhalese in the curriculum	
1911	
Disregarded the concept of having a Ceylon University	
Higher education to be in Catholic hands	
Problem with English language	
1912	
University scholarship	
1914	

Conflict between vernacular and English education	
1919	
Classics vs technical education	
1920	
New subjects in the curriculum	
Introduction of technical subjects	
1928	
Agriculture as a subject	
1931	
Technical and vernacular subjects	
Need of a unified system of education	
Practical and pure science	
1932	
Balance in Arts and science in Education	
Importance of Latin	
Practical and technical education	
Farming and gardening and agriculture	
1933	
Audio visual room for learning	
Moving pictures of history and industries	
Centre of oriental culture: Pali Sanskrit, Sinhalese and Tamil	**Instructional leadership practices**
Vernacular will be obligatory	
To improve the standard of English, reading is recommended	**Subtheme 3:**
Reading room, laboratory and additional chemistry lab	**Enhancing and developing the curriculum**
1942	
Creation of the university of Ceylon and new hopes	
School curriculum and university subjects	
Need of creating subjects in the university for the country's future	
Life of the nation needs a wide variety of subjects	
1943	
Mother tongue education	
Three types of schools	
1950	
Sufficient variety of subjects on the curriculum	
1951	
Handwork, arts and crafts	
Workshop is enlarged	
Printing press and carpentry	
Metal work department	
Foundry and the arts and crafts section	
1954	
Medium of instruction in senior classes	
Criticism of making Sinhala and Tamil languages the medium of instruction	

English teaching in middle forms to be revised	
1897	
Progress of students on the instructional level	
Free education through burses and scholarships	
1902	
Different levels among learners	
Fairness in education	**Instructional leadership practices**
For brighter students no special attention	
1912	**Subtheme 4:**
Scholarships: Free tuition, free boarding and tuition	**Constructive guidance to students for academic success**
1913	
Removal of Unperforming students from books	
1925	
scholarships	
1926	
Scholarships	
1928	
Bording and tuition scholarships	
1929	
Advice to parents to monitor the progress of students	
1932	
Scholarships	
1897	
Appreciation of masters	
1902	
Appreciation of the college staff	
1903	
Staff is a mixture of religious and lay Masters	
1912	
UK trained teacher and modern educational drive	
Board of studies	**Instructional leadership practices**
1913	
Words of advice to teachers on examination results	**Sub theme 5:**
Mention of staff members with qualifications	**Teacher recruitment and development**
Leaving of primary head teacher for better position in other profession	
1919	
Motivating the academic staff by mentioning their qualification	
1924	
Role of the teacher in teaching	
Teacher selection criteria	
1926	

College staff	
1927	
Acknowledgement of academic achievements of staff	
1929	
Changes on the staff	
1930	
Changes on the staff	
1931	
Thanking the staff	
1936	
Appreciation of the staff	
1937	
Appreciation of members of staff	
1941	
Teacher motivation and education through the staff guild	
1944	**Sub theme 5:**
Appreciation of staff	**Teacher recruitment and**
1950	**development**
Problem with the staff	
Graduates joined the staff	
1951	
Recruitment of teachers	
Problem with salaries	
Teachers leaving the school	
Teacher retention and stability	
1957	
Recruitment of teachers	
Leaving of teachers	
Acknowledgement to the members of the staff	
1958	
Leaving of teachers for government schools	
New recruitments	
1959	
Teacher recruitments	
Teachers leaving the school	
1960	
The issue of teacher retention	
New recruitments	

9.8.2.2 The Second overarching theme: Distributed leadership perspective

1897	
Perfect unity of method in instruction which leads to constant progress	
Prefect of games	
1910	
Appointment of prefect of studies and board of studies	
1913	
Development in the library by Fr. Librarian	
Role of the prefect of studies-removing of students and teachers (weed out)	
1919	
Prefect of studies-training of teachers on the job	
Board of studies	
1920	
Division of labour and organization of work	
1922	
New branch of St. Joseph's South at Wellawatta	
1923	
Preparatory school	
St joseph's south	
Catholic hostel	
1925	**Practice of leadership from a distributed leadership perspective**
Division of labour and cooperation	
Acknowledgement of the contribution of others	
1927	**Subtheme:**
Sharing responsibilities	**Shared leadership of the Rectors**
1936	
Collective work in the absence of the Rector	
1938	
Division of labour	
1941	
work load is shared among the co-worker priests	
1942	
Branches in Homagama, Gampaha, Kelaniya and Dematagoda	
1959	
Cooperation of the staff	
Vice Rector	
Senior prefect of studies	
Prefect of discipline	
Prefect of middle school	

9.8.2.3 Third overarching theme: Situational leadership practices

1922	
Equilibrium of education	
Question of occupations and moral formation	
1932	
Views on practical and technical education	
1934	
Clarifications on vocational occupations, agricultural and industrial training and classics	
Agriculture the best occupation for the country and its prosperity	
St. Paul's school in Kelaniya	
1935	
Problem of unemployment and education	
Want of the country and what is taught has a gap	**Situational leadership practices**
Agriculture is the answer to the problem of unemployment	
Opportunity is present	**Sub-theme 1: The issue of unemployment**
Application of energy and perseverance	
1936	
The Agri-farm in Kelaniya	
1937	
Farm house and bee club	
St. Paul's school	
1938	
Task of the teacher training colleges to educate on hygiene and rural agricultural science	
Criticism on university college not offering a course on agriculture	
Plot of land in every school for farming	
Reasons for malnutrition and unemployment	
Examples from Denmark	
St. Paul's school	
Agri-farm	
1941	
The issue of unemployment	
Suggest to frame anew system of education	
Need of framing a vocational educational structure	

1924	
St. Joseph's South	
1925	
St. Joseph's South	
1934	
St. Paul's school in Kelaniya	
1937	
St. Paul's school in Kelaniya	
1938	
St. John's school Dematagoda	
1941	
Tampering the denominational system of education	
Special committee on education	
Adapting the education to the possibilities of employment in the country	**Situational leadership practices**
Criticism on the special committee	
1942	
Raising the issue of assisted denominational schools and training schools	**Sub-theme 2: Denominational schools and other educational initiatives**
1943	
Views on the special committee report	
Defects of the present education system	
Mother tongue education	
Three types of schools and need of new reforms	
Criticism on free education	
1944	
Views on special committee report	
Educational expenditure	
Need of educational reforms further	
1946	
Educational ideals and government grant	
Educationally sound Catholics after 50 years	
Recognising past deficiencies and avoiding them for the future	
Criticism against the scheme of free education	
Threat to denominational schools and their standards	
Curtailing of freedom with the government grants	
Educational reconstruction: proposed to drop the grant and stand independently	
Considering the Views of parents and old boys of being a private school	
1947	
Criticism on state monopoly of schools with the education ordinance	
Threat to denominational schools-no new schools	
Violation of rights of parents to choose a school of their choice	

Rights of Catholics for catholic education	
Threat of totalitarianism and threat to individual freedom and liberty	
1948- June	
Criticism on the proposal on practical schools	
No experimental backing for practical schools and national languages	
Need of educational experiment for educational progress	
Attempts for bilingual education	
1948- November	
Views on special committee	
Proposals to remedy the educational problems	
Proposal to redraw the educational plan	
Criticism on free education	
1949	
Criticism on free education	
Comments on Kannangara scheme	
Practical education	
Special committee	
1950	
Denominational schools	
White paper on education	
Uniformed system of education	
Free education and unified system of education	**Sub-theme 2: Denominational schools and other educational initiatives**
Issues with teaching staff: salary, training and quality	
1951	
Decision to be on the free scheme or to be a private school	
Charging fees/facility fees	
Becoming a school under the free scheme	
Criticism on political influence on education	
1954	
Issue of medium of instruction	
No teachers and text books in vernacular	
Change should happen when everything is ready (teachers and text books)	
National languages	
Stop the dangerous experiments on English schools	
Vernacular schools and opportunity for employment	
1957	
Assisted denominational system	
Threat to denominational schools because of government policies	
Fr. Pillai raised his voice for denominational schools	
Criticism on Communist totalitarianism and democracy	

Freedom of denominational schools	
United Nations declaration	
Rights of the parents	
Fighting for the freedom of parents to choose a school	
Open persecution on denominational schools	
Facility fee issue	
Need of educational reconstruction	
Teacher turn-over and recruitment	
1958	
Question of denominational schools	
Open persecution	
Decision to take over schools by the government	
No objection to start Buddhist schools	
Rights of parents	**Sub-theme 2: Denominational schools and other educational initiatives**
Aquinas university college	
1959	
Future of denominational schools	
Danger at school take over	
Violation of parental freedom	
Invasion of the liberty of parents to choose the school	
Opponents and their views on denominational schools	
Raising his voice for all denominational schools	
National education system vs denominational education system	
1960	
Decision to become a fee-levying school depending on voluntary donations	
Private non fee levying school	