

**THE GREEK-CYPRIOTS' EDUCATION IN PAFOS'
PROVINCE FROM OCTOBER'S REVOLT TO THE
INDEPENDENCE (1931-1960)**

by

NEARCHOS NEARCHOU

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies

Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity

School of Historical Studies

The University of Birmingham

September 2009

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to assess and analyse the Greek-Cypriots educational policy regarding elementary and secondary education in Pafos' province, and to evaluate its contribution to the development of education in Cyprus during the British administration from October's revolt (1931) till the Independence of Cyprus (1960). This aim includes an examination of the administration of education in Pafos and its organisation within the historical context, which includes both the Church and the Colonial Government's involvement. It also includes an appraisal of education's operation and content in Pafos' province and particularly the school's management, the type of the schools that operated that time as well as the students' participation and withdrawal. Finally, the thesis intention is to investigate the probability of the influence of certain policies from the English educational system to mainly secondary schools and to determine and interpret the policy that the Colonial Government sought to impose on the secondary education of Pafos.

The study concludes that the British administration from 1931 and on tried to impose the centralisation of the educational system in order to influence the Greek-Cypriots in favour of the British Government. The Colonial authorities tried to influence schools timetables and curricula by emphasising on teaching English language and history at the expense of the Greek ones. However, the British could not put into effect their intentions, due to the pressure that the majority of the citizens and the Church exercised on the Colonial Government. Finally, the thesis remarks that Greek-Cypriots education in Pafos' province was strong enough to survive and improve not only through schools, but through the socio-cultural development due the initiatives of its scholar-citizens as well.

ΣΤΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΜΟΥ, ΚΑΛΛΙΣΘΕΝΗ
ΚΑΙ ΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗ ΜΟΥ, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗ ΤΖΙΟΒΑ
Μ Ε Ε Κ Τ Ι Μ Η Σ Η

TO MY WIFE, KALLISTHENI
AND TO MY TUTOR, DIMITRIS TZIOVAS
W I T H R E S P E C T

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, my thanks go to my wife Kallistheni for her infinite encouragement, kind consideration, endless support and concern in difficult times. Her altruistic assistance and valuable help have proved of vital importance for the completion of my thesis. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to my friend and tutor, Professor Dimitris Tziovas for his moral support and patience, his useful comments and corrections. I would also like to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to my parents Spyros and Georgia for their financial assistance throughout the performance of this study. More than anyone, they deserve to share the joyfulness of the thesis completion.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	6
CHAPTER ONE.....	24
ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN PAFOS' PROVINCE (1931-1960)	24
1.1 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.....	24
1.1.1 LAW 18/1933 AND SUBSEQUENT REACTION	24
1.2 SECONDARY EDUCATION	30
1.2.1 HIGH SCHOOL OF PAFOS	30
1.2.2 COMMERCIAL LYCEUM (COLLEGE) OF PAFOS	42
1.2.3 HIGH SCHOOL AND GYMNASIUM OF POLIS CHRYSOCHOUS	48
1.2.4 POLEMI HIGH SCHOOL OF COMMERCE.....	54
1.3 FIRST CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS: AN OVERVIEW EXAMINATION OF THE EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROVINCE OF PAFOS	59
CHAPTER TWO	81
PAFOS' PROVINCE EDUCATION'S OPERATION AND CONTENT (1931-1960)	81
2.1 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.....	81
2.1.1 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT	81
2.1.2 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION TIMETABLE.....	87
2.2 SECONDARY EDUCATION	89
2.2.1 SECONDARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT	89
2.2.2 SECONDARY EDUCATION TIMETABLE AND CURRICULA	91
2.3 SECOND CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS: AN OVERVIEW EXAMINATION OF PAFOS' PROVINCE EDUCATIONAL OPERATION AND CONTENT	95
CONCLUSIONS	113
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	122

INTRODUCTION

The history of Cypriot education during the English domination period between the October Revolt (Οκτωβριανά)¹ and the Independence (1960) has not been researched thoroughly yet. The existing studies are relatively few and concentrate in shaping a general picture of the development of the education of Cyprus during the aforementioned period, like the works of A. Kouros² and Kleovoulos Myrianthopoulos,³ or deal with more specialised educational subjects. In the latter category we find the work of Panayiotis Persianis⁴ which attempts a systematic investigation of the conflict of the Church with the Colonial Government, by examining both the sectors of the administration and the content of education. In the same category also belongs the work of Konstantinos Spyridakis,⁵ which outlines the objectives and the intentions of the Colonial Government, as well as the work of W. W. Weir⁶ that mainly examines how Cyprus' education had been influenced by other countries.

Apart from the aforementioned studies, which cover the Cypriot provinces, there also exist certain others that attempt to investigate several educational issues regarding particular provinces, villages or cities. The research work of Kostas Kyrris,⁷ for example, examines the

¹ See “Η Αγγλοκρατία στην Κύπρο (1878-1960)” in *Ιστορία των Ελλήνων, Κύπρος*, v. 15, Athens: Ekdoseis Domi² n.d. pp. 507-31, Rolandos Katsiaounis, “Cyprus 1931-1959: The Politics of the Anti-colonial Movement”, *Epetirida tou Kentrou Epistimonikon Erevnon*, XXXIII, 2006, pp. 441-69, Kostas Ierokipiotis, “Τα Οκτωβριανά στην Πάφο”, *Eleftherotyria (Cyprus)*, (21), October 1984, p. 5, Andreas Chatzithomas, “Ο προάγγελος μιας μεγάλης επανάστασης: Τα Οκτωβριανά”, *Chroniko*, 73, 20 October 2002, Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, “Παλμεροκρατία”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 30, 6 July 2003 and Petros Stylianou, *To κίνημα του Οκτώβρη του 1931 στην Κύπρο*, Diatrivi epi didaktoria, Panepistimio Ioanninon 1984.

² A. Kouros, *Education under the British Administration (1878-1958)* University of London Press: London 1959.

³ Kleovoulos Myrianthopoulos, *Η Παιδεία εν Κύπρω επί Αγγλοκρατίας (1878-1946)*, Lemesos 1946.

⁴ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978.

⁵ Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Η Εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της εν Κύπρω Αγγλικής Κυβερνήσεως (1878-1952)*, Ekdosis Grafeiou Ethnarchias Kyprou: Lefkosia 1952.

⁶ W. W. Weir, *Education in Cyprus: Some Theories and Practices in Education in the Island of Cyprus since 1878*, Cyprus 1952.

⁷ Kostas Kyrris, *Ιστορία της Μέσης Εκπαιδύσεως Αμμοχώστου 1191-1551: ιδίως δε του Ε.Γ.Α.*, Lefkosia 1967.

development of secondary education in the city of Ammochostos, while Ar. Pilavakis⁸ gathers useful information regarding the establishment of Lemesos' schools and the first appointed schoolteachers. In addition, Magda Kitromilidou's⁹ research presents the contribution of the Headmaster of the Semi-Gymnasium and the High School of Pafos (1915-1943), Paschalis Paschalidis, through the personal archive that was saved. Useful information of Pafos' education history, mainly during the first years of the English administration, can be found in the work of Kleovoulos Myrianthopoulos,¹⁰ Loizos Filippou¹¹ and Ieronymos Peristianis.¹²

The aforementioned literature review reveals that only few studies have attempted to examine the development of education in a particular province of Cyprus in a systematic way. Consequently, this thesis focuses on Greek-Cypriot education in the province of Pafos. We only cover Greek-Cypriots education since there are no available archives or data for Turkish-Cypriots. Furthermore, the thesis also deals with the issue of education in Pafos during a period whose boundaries are widely considered as milestones in Cypriot history: the first ever revolt against the Colonial Government in 1931 and the Independence of Cyprus in 1960. This period is characterised by the decision of the British administration for centralisation of the educational system, in contrast with the first period of the British rule (1878-1930) which was marked by the opposite policy of decentralisation.¹³ Moreover, education in the province

⁸ Ar. Pilavakis, *Η Λεμεσός και τα σχολεία της*, Lemesos 1929.

⁹ Magda Kitromilidou, *Τα Ελληνικά γράμματα στον αλύτρωτο Ελληνισμό – Η περίπτωση του Γυμνασίου Πάφου*, Lefkosia 1984.

¹⁰ Kleovoulos Myrianthopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-41.

¹¹ Loizos Filippou, *Τα Ελληνικά Γράμματα εν Κύπρω κατά την περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας 1571-1878*, Lefkosia 1930, p. 166 and pp. 320-33.

¹² Ieronymos Peristianis, *Ιστορία των Ελληνικών Γραμμάτων, από της Τουρκικής κατακτήσεως μέχρι της Αγγλικής κατοχής*, Lefkosia 1930.

¹³ "In 1933 he [the Governor] became the 'central authority' in the administration, the determination of the curriculum and the finance of the elementary schools". Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The Contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, p. 40. See also "Ιστορία της εκπαίδευσης της Κύπρου κατά τον 19ο και 20ό αιώνα" in *Ιστορία των Ελλήνων, Κύπρος*, v. 15, Athens: Ekdoseis Domi² n.d. pp. 722-29 and Kleovoulos Myrianthopoulos, *Κυπριακαί Σελίδες*, Lemesos 1949.

of Pafos began progressively to develop after 1931 due to the new policy that the government adopted after the Pancyprian popular revolt of 1931, as well as the new socio-economic and cultural conditions that began to shape in Pafos towards the end of the 1930s and mainly in the decades 1940 and 1950. This is another main reason why this study has chosen to examine the period from 1931 onwards.

The usefulness of studies dealing with local education history and the ascertainment that there are not many treatises that examine education in Pafos thoroughly gave the motive for undertaking this research. The study aims primarily to assess systematically Greek-Cypriot elementary and secondary education in Pafos during the last period of the English administration (1931-1960). More analytically, the main objectives of the thesis are the following:

- To examine the development of the administration of education in Pafos and its organisation within the historical context that includes both the Church and the Colonial Government's involvement.
- To examine the operation of education in Pafos' province and particularly the school's management and the type of the schools that operated at the time. Present and analyse, in addition, in the light of the socio-economic context, students' participation and withdrawal as well as the number of schools established and operated.
- To examine the timetables and curricula as well as the educational methods which were implemented in the elementary and secondary schools of Pafos and to investigate the probable effects from the timetables and methods of the corresponding schools of the rest of Cyprus and Greece.¹⁴ Another objective is to investigate the probability of the

¹⁴ For the issue of timetables and curricula that were in use in Cyprus see Charalambos Papadopoulos, *Εκπαιδευτική Πεντηκονταετηρίς*, Lefkosia 1975, W. W. Weir, *Education in Cyprus: Some Theories and*

influence of certain policies from the English educational system¹⁵ to mainly secondary schools and to determine and interpret the policy that the Colonial Government sought to impose in the secondary education of Pafos.

Finally, the thesis adopts the following structure for each chapter: Chapter One examines the administration of education in Pafos' province and various matters that are related with the period system of school management, mainly in conjunction with the corresponding legislative Government's regulations. The chapter also considers the consequences that the aforementioned subjects had in the School Committees composition and their jurisdictions. It also examines several problems that the Committees faced due to schools' operation and management. Chapter Two covers Pafos' province operation of education and content. Issues which concern the types of the schools that established and operated, the number of schoolteachers, student population, the rates of student dropouts as well as the timetables and curricula of both elementary and secondary education schools are thoroughly examined. Both chapters recapitulate the facts of the aspects that were presented respectively, following an overview evaluation for each one. Finally, the thesis closes with a general conclusion.

It is vital, however, to outline the historical context of the period under examination, because it will help us understand better the appraisal of educational history in Pafos' province.

During the period in question (1931-1960), the most important events that marked the history

Practices in Education in the Island of Cyprus since 1878, Cyprus 1952. For the issue of timetables and curricula that were in use in Greece see D. Antoniou, "Τα Προγράμματα της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης (1833-1929)", *Istoriko Archeio Ellinikis Neoleas*, (A), Athens 1967, Alexis Dimaras, *Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε (Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας)*, vol. A, Athens: Nea Elliniki Vivliothiki²1987 & vol. B, 1988.

¹⁵ For issues that concern the English educational system see H. C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, London: University of London Press 1971, H.C. Dent, *The Educational System of England and Wales*, University of London Press Ltd: London, 1975, B. Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure (1780-1870)*, Lawrence and Wishart: London 1981, B. Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940*, Lawrence and Wishart: London, 1978.

of Cyprus, and influenced to a large extent the educational matters of the island, were the revolt of 1931,¹⁶ World War II, and the struggle for freedom of 1955-59.¹⁷ The revolt of 1931 was a result of the hard economic measures which the Colonial Government implemented,¹⁸ as well as the disappointment of the Greek-Cypriots from the refusal of England to satisfy their demand for “Ένωσις” (Enosis – Union with Greece).¹⁹

In the economic sector, the negative consequences of the world economic crisis were still overwhelming due to the prevailing lack of rain, from which farmers suffered the most.²⁰ Indeed, the 1930s found Cyprus facing the disheartening results of drought exacerbated by the effect of the worldwide depression and the years of tribute payment.²¹ To deal with this situation, the farmers were forced to borrow money and mortgage their properties. Indicative of the farmers’ terrible situation is the fact that their total debt in 1931 amounted to two million Cyprus pounds (CYP).²² Moreover, the bad economic situation was further deteriorated by new taxation that the Colonial Government imposed in 1931, which amounted

¹⁶ For the causes of the riots see Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Ninetenth Century*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1996, Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Η Διασκεπτική 1946-48. Με ανασκόπηση της περιόδου 1878-1945*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2000, pp. 34-38, Rolandos Katsiaounis, “Social and Political Change in Cyprus, 1878-1924”, *Επετηρίς*, 1995, Robert Holland & Diana Markidis, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1850-1960*, Oxford: Oxford U.P. 2006, J. A. Mangan, *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*, London: Routledge 1993, G. P. Georgallidis, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985, Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, “Παλμεροκρατία”, *Κυπρος (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 30, 6 July 2003, Petros Stylianou, *Το κίνημα του Οκτώβρη του 1931 στην Κύπρο*, Diatrivi epi didaktoria, Panepistimio Ioanninon 1984.

¹⁷ See Giorgos Giorgi, “Ο αγώνας του 1955-1959”, *Κυπρος (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 17, 30 March 2003, Petros Papapolyviou, “Στα χρόνια της ΕΟΚΑ: Από τον ένοπλο αγώνα στην ανεξαρτησία”, *Chroniko*, 96, 30 March 2003 and Andreas Chatzithomas, “Όταν οι Κύπριοι επαναστατούσαν”, *Chroniko*, 121, 28 September 2003.

¹⁸ G. P. Georgallidis, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985, pp. 35-45.

¹⁹ For the issue of “Ένωσις” see Petros Papapolyviou, “Το Ενωτικό Ζήτημα: Οι αγώνες μέχρι το δημοψήφισμα του 1950, τα απόρρητα ντοκουμέντα των Βρετανών”, *Chroniko*, 85, 12 January 2003.

²⁰ G. P. Georgallidis, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985, pp. 29-67.

²¹ Diana Markides and G. P. Georgallidis, “British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13, 1995, p. 63.

²² G. P. Georgallidis, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985, pp. 29-67.

to 20,000 CYP. This taxation was imposed by “Διάταγμα εν Συμβουλίω”,²³ because the corresponding draft of law that was prepared by the Government was later rejected by the Parliament. The indignation of the Greek-Cypriots was growing continuously, because despite their protests, the Government continued to dispatch every year in England the so-called “φόρο υποτελείας”, that amounted to 92,799 British pounds; a fact that had adverse consequences for the economic situation of Cyprus.²⁴

In the political arena, the Greek-Cypriots, with the guidance of the Ecclesiastical leadership and members of the Cypriot Parliament (MP), did not cease to demand the Union of Cyprus with Greece. This demand was the main objective of the “Εθνικής Οργάνωσης Κύπρου”, which was the most important organised political force of the island, with the Archbishop as President and members the Metropolitan Bishops (Metropolitane), the Greek MP and representatives from each province.²⁵

Indeed, in July 1878 the turning over of Cyprus from an Ottoman province to a British colony effected an important overhaul in both the social and the political arena of the island. This was not so much the result of a policy of vision from the Government in London; the first British officials on the spot were military men, and the civilians who succeeded them, shaped in the colonial spirit of the time, conducted themselves as enlightened despots, at best.²⁶ The executive was firmly and unequivocally in the hands of the British. By Order in Council, on October 7, 1878, executive authority rested with the High Commissioner, answerable to the

²³ The Order in Council was an obligatory Order that was used by the Government to impose a draft of law that had been rejected by the Parliament.

²⁴ Discussed below. Also, for the term “φόρο υποτελείας” see G. P. Georgallidis, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985, pp. 29-67.

²⁵ For “Εθνική Οργάνωση Κύπρου” see Doros Alastos, *Cyprus in History: A Survey of 5000 Years*, London: Zeno Publishers 1976, pp. 350-51.

²⁶ Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Ninetenth Century*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1996, pp. 65-72.

Colonial Office. He was assisted by an Executive Council, nominated by him and made up by another four senior British officials.²⁷

At the same time, the Greek-Cypriots and the Church's attitude towards the political change of July 1878 was reflected in their way of welcome of the first British High Commissioner, Sir Garnet Wolseley. In accordance with certain texts²⁸ a Greek Prelate had welcomed the first British Commissioner:

We accept the change of Government inasmuch as we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as it did the Ionian Islands, to be united with Mother Greece, with which it is nationally connected.²⁹

This address is first referred to in 1903, and ascribed to Archbishop Sophronios, in a memorial of the Greek members of the Legislative Council to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. At the time the idea of citing it in the memorial had been to indicate that "the British had in 1878 been accepted by the Greeks of Cyprus through some sort of contract, which would only be binding so long as it led to Enosis".³⁰

However, there were two main ethnic communities in Cyprus, the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots, and two dissimilar compelling national cultures. Both the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots felt very strong national pride, held high national expectations and rejected any government initiative in controlling their schools or minimising the significance

²⁷ "The same Order in Council established a seven member Legislative Council. This was also headed by the High Commissioner who nominated the rest of its members: three official members who were senior British functionaries of the Government, and three unofficial members, who were Cypriots." Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Ninetenth Century*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1996, p. 65.

²⁸ SA1:551/1903, "A Memorial from the Greek Population of Cyprus to the Right Honourable Mr. J. Chamberlain, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies", signed by Kyrillos, Bishop of Kitiou, and the Greek members of the Legislative Council, *Public Archive of Cyprus*, p. 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Ninetenth Century*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1996, p. 25.

of their culture.³¹ The British felt that it was about time to use education as a medium of cultural integration. They wanted to induce the Cypriots to abandon their political orientation towards Greece and Turkey, “two foreign countries”, and acquire “a higher conception of their responsibilities as Cypriots and of the position of Cyprus as a part of the British Empire”.³² In particular, they decided to use education for “creating a new middle class which would be culturally dependent and politically supportive”.³³ In addition, such a class would act as a mediator between the colonial state and the masses. In accordance with an official of the Colonial Office, the “Cypriotisation of the services”, which was “pushed along by the governor” in the 1930s and the 1940s, had “a great political value in stabilising as least a section of the Cypriot population by giving them and their relations a stake in the administration”.³⁴

Nevertheless, in April 1931, during the debate in the legislative council on unpopular supplementary bills for further taxation to reinforce the 1931 budgetary receipts, the Cypriot elected members, both Greek and Turkish, behaved with such a “measure of efficiency that the council acted once as a real check on the government”.³⁵ Having argued so convincingly against increased taxation and supportive of cuts in government spending that even the Colonial Office found itself in private agreement with them, the Greek and Turkish members surprisingly succeeded in cooperating “to defeat the government over the customs and excise

³¹ Panayiotis Persianis, “The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): an intriguing example of an elusive ‘adapted education’ policy”, *Comparative Education*, 32, 1, 1996, p. 50.

³² CD of the governor of Cyprus to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, 15 June 1933, CO 67/249/14, p. 125.

³³ Panayiotis Persianis, “The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): an intriguing example of an elusive ‘adapted education’ policy”, *Comparative Education*, 32, 1, 1996, p. 56.

³⁴ Note of the Director of Education J. R. Cullen to the Governor of Cyprus, 3 January 1935, CO 67/259/13, p. 35.

³⁵ Diana Markides and G. P. Georgallidis, “British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13, 1995, p. 65.

bill”.³⁶ In a period of real financial distress for the people of Cyprus, their representatives had acted responsibly in their interest.

However, Sir Ronald Storrs, the governor, “panicking at this unexpected display of constitutional power on the part of the Cypriots, refused to conform to the will of his legislature”.³⁷ He explained to the Colonial Office that the offending Turkish member had withheld customary support for the government because he “was in the pay of the Greek-Cypriots who now had the whiphand ... and had definitely decided for political reasons to push their advantage to the limits”.³⁸ Storrs claimed that the perfectly constitutional action of the local legislature was an act of insubordination that had to be overruled. This was promptly done in September 1931 by the issue of an imperial Order in Council (that have been mentioned above) imposing the tax increases on the Cypriots.

The British government’s display of “arrogant disregard for the degree of popular representation provided by the existing constitution, and moreover concerning a matter of taxation in a period of extreme economic hardship, carried with it the classic ingredients of revolt”.³⁹ For the Greek-Cypriots, such a situation could only re-ignite the latent aspiration for union with Greece. The resignation of the Metropolitane of Kition, Nikodimos Mylonas, from his position as an MP was decisive for the beginning of the revolt in 1931, and so was his Proclamation addressed on 17 October 1931 to the people, in which, among others, he stated:

³⁶ G. P. Georgallidis, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985, pp. 568-574.

³⁷ Diana Markides and G. P. Georgallidis, “British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13, 1995, p. 65.

³⁸ G. P. Georgallidis, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985, p. 578.

³⁹ Diana Markides and G. P. Georgallidis, “British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13, 1995, p. 66.

Let us raise in broad daylight the Union flag and continuously intensify our efforts to rally around it, and by repenting and leaving behind us the animosity to aim for our national deliverance in every way possible through our Union with motherland Greece.⁴⁰

The rest of the Greek MPs resigned after the Metropolitane of Kition, an event that sparked the beginning of the dynamic revolt in Cyprus. Under the slogan “No to those who ran taxes down our throats. Long live Enosis”,⁴¹ a large crowd marched on Government House in Lefkosia and “without premeditation torched it in an extravagant act of defiance”.⁴² This serious incident culminated with the death of a person and injuries of many others.⁴³

In Pafos the events began on 22 October 1931 with the gathering of the residents of Ktima at the Bishopric, where the priest Gennadios Macheriotis, the Mayor of Pafos Nikolaos I. Nikolaidis, the MP of Pafos Christodoulos Galatopoulos and the lawyer Sotiris Markidis said a few words.⁴⁴ Afterwards, they organised a demonstration in the main streets of Ktima, while a detachment of English soldiers landed in the harbour of Kato Pafos from the martial ship “Agasta”. In the meantime many villagers, who were linked to the other demonstrators, began to descend at Ktima. In the incidents that followed, the English authorities arrested a lot of residents of Ktima and of the villages, whom they prosecuted to court. It is important to mention that during the episodes, which happened in the village of Pissouri (this is a region at the border of two provinces: Pafos and Lemesos), the MP Christodoulos Galatopoulos was

⁴⁰ Petros Stylianou, *Το κίνημα του Οκτώβρη του 1931 στην Κύπρο*, Diatrivi epi didaktoria, Panepistimio Ioanninon 1984, pp. 53-54.

⁴¹ P. Servas, *Ευθύνης*, Athens: Grammi 1985, p. 93.

⁴² Diana Markides and G. P. Georgallidis, “British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13, 1995, p. 66.

⁴³ The person that was killed was Onoufrios Klirides, 17 years old. For more details for the facts in Lefkosia see Petros Stylianou, *Το κίνημα του Οκτώβρη του 1931 στην Κύπρο*, Diatrivi epi didaktoria, Panepistimio Ioanninon 1984, pp. 59-86. For the events in Pafos see Kostas Ierokiriotis, “Τα Οκτωβριανά στην Πάφο”, *Eleftherotypia (Cyprus)*, (21), October 1984, p. 5. See also P. Kitromilidis, “Το Χρονικό του Π. Πασχαλίδη για τα Οκτωβριανά στην Πάφο”, *Κυπριακai Spoydai* (35), 1971, pp. 191-209.

⁴⁴ See Giorgos Giorgi, “Χριστόδουλος Γαλατόπουλος”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 5, 5 January 2003.

arrested. He was condemned later to imprisonment for exhortation of the residents to revolt and for destruction of government property (three and four years respectively). The Metropolitane of Pafos, Leontios,⁴⁵ played an important role in this dynamic revolt, but he was condemned in a fine of 250 CYP⁴⁶ and was restricted in his Metropolitan See for his involvement.⁴⁷

The months following the uprising were characterised by draconian measures applied “to bring the Cypriots to heel”.⁴⁸ On 28 October 1931 the legislative council was suspended⁴⁹ and the governor was given full powers to promulgate laws. He could be overruled only by the king and the secretary of state. The executive council, set up in 1878 to advise the governor on executive matters, and consisting, of senior officials and three nominated Cypriot non-officials (two Greek and one Turk), continued to function.⁵⁰

World War II had an impact on Cyprus as well, even if the island was not in the area of the military operations. The Greek-Cypriots had been feeling intensely the need to help Greece in its fight against fascism from the first moment of the Italian attack. Many were the Cypriots that went to Greece and enrolled as volunteers in the Greek army, while others contributed what they could in money and goods. Nonetheless, many Greek-Cypriots had also been enrolled in the English army and fought in the battle-front of the Middle East, Italy, and

⁴⁵ See Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, “Αρχιεπίσκοπος Λεόντιος Α’”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 24, 25 May 2003.

⁴⁶ Cyprus Pound (CYP)

⁴⁷ George F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (IV), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1952, pp. 554-55. For displacements and other punishments see *Secretariat Archives (SA)*, SA1:1078/31, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁴⁸ Diana Markides and G. P. Georgallidis, “British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13, 1995, p. 67.

⁴⁹ “Civil Disturbances in Cyprus in October”, *Parliamentary Paper Cmd. 4045*, 1931, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Diana Markides and G. P. Georgallidis, “British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13, 1995, p. 67.

elsewhere.⁵¹ Among the volunteers there were many from the province of Pafos as well. Moreover, many refugees from Greece found protection in Pafos during the German occupation.⁵²

In post-World War II Cyprus the Greek-Cypriot political catchphrase increasingly became “No to the constitution. Enosis and only Enosis”.⁵³ At the same time, this period created a critical dilemma for Britain. Its strategic needs and the suppressive policies implemented in the aftermath of the failed 1931 Greek-Cypriot riots came into conflict with the values advocated by liberal democracies during the war. Life in Cyprus could not return to pre-World War II island since 1931. The working class had grown in numbers and organisations and its political aspirations were expressed by ΑΚΕΛ (Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζόμενου Λαού),⁵⁴ the legal version of the banned communist party of Cyprus.⁵⁵ ΑΚΕΛ’s strength had already begun to be proven by its success in the 1946 Municipal elections, following Britain’s failed attempt (1946-1948) to create a Consultative Assembly to draft a new colonial constitution for Cyprus.⁵⁶

During the period 1943-1953 intense political life had developed in Pafos that mainly centred on the Municipal elections as well. It is important to mention that during 1931-1943, the English authorities applied a “nominated” election system for the Municipal elections, due to

⁵¹ For the participation of the Cypriots in the combat of Greece in World War II, see Doros Alastos, *Cyprus in History: A Survey of 5000 Years*, London: Zeno Publishers 1976, pp. 365-66.

⁵² The school year 1944-45 in the Students’ Lists of the High School of Pafos, nineteen students from the island of Chios appeared to have been registered.

⁵³ Diana Markides and G. P. Georgallidis, “British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13, 1995, p. 64.

⁵⁴ ΑΚΕΛ. See Giorgos Leventis, “Αυτοκυβέρνηση – Ένωση: Επίδραση του Ζαχαριάδη στη στρατηγική του ΑΚΕΛ”, *Chroniko*, 95, 23 March 2003.

⁵⁵ Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Η Διασκεπτική 1946-48. Με ανασκόπηση της περιόδου 1878-1945*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2000, pp. 65-115.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 413-468.

prohibitory measures they imposed after the events of October 1931. The English Government appointed Nikolaos I. Nikolaidis as Mayor of the city of Pafos; a position however, that he already possessed as an elected Mayor from 1923. The political parties that existed in Pafos in the decade of 1943-1953 were the left wing party AKEL, the party of Nikolaos Nikolaidis, “Προοδευτικός Συνδυασμός”, which constituted the right wing and the “Σοσιαλιστή Πρωτοπορία” of Christodoulos Galatopoulos.⁵⁷ The latter party had annexes in other cities of Cyprus and in several large communities of other provinces. Collateral branch of the “Σοσιαλιστή Πρωτοπορία”, were the “Εθνική Παφιακή Ένωση Νέων” (ΕΠΕΝ) and its expressive organs, the local weekly newspaper “Πολιτική Επιθεώρηση” and “Νέα Πολιτική Επιθεώρηση”.⁵⁸

The Municipal elections of March 1943 were contested by the “Προοδευτικός Συνδυασμός” of Nikolaos I. Nikolaidis, the ΕΜΕΚΛ (Ενιαίο Μέτωπο των Εργατών και Εργαζομένων της Πάφου) that collaborated with AKEL, and the “Εθνικο-λαϊκός Συνδυασμός” of Christodoulos Galatopoulos. The combination of Galatopoulos won the elections and ensured the five seats that corresponded to the Greek citizens of Ktima.⁵⁹ The combination of Galatopoulos gained also the repeat elections that took place in 1945 for the fulfilment of a position that was void in the City Council, as well as the elections of 1946 and 1949, while he was defeated in the elections of 1953.⁶⁰ Galatopoulos, a fierce supporter of the “Ένωσις”, employed an intolerant

⁵⁷ See Giorgos Giorgi, “Χριστόδουλος Γαλατόπουλος”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 5, 5 January 2003.

⁵⁸ The “Πολιτική Επιθεώρηση” was published in 1929 and its publication was interrupted for a while. It was re-published in 1944 as “Νέα Πολιτική Επιθεώρηση”.

⁵⁹ Apart from Galatopoulos, the other four that were elected, were Stelios Sivitanidis, Spyros K. Ioannou, Evanthis Koniotis and Efthivoulos Ieropoulos. Apart from the five Greek members in the City Council, there existed and three Turkish members who were elected in separate elections, which were carried out between the Turkish-Cypriots of Ktima. For the elections of 1943, see articles in the newspaper *Pafos*, 11 March 1943, pp. 1 & 3 and 25 March 1943, pp. 1 & 5.

⁶⁰ See *Pafos*, 14 June 1945, p. 1 & 4 and 30 May 1946, pp. 1 & 3. Also see *Nea Politiki Epitheorisi*, 19 May 1945, pp. 1-2, 2 June 1945, pp. 1-3 and 21 December 1946, pp. 1-3.

and aggressive policy against the English both in his speeches on national holidays as well as in his newspaper articles.⁶¹ What is more to the purpose, he accused his political rivals as “φίλαγγλους” (friends of the English) and “διορισμένους” (nominated).⁶²

Furthermore, both AKEL and the party of Nikolaos Nikolaidis adopted a Unionist policy.⁶³ Their political expressive tool was the local weekly newspaper “*Pafos*”, which was published by the lawyer and scholar Loizos Filippou in 1921-1923 and 1930-1950.⁶⁴ The newspaper always supported a Unionist policy and that was obvious from its news reports and its readers’ articles.⁶⁵

The struggle for freedom of 1955-59 was probably the most important event of the recent Cypriot history and the most dynamic expression of the demand of Cyprus for Union with Greece.⁶⁶ Several factors contributed to the preparation of this struggle and its successful conduct, most prominent among which was the schools and, generally, the education of the people on the island.⁶⁷ The schoolteachers maintained their love for Greece and declared the right to freedom for many years in the elementary and secondary schools of Cyprus. Their influence was evident in the events that took place in May 1953 during the official

⁶¹ Galatopoulos in a meeting that he had with the Minister of Colonies of England, Sir Cosmo Parkinson, who visited Cyprus in August 1944, he supported vigorously the demand of Union. See *Nea Politiki Epitheorisi*, 19 August 1944, p. 1 and 21 December 1946, p. 5.

⁶² Galatopoulos through his articles in his newspaper in October of 1946, reminded to N. I. Nikolaidis that in 1939, as Mayor of Pafos, he gave a dinner in honour of the withdrawing Governor of Cyprus, Sir H. R. Palmer, and at the same year was granted to him the title of O.B.E (Officer of British Empire). See *Nea Politiki Epitheorisi*, 26 October 1946, p. 2.

⁶³ See Giorgos Leventis, “Αυτοκυβέρνηση – Ένωση: Επίδραση του Ζαχαριάδη στη στρατηγική του ΑΚΕΛ”, *Chroniko*, 95, 23 March 2003.

⁶⁴ See Andreas Fylaktou, “Λοΐζος Φιλίππου”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 19, 13 April 2003.

⁶⁵ See *Pafos*, 8 April 1943, 8 July 1943, 15 July 1943, 5 August 1943, 8 March 1945, 19 May 1945, 3 October 1946.

⁶⁶ See Antis Roditis, «*Τὴν Ελλάδα θέλομεν καὶ ἄς τρώγομεν πέτρες*», Athens: Vivliopoleion tis “Estias” I.D. Kollarou ²2006 and Giorgos Giorgi, “Ο αγώνας του 1955-1959”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 17, 30 March 2003.

⁶⁷ Antis Roditis, «*Τὴν Ελλάδα θέλομεν καὶ ἄς τρώγομεν πέτρες*», Athens: Vivliopoleion tis “Estias” I.D. Kollarou ²2006, pp. 185-200.

celebrations for the Crowning of the Queen of England Elizabeth II between the students and the colonial police. The episodes were particularly serious in Pafos and resulted in the suspension of the School Committees of the High schools. Moreover, the English authorities took away the professional licence of the headmasters and of a few schoolteachers.⁶⁸ It is not an exaggeration to say that teachers and students alike played perhaps the most important role in the struggle of 1955-59, counting several dead among them as well as political detainees.⁶⁹ It is for these reasons that the schools, particularly the secondary education schools, were targeted by the Colonial Government, which tried to suppress the fighting spirit of the students and place education under its direct control.

In the socio-economic sector, despite the small improvement that began to be observed after 1931, the situation in Pafos continued to face serious problems, particularly during the decade of 1930. In 1934, Pafos' farmers faced the serious problem of the guarantee of satisfactory prices for their rural products (mainly cereals), the price of which descended considerably in the last six years.⁷⁰ Another serious problem that the farmers of Pafos also faced was that of rural debts and coercive sales of their fortunes. The farmers demanded to benefit from low rated loans from Cooperative Credit Companies; a measure that would save their properties from the coercive sale. The economic situation began to improve after 1935 and mainly with the beginning of World War II. The English authorities, because of the strategic position of Cyprus, proceeded to the manufacturing of many defensive projects, providing a fiscal boost and creating conditions of employment for many Cypriots.

⁶⁸ *Ethnos*, Lefkosia, 18 July 1955, p. 1, 22 July 1955, p. 1 and 26 July 1955, p. 1.

⁶⁹ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp. 142-48. Persianis reports that more than the fifty per cent of the students of the schools of the Secondary education had been participate in EOKA. The English headmasters of the education in their annual reports were referred with details on the episodes in which had been involved students. See *Annual Report on the Education Department*, 1955-56, pp. 2-4 and *Reports of the Department of Education*, 1956-57, 1957-58 and 1958-59.

⁷⁰ *Pafos*, 21 June 1934, p. 4.

In the sector of education, the period 1931-1960 was dominated by the conflict between the Colonial Government on the one side, and the Church and the Greek community on the other. The main issue of the conflict was the control of education in Cyprus and the starting point was the establishment of the Laws of 1923 and 1929.⁷¹ The efforts of the Government to take absolute control over educational matters on the island were expressed with the establishment of their new educational Laws. The most important ones were the “Περί Δημοτικής Εκπαιδύσεως Νόμος” (18/1933)⁷² and the “Περί Μέσης Εκπαιδύσεως Νόμοι 25/1935 και 18/1952”.⁷³ Along with these new Laws and other relevant Regulations, elementary education, the administration, timetables and curricula were completely controlled by the Government, while at the same time intervention in the secondary education also began.⁷⁴ It is important to mention that most of the School Committees had accepted governmental intervention in their High Schools, in exchange for an economic subsidy from the part of the state. However, in 1936, the Pancyprrian High School, the High School of Pafos and the Semi-High School of Keryneia rejected the governmental proposals.⁷⁵

The foundation of secondary schools, particularly those of a business direction, both in Pafos and in the rest of the island, was an important development in the educational matters of

⁷¹ See *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 29 May 1933, p. 309.

⁷² “Περί Δημοτικής Εκπαιδύσεως Νόμος” (18/1933), *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 29 May 1933, pp. 309-10.

⁷³ *Regulations under the Secondary Education Laws of 1935-36*, *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 2 February 1936, pp. 34-37 & *Amendment Secondary Education Law of 1952*, *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 13 November 1952, pp. 101-103.

⁷⁴ Under the provisions of the Zürich and London Agreements (after the Independence of Cyprus) the responsible body for the Greek education of Cyprus was the Greek Educational Council (today is renamed as Ministry of Education and Culture). See Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, p. 112.

⁷⁵ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp. 61-111. See also “Ιστορία της εκπαίδευσης της Κύπρου κατά τον 19ο και 20ό αιώνα” in *Ιστορία των Ελλήνων, Κύπρος*, v. 15, Athens: Ekdoseis Domi² n.d. pp. 722-23.

Cyprus in 1931-1960. During the period of 1940-1960, an important improvement in the economic situation of the island had been observed, which contributed, to a certain degree, to the improvement of the standard of living.⁷⁶ The beneficial impact of the economic improvement was more obvious in the secondary education, which exhibited an impressive increase both in the number of new secondary schools and in the number of students. An example of this growth is that only in Pafos, the College of Pafos (“Εμπορικό Λύκειο Πάφου” or “Κολλέγιο Πάφου”), the High School of Polis Chrysochous (“Ανωτέρα Ελληνική Σχολή” or “Ελληνικό Γυμνάσιο”) and the High School of Commerce of Polemi (“Ανωτέρα Εμπορική Σχολή Πολεμίου”) had been founded.⁷⁷

In the cultural sector, the period of 1931-1960 is characterised by rich intellectual and artistic activity, which to a large extent can be credited to the lawyer and scholar Loizos Filippou⁷⁸ and to the politician, poet and Mayor of Pafos, Christodoulos Galatopoulos.⁷⁹ In 1932, Loizos Filippou founded the athletic and intellectual Association *Kiniras*, which was the main institution promoting the athletic and intellectual events of the province of Pafos.⁸⁰ This Association, apart from its rich athletic action, organised lectures, discussions, philological memorials, philological and musical soirees, while at the same time maintained a choir, an orchestra of mandolins and a theatrical department.⁸¹ It also published the weekly newspaper

⁷⁶ See Andreas Fantis, *To 1948, χρόνος οξύτατης ταξικής αναμέτρησης*, Lefkosia 1979, Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης των κοριτσιών στην Κύπρο: Μελέτη της πορείας Κοινωνικού και Εκπαιδευτικού εκσυγχρονισμού της Κύπρου*, Lefkosia 1998.

⁷⁷ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Συγκριτική Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης της Κύπρου (1800-2004)*, Athens: Gutenberg 2006, pp. 133-40.

⁷⁸ See Andreas Fylaktou, “Λοΐζος Φιλίππου”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 19, 13 April 2003.

⁷⁹ See Giorgos Giorgi, “Χριστόδουλος Γαλατόπουλος”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 5, 5 January 2003.

⁸⁰ See Andreas Chatzithomas, “Πνευματική Πάφος: Μορφές που σφράγισαν μια εποχή”, *Chroniko*, 54, 9 June 2002.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Pafos,⁸² and the monthly literary magazine *Pafos* (1935-1947), which with the *Kypriaka Grammata* that was published in Lefkosia, were the only literary magazines of Cyprus.⁸³

Christodoulos Galatopoulos,⁸⁴ as Mayor of Pafos, founded the Elementary Library of Pafos in 1946 and enriched it with thousands of volumes of scientific and literary books, while at the same time he established the Palamic feasts (*Παλαμικές γιορτές*) in 1949, which took place every year to the honour of Kostis Palamas.⁸⁵ Responsible for the organisation of the Palamic feasts from 1951 and onwards was the *Fisiolatrikos Pnevmatikos Omilos Pafou*, which also developed appreciable cultural action.⁸⁶ Cultural events were also organised by the political parties, many educational Associations (that were founded after World War II), as well as the schools of secondary education, with performances of ancient Greek tragedies and other artistic events in villages of the province of Pafos.⁸⁷

⁸² Kostas Ierokipiotis, “Το φιλολογικό περιοδικό *Πάφος*”, *Pnevmatiki Kypros*, (306-307), June-July 1986, pp. 149-53.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ See Giorgos Giorgi, “Χριστόδουλος Γαλατόπουλος”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 5, 5 January 2003.

⁸⁵ The institution of Palamic feasts is still continued in our days and the events are organised by the “Φυσιολατρικός Πνευματικός Όμιλος Πάφου”. See Kostas Ierokipiotis, “Η πολιτιστική κίνηση στην Πάφο”, *Pnevmatiki Kypros*, (319-320), July-August 1987, pp. 141-50.

⁸⁶ Kostas Ierokipiotis, “Η πολιτιστική κίνηση στην Πάφο”, *Pnevmatiki Kypros*, (319-320), July-August 1987, pp. 141-50.

⁸⁷ Kostas Ierokipiotis, “Η πολιτιστική κίνηση στην Πάφο”, *Pnevmatiki Kypros*, (319-320), July-August 1987, pp. 141-50.

CHAPTER ONE

ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN PAFOS' PROVINCE (1931-1960)

1.1 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

1.1.1 LAW 18/1933 AND SUBSEQUENT REACTION

The responsibilities of the Council were limited, compared to those that were given under the provisions of the Law 4/1929.⁸⁸ Its role was only advisory and its responsibilities concerned mainly areas regarding the height of the school taxation, which would impose the government in each community for the maintenance of the school that functioned in that community. Moreover, the Government had taken away the Council's right to select the programmes of study, the courses and the textbooks that would be used in the elementary schools.⁸⁹

In the above Law, was also included the "Περί υποχρεωτικής εκπαίδευσης Νόμος"⁹⁰ of 1931, which, however, was not placed in effect because the parents of the students (mainly of rural regions) reacted to its application, as they would lose the help of their children at their working occupations. On the contrary, the Working Federations favoured the Law, asking from the Government to guarantee the obligatory education up to the age of fourteen years old.⁹¹

⁸⁸ The Law of 1929 assigned to the Educational Council the preparation of regulations that concerned the classification of the schoolteachers. The Council had also the competence to submit to the Governor proposals with regard to the communities in which they could establish schools of Elementary education. SA1:696/30, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁸⁹ SA1:696/30, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁹⁰ SA1:1673/26, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁹¹ *Neos Kypriakos Fylax*, 15 June 1938, p. 1. See also SA1:1673/26, *Public Archive of Cyprus* and *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1932-33, p. 6.

With regard to the Town School Committees, the Metropolitan continued to be the President and the Mayor the Vice-president, while the remainder seven members, according to the provisions of the new Law, were nominated by the Governor. With the “Τροποποιητικό Νόμο” (27/1937),⁹² the acquired right of the Archbishop and the Metropolitan to be presidents of the School Committees was removed and the Greek Mayors of that time were nominated in their place.⁹³ The Rural Committees at the villages did not befall any change in their composition. Their members continued to be the Mouhtar (President of the Community) and four Azades (members), with main responsibility the maintenance of the school and the determination of the school taxation, which they submitted to the Director of Education via the Governor of the province.⁹⁴

With the enforcement of the Law of 1933, a lot of the educational rights obtained by the Church of Cyprus during the Ottoman period were taken away. More specifically, the loss of authority that it had over the Greek Educational Council and the Town School Committees, regarding the elementary education, caused the immediate reaction of the Church of Cyprus. Members of the Church believed that the new measures taken by the Colonial Government would assist in the transformation of the traditional Greek educational system into the British one, and thus the alteration of the national identity of the country. As a result of this, the Holy Synod of the Church of Cyprus sent a protest letter to the Governor of Cyprus demanding the annulment of the new law enforced on the educational system.⁹⁵

⁹² SA1:1160/1937, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁹³ For the nominations see SA1:440/1944, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁹⁴ *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 29 May 1933, p. 314.

⁹⁵ Kleovoulos Myriantopoulos, *Η Παιδεία εν Κύπρω επί Αγγλοκρατίας (1878-1946)*, Lemesos 1946, pp. 109-15 & 118.

There was also reaction coming from the members of the Greek Educational Council, various organisations as well as School Boards from all cities across Cyprus. On 3 September 1933 in Pafos, Metropolitane Leontios was named the new President of all School Committees.⁹⁶ Metropolitane Leontios, who was a strong supporter of the “Ένωσις” (Union) of Cyprus with Greece, was also accused and sentenced to a financial fine for his ideas.⁹⁷ Members of the School Committee of Pafos were also Nikolaos Nikolaidis (who was named President of the Committee in 1937), Omiros Dimitriadis, Menelaos Kakoyiannis, Stefanos Ioannidis, Fotios Georgiadis, Sokratis Nikolaidis, Petros Papaioannou and Pavlos Kythreotis.

On 15 February 1933, the School Committee of Pafos in one of its meetings discussed in depth the issue of the enforcement of the new law, and unanimously decided “όπως αποσταλεί σύντομος και ουσιαστική διαμαρτυρία προς τον Αποικιακό Γραμματέα”.⁹⁸ The context of the letter addressed the importance and the great role that the communities were playing regarding the education of the children. Additionally, it stressed out that it is “ορθόν και δίκαιον οι κοινότητες αύται να έχουν γνώμη επί των αφορώντων την εν γένει λειτουργίαν του σχολείου και την μόρφωσιν και διαπαιδαγώγησιν των τέκνων των”.⁹⁹ It is worth mentioning that the School Committees sent also a similar protesting letter to the Secretary of the Colonial Government.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, “Αρχιεπίσκοπος Λεόντιος Α’”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 24, 25 May 2003, p. 23.

⁹⁷ It is worth mentioning that during that period Metropolitane Leontios also acted as Deputy of the Tribune (Archbishop’s throne) and was the only active Hierarch after the Archbishop’s death and the exile of the two other Metropolitans (Kitiou and Keyneias) during the riots of 1931. See Petros Papapolyviou, “Το Ένωτικό Ζήτημα: Οι αγώνες μέχρι το δημοψήφισμα του 1950, τα απόρρητα ντοκουμέντα των Βρετανών”, *Chroniko*, 85, 12 January 2003.

⁹⁸ The Colonial Secretary was the coordinator of all the governmental services and first in force after the Governor. G. S. Georgallidis, *Public records in Cyprus before and after Independence, Journal of the Society of Archives*, 7, (4), October, 1983, pp. 230-41.

⁹⁹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 15 February 1933.

¹⁰⁰ SA1:1468/31 & 1468/31/3, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

1.1.2 The Jurisdiction of the School Committees of Pafos and the Rural Committees

For the maintenance of the school buildings, the Committee had the right to proceed to any developmental project necessary; however, the Committee would first have to receive a positive authorisation from the Educational Office of the Government. Konstantinos Spyridakis characteristically reports that “the centralization of power bestowed upon the Governor and the director of Education had reached such a point that not only the school teachers would depend solely on the Government, but also the slightest detail to the construction and repair of toilets could only be made upon approval by the Director of Education”.¹⁰¹ Moreover, for expanding the buildings or even constructing new ones, the Committee had the right to ask for a loan from the Government through the Educational Office; in order to reach the Educational Office, however, one had to go through the Educational Council and with a specific proposal. For example, in 1931 the Committee applied for a loan for the construction of a kindergarten, and again in 1933 for buying land near the Neofyteion Urban School.¹⁰²

Regarding the housing loan procedures, the Committee could also proceed with any relevant actions considered as necessary; however, they had to previously submit a relevant application to the Government to grant them a relevant authorisation. On this basis, during the school year of 1936-37 it was decided that students from the 5th and 6th grade at the elementary school of Kato Pafos would study at the elementary schools of Ktima.¹⁰³ In 1941 it was also decided that the two elementary schools of Ktima would merge under a single

¹⁰¹ Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Μελέται, Διαλέξεις, Άρθρα*, (B), Lefkosia 1974, p. 57.

¹⁰² The first loan was 90 CYP and the second 75 CYP. *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 21 March 1933.

¹⁰³ Ktima is the name for Pafos' town excluding the area around the harbour.

Principal authority given that the Girls School of the area would be used for military purposes.¹⁰⁴ With regards to purchasing equipment for all schools, such as furniture, desks, visual aids, and stationary, the Committee had to first issue a public statement in the press requesting tenders. In relation to the above needs, the Committee was obligated, again to submit a relevant application and receive a positive authorisation from the Educational Office.

The expenses of the School Committee were covered from the school taxation which was imposed on the citizens of Ktima and Kato Pafos. The taxation amount that each household had to pay depended, according to Law 4/1929,¹⁰⁵ on the financial situation of each household. The school distribution, as the imposed taxation was called, was also published in the daily press. According to data presented in the *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, the taxation amount during the school year 1946-47, fluctuated between 0.30 to 31.00 CYP for the area of the Diocese of Pafos.¹⁰⁶ It should also be noted that with the same law the Educational Cashier Desk was annulled and all Governmental expenses made for educational purposes were covered from the Overall Governmental Budget. Below, certain data of the school taxation that was imposed on the citizens of Ktima and Kato Pafos, for specific school years, are reported:

In relation to the employment of new academic personnel, the School Committee of Pafos had not been involved. In the mid June 1936, the Educational Office decided to decrease the number of teaching personnel for Neofyteion Urban School and Dimitreion Girls School, from four people to three in each school. Although the School Committees tried to annul the above decision by sending an official letter to the Educational Office, the request was not

¹⁰⁴ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 29 August 1941.

¹⁰⁵ SA1:696/30, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

¹⁰⁶ *Nea Politiki Epitheorisi*, 4 January 1947, p. 2 and 18 January 1947, p. 3.

approved. For hiring new personnel the Committee had to submit an application form, which they did in 1947 by requesting the hiring of an additional schoolteacher at the Mikti (Mixed: boys and girls) Urban School of Ktima.¹⁰⁷

It should be noted that the responsibilities of the Rural Committees¹⁰⁸ in the villages in relation to educational issues were very similar to those undertaken by Town School Committees. The control of the elementary schools of the villages was under the authority of the elementary education inspector. The inspector visited each village school, two times per year, and recorded his opinions as well as suggestions and proposals, in the special “Βιβλίον Επιθεωρήσεων” (Record of Inspections). In the Record of Inspections for the elementary school of Peyia, for instance, the inspector recorded after his visit in 1932 that the school did not have a map of Palestine as well as phytology pictures.¹⁰⁹ Then in 1937 it was realised that there was a need for a barometer, a rain gauge, as well as Physics equipment.¹¹⁰ Moreover, during the school year 1947-48 the Inspector noted in the Record of Inspections for the elementary school of Panayia that “το παλιόν κτίριον είναι σχεδόν ακατάλληλον και το νέον χρειάζεται επιδιόρθωσιν”.¹¹¹ Similar notes were made in the Record of Inspections and for other villages of Pafos’ province as well. In order to be able to cover all these expenses that aroused every year, the President of the Community owed to include a special amount in the overall budget for the next year. However, on numerous occasions, the Rural Committee did

¹⁰⁷ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 12 May 1947.

¹⁰⁸ The Rural Committees constituted by the President of the Community and 3 to 4 Members. These Committees undertook the duties of the School Committees of the villages from 1923 and on.

¹⁰⁹ *Record of Inspections, Elementary school of Peyia*, 14 November 1932. David Nikolaidis was the President of the Community at that time.

¹¹⁰ *Record of Inspections, Elementary school of Peyia*, 4 January 1937.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3 November 1947.

not proceed to the necessary steps for the needs of the schools, because that would automatically imply an increase to the taxes imposed on the citizens.¹¹²

1.2 SECONDARY EDUCATION

1.2.1 HIGH SCHOOL OF PAFOS

1.2.1.1 The direction of the High School

The “Περί Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης Νόμος 25/1935”,¹¹³ was published in September 1935, and was considered a way by which the Government tried to impose its control in secondary education as already achieved in the elementary educational system through the 18/1933 Law. The new Law 25/1935, among others, set a new procedure for the registration of a school in the Governmental registrars by setting that School Committee had to submit a relevant application, which would explicitly report the type of the school, the timetables and curricula of the school, as well as the course material to be covered. The application also had to report the number of students attending, their names and the qualifications of the instructors employed. Last but not least, the application also had to include information regarding the financial resources required for the operation of the school during each school year.¹¹⁴

The new Law also included provision for all individuals interested in working as schoolteachers in secondary education. According to the Law, the candidates had to submit to the Educational Office an application seeking authorisation to practice their profession by declaring that “they would make sure that their students were going to be good citizens of the

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 14 November 1932, 3 November 1934 and 11 January 1937.

¹¹³ *Regulations under the Secondary Education Laws of 1935-36, Cyprus Government Gazette*, 2 February 1936, pp. 34-37.

¹¹⁴ SA1:696/1930, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

British Empire”.¹¹⁵ The Law also provided that the Governor of Cyprus had under his jurisdiction the approval or the rejection of any application for any school registration or even suspension of the operation of any school. Moreover, the Governor had the power to approve or to reject or even to recall authorisation to any schoolteacher from exercising their profession as long as he thought it was necessary.¹¹⁶

On March 1936, the Government set and published the Regulations of the above Law; according to the Law any secondary education school that did not satisfy the rules set by the Director of Education on the courses, the timetable and curricula, the teaching periods, the teaching effectiveness and the professional qualifications, would automatically be cut off from any Governmental subsidy as well as subsidy for teaching in English. Additionally, the schoolteachers of that school would automatically lose their Governmental funding which was granted by the Colonial Government of Cyprus and the City Hall and that was distributed to them by the School Committee.¹¹⁷ Regarding the Governmental subsidy, it should be noted that although the distribution of the taxation which was collected from the citizens was terminated through Law 4/1929,¹¹⁸ the Government continued to allow the distribution of the 10% of the taxation.¹¹⁹ Specifically, for the High School of Pafos, the Government gave away 500 CYP per year and 100 CYP for schoolteacher subsidy.¹²⁰

The first action that was taken by the School Committee of Pafos was to put into action its original decision, which was to keep the High School operating in the traditional style, and at

¹¹⁵ See Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της εν Κύπρω Αγγλικής Κυβερνήσεως (1878-1952)*, Ekdosis Grafeiou Ethnarchias Kyprou: Lefkosia 1952, pp. 24-25.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Regulations under the Secondary Education Laws of 1935-1936, Cyprus Government Gazette*, 2 February 1936, p. 135.

¹¹⁸ SA1:696/30, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

¹¹⁹ Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Μελέται, Διαλέξεις, Άρθρα*, (B), Lefkosia 1974, p. 55.

¹²⁰ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 6 November 1929.

the same time began its efforts, for receiving greater financial contribution from the Diocese of Pafos as well as from the Monasteries of Saint Neofytos and Panayias of Kykkos. Their contribution would help in covering the deficit resulting from the termination of the Government subsidy which amounted to 500 CYP.¹²¹

As a result of this, a small group of representatives from the School Committee visited the Metropolitan of Pafos, Leontios, who accepted their request for increasing the contribution amount from 100 to 150 CYP under the term that the Throne Committee would give its approval.¹²² At the same time, the Committee in one of its new meetings, on 8 April 1936, decided that they had to prove to the Director of Education that the High School of Pafos was very important for the area, and that the Governmental subsidy should not be terminated. Additionally, it was decided to ask the Director of Education, “if he can recommend another type of high school education for Pafos, the adoption of which would lead to the payment of a government subsidy”.¹²³ In case their proposal was rejected by the Director of Education, the Committee decided to maintain the traditional style of the High School. In order to cover the financial deficit, the Committee also decided to decrease the number of personnel by firing them. In addition, it was also decided that the tuition fees had to be increased.¹²⁴ In 11 May 1936, the English Director of Education, proposed a plan (Sloman’s plan)¹²⁵ for operating the

¹²¹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 7 March 1936.

¹²² Thronic Committee was the Administrative Committee. Metropolitan Leontios mentioned to the member of the School Committee of Pafos, L. Filippou, that “ως πληροφορείται δεν θα συγκατατεθεί (η Θρονική Επιτροπή) καθ’ ότι ως ισχυρίζονται τα μέλη της το Γυμνάσιον θα εξακολουθή να ευρίσκεται υπό τον Κυβερνητικόν έλεγχον”. *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 8 March 1936.

¹²³ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 8 March 1936.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 12 June 1936.

first four grades of the High School based on the core courses. Additionally, from 5th grade two parallel sections would operate: one for classic and one for commercial studies.¹²⁶

The School Committee of Pafos, in various consecutive meetings,¹²⁷ examined thoroughly Sloman's plan and realised that if they accepted the mixed type of High School it would result in a financial deficit amounting to 610 British Pounds; an amount bigger than operating the traditional High School. Additionally, it was also noted in one of the meetings that the Metropolitan was not willing to give away any subsidy in case that Sloman's plan was accepted. On the contrary, if the Committee was to maintain the traditional style, the Metropolitan was willing to increase the funding to 200 CYP. Finally, the Committee rejected the mixed type of High School that was proposed, because, according to the report prepared by the Sub-committee, it was found that "both from an educational and financial aspect the Greek Gymnasium is the kind of High School Institution preferable to be adopted".¹²⁸ From the members of the Committee, Neofytos Nikolaidis was the only one who disagreed. Nikolaidis supported that, in case the Government would accept to cover the deficit resulting from the new mixed type of High School, he would prefer that one, because it would better serve the needs of the province of Pafos.¹²⁹

Nonetheless, because the Committee did not want to appear against Sloman's plan, after a serious study, they answered that they would be willing to accept the mixed type of High School, with the condition that the Government would accept to cover the deficit of 610 CYP.

¹²⁶ Government proposed the same plan for the Gymnasiums of Lemesos and Ammochostos. The main courses for the first four grades would be Religious, Greek, English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Physics, Latin and French. Emphasis would be given to English, Greek, Commercial and Mathematics for the two last grades. For the opinions of the members of the School Committee of Pafos see *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 12 June 1936. For the Government's proposals to the Town School Committees see Kostas Kyrris, *Ιστορία της Μέσης Εκπαιδευσεως Αμμοχώστου 1191-1551: ιδίως δε του Ε.Γ.Α.*, Lefkosia 1967, pp. 106-08.

¹²⁷ The meetings took place on 27 May 1936, 12 June 1936, 14 July 1936 and 10 August 1936.

¹²⁸ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 10 August 1936.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 June 1936.

The Government answered that it would cover the deficit under the condition that the new High School would be gradually transformed into a mixed school. It is worth mentioning that the reason given by the Committee that the financial difficulties were impossible to alter, it was perhaps just an excuse the Committee used for rejecting the plan.¹³⁰ The former Headmaster, P. Pavlidis, reports in one of his articles that, “Paschalidis made our decision clear to the school Committee by saying exactly the following: Gentlemen, we have come to the decision to maintain the independence and classical orientation of our gymnasium. We are determined to starve if we have to in order to preserve it. If need we will work for free”.¹³¹ Finally, the School Committee gave orders to the Management of the school “to construct a daily curriculum in terms within the strict guidelines of Greeks gymnasiums”.¹³² This subject surfaced back into discussion in 1938 due to financial problems, but no changes were made to the structure of the school type followed.¹³³

The Governmental proposals were rejected by the Pancyprian Gymnasium, the High School of Pafos and the Semi-High School of Keryneia, which maintained their traditional type, while the Commercial Lyceum of Larnaka and the Gymnasium of Famagusta, accepted the proposal and thus became public-aided schools.¹³⁴ By accepting the Governmental proposal, the English and the Commercial courses were reinforced, while at the same time, the number of teaching periods for the Ancient Greek course decreased.¹³⁵ It should be reported, that in the case of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, there was differentiation to some extent. The

¹³⁰ P. Pavlidis, “Το Γυμνάσιον Πάφου μόνον”, *Eleftheria*, 8 November 1960, p. 5.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 22 March 1938.

¹³⁴ The subsidy was between 1000 CYP and 7500 CYP. See Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Έκθεση του Γραφείου Ελληνικής Παιδείας κατά το σχολικόν έτος 1959-60*, Cyprus 1960, p. 11. See also SA1:1160/1937, *Public Archives of Cyprus*.

¹³⁵ Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Η Εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της εν Κύπρω Αγγλικής Κυβερνήσεως (1878-1952)*, Ekdosis Grafeiou Ethnarchias Kyprou: Lefkosia 1952, pp. 26, 217-19.

differentiation was on the fact that Pancyprian Gymnasium was not obligated to change its timetable and curriculum completely, like the other two schools had.¹³⁶

In an effort to intervene in the administration of the schools, the Government established in July 1952 the “Δημοσίως επιχορηγούμενα σχολεία”.¹³⁷ In this type of school, anyone could change the curriculum by submitting to the School Committee application, following the directions of the Educational Office and accepting Governmental control. In such a case, the Government would accept to undertake the complete control for appointing and paying the personnel as well as the Governmental subsidy for the construction of new school buildings.

The above plan of the Government had been accepted by eight Turkish schools of secondary education and the High School of Commerce of Polemi in Pafos.¹³⁸ The School Committee of Pafos as well as the personnel of the High School of Pafos rejected the Governmental plan and stressed out that they were not willing to work as schoolteachers in any school that would accept the Governmental proposal, while the School Committee asked the Government to “επαναφέρει την διακοπείσαν από το 1936 τακτικήν επιχορηγήσεως”.¹³⁹

1.2.1.2 Administrative problems of the High School of Pafos

The episodes that occurred in Pafos were more serious than those which happened in the whole of Cyprus and gave the opportunity to the Colonial Government to intervene in the

¹³⁶ P. Pavlidis, “Το Γυμνάσιον Πάφου μόνον”, *Eleftheria*, 8 November 1960, p. 5.

¹³⁷ This new type of the Secondary educational school was established at the same time with the Law 18/1952, which constituted modification of the Law 25/1935 (chapter 205). See *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1951-52, p. 4.

¹³⁸ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1952-53, p. 14.

¹³⁹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 6 September 1952.

control of the High School of Pafos.¹⁴⁰ On 6 July 1953, the Colonial Government, considering the School Committee of Pafos responsible for the facts which happened, terminated immediately the nomination of the President and its members based on the provisions of the new “Τροποποιητικός Νόμος 28/1953”,¹⁴¹ which was established and placed in effect only the previous day. The Government, with the amendment that brought up in Chapter 203 of the “Περί Δημοτικής Εκπαιδύσεως Νόμου 18/1933”,¹⁴² could appoint as members of the School Committees of the cities “τόσον αριθμό ατόμων που να μην υπερβαίνει τους εννιά”.¹⁴³ Taking into consideration the above statement, the Government proceeded to appoint in the place of the members of the School Committee of Pafos three Governmental employees, completely irrelevant with the subjects of the administration of the High School of Pafos.¹⁴⁴ It is important to point out that this amendment was applied only in Pafos, while in the other cities the Government continued to appoint nine members (non Governmental employees) in the School Committees.¹⁴⁵

Another revengeful measure that the Government took was the removal of the license of practicing the profession from the High School Headmaster, Pavlos Pavlidis, and the nomination in his position of Christos Pigiotis, who remained up to the school year 1955-56.¹⁴⁶ The three Governmental employees who were appointed by the Government in order to handle the questions of the School Committee showed complete indifference and ignorance of

¹⁴⁰ Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, “Παλμεροκρατία”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 30, 6 July 2003, pp. 13 & 15.

¹⁴¹ SA1:969/3, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

¹⁴² “Περί Δημοτικής Εκπαιδύσεως Νόμος” (18/1933), *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 29 May 1933, pp. 309-10.

¹⁴³ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1952-53, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ The three members were Dimitrios Kakathimis, Sokratis Pastidis and Charalambos Papacharalambous. *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 1 March 1954, p.149.

¹⁴⁵ See *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 1 March 1954, pp.149-50.

¹⁴⁶ Headmaster of the High School in 1955-56 was Christos Pigiotis and schoolteachers were: P. Lazarous, Theodora Pozatzidou, F. Karyolemos, K. Siepis, M. Louloupis, P. Fessas, Poli Aristodimou, *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 21 October 1955.

the problems of the secondary education of Pafos and particularly of the High School; something that resulted in the creation of problems in the operation of the School. The biggest problem was that of the students' discipline, which with their various actions showed their opposition to the Governmental measures.

The operation of the High School was affected even more in July 1955, three months after the beginning of the armed struggle for freedom¹⁴⁷ with the new measures that the Government took at that time. One of those measures was the removal of the license of practicing the profession from the schoolteachers of the High School. Afterwards, a team of graduates of the High School and parents of the students undertook the initiative and shaped a “προσωρινή Επιτροπεία σωτηρίας του Γυμνασίου Πάφου”,¹⁴⁸ and began intense steps and action for the restoration of the administration of the High School in the hands of the previous Committee.

In the archive of the High School of Pafos, the correspondence file of the Mayor of Pafos Iakovos Iakovidis with the Government is saved unpublished. This includes the documents which were exchanged between the two sides with the arguments of everyone around the subject of the School Committee and the operation of the High School. Many statements, which were published by the “Επιτροπεία Σωτηρίας” of the High School of Pafos, are also saved as well as extracts from newspapers of the period that gave a wider cover to the facts of Pafos.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ E.O.K.A.'s struggle begun on 1 April 1955. More about E.O.K.A. and the participation of both teachers and students see Nikolaos P. Vasileiadis, *Εθνομάρτυρες του Κυπριακού Έπους 1955-59*, Athens: Adelfotis Theologon “ο Sotir” 1992, pp. 41-72 & 136-61.

¹⁴⁸ Members of this Committee were the Mayor Iakovos Iakovidis and K. Theodosiou, A. Loris, P. Talaridis, I. Nikolaidis, G. Ioannidis and D. Stylianidis.

¹⁴⁹ *Ethnos*, Lefkosia, 22 July 1955, p. 2, 29 July 1955, p. 3, 2 September 1955, p. 2, 3 September 1955, p. 2. See also *Dimokratis*, Lefkosia, 26 July 1955, p. 3.

Graduates, parents and guardians of the High School dispatched to the Governor of Cyprus a memorandum with similar content, which was approved in an assembly on 21 July 1955. In this memorandum, the aforementioned people protested against the decision made at the expense of the schoolteachers of the High School and against the exercise of the administration from the three Governmental employees, with the argument that, “η παραμονή των αποτελεί πρόκληση προς τα αισθήματα των πολιτών του κτήματος και είναι επιβλαβής προς τα καλώς νοούμενα συμφέροντα της εν Πάφω Παιδείας”.¹⁵⁰

In November of 1955, after contacts between the Mayor of Pafos and the Office of Education, the Government withdrew its terms and nominated a new School Committee of Pafos with the following composition: Nikolas Nikolaidis (President), Ioannis Agrotis (Vice-president) and Costas Theodosiou, Efthymoulos Ieropoulos, Menelaos Kakoyiannis and Christodoulos Makridis (members).¹⁵¹ The Government also renewed the license of profession of the High School Headmaster, Pavlos Pavlidis, who undertook once again the Management of the High School as of the school year 1956-57.

Similar problems in the relations of the Government and the School Committee of Pafos were created during the struggle of freedom in 1955-59 as well, particularly in the school year 1955-56. The Government, due to the continuous abstention of the students of the High School from the courses and their attendance to anti-Governmental demonstrations during the above school year, prohibited the utilisation of the school building of the High School and for

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵¹ For the final settlement see *File of Correspondence between the Mayor of Pafos and the Government, High School of Pafos' Archive*, pp. 25-29. For the letters of the Governor of Pafos D. Sheridan, see No. E.71/33/1 of 15 September 1955, 71/33/1 of 14 October 1955 and S.71/33/1 of 18 November 1955. See also the Mayor's letter dated 6 September 1955, *File of Correspondence between the Mayor of Pafos and the Government, High School of Pafos' Archive*, p. 20.

this reason the courses took the form of tutorial lessons that were conducted in the houses of the schoolteachers.¹⁵² A problem was also created in the area of finding instructional personnel due to the arrest of many schoolteachers of the High School.¹⁵³ This problem got worse with the deportation from Cyprus of all the schoolteachers from Greece, who worked in the schools of secondary education. The confrontation of this issue occupied regularly the Educational Council of Ethnarchy.¹⁵⁴

The financial problem was also one of the most serious difficulties that the School Committee of Pafos faced. The problem became more acute in 1936 with the termination of the Governmental subsidy that amounted roughly to 500 CYP.¹⁵⁵ For the confrontation of the above problem and after the actions of the Committee, the subsidy of the Diocese of Pafos was increased from 100 to 150 and later to 200 CYP. The subsidy of the Monastery of Saint Neofytos was also increased from 30 to 106 and later to 140 CYP and the subsidy of the Monastery of Panayias Chrysoroyiatissas to 10 CYP annually.¹⁵⁶ The remaining incomes of the Committee emanated from the tuition fees that were paid by the parents who represented the 50-90% of the income's total. The biggest part of the expenses of the School Committee

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ From the High School schoolteachers Efstathios Christodoulidis, Kostas Stefanou, Sofoklis Lazarou, Andreas Lambrianidis, Nikos Ellinas, Fidas Karyolemos and Charalambos Charalambous were arrested. Also, a lot of High School students had participated in antarctic teams and a student of the 5th grade named Evagoras Pallikaridis was condemned to death and strangled on 14 March 1957. From the members of the School Committee of Pafos, Antonis Sotiriadis and Dimitris Papadimitriou, were political detainees. See Nikolaos P. Vasileiadis, *Εθνομάρτυρες του Κυπριακού Έπους 1955-59*, Athens: Adelfotis Theologon "ο Sotir" 1992, pp. 41-72.

¹⁵⁴ The Educational Council of Ethnarchy was founded by Archbishop Makarios in 1950 for the confrontation of the English propaganda within the Greek-Cypriots' educational system and for the resolution of the problems that the schools of Secondary education had, which refused to be controlled by the Colonial Government. President of the Council was the Archbishop and members were the Headmasters and other representatives of the School Committees. See *Proceedings of the Educational Council of Ethnarchy*, 21 August 1956 and *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1955-56, p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ The 400 CYP were the 10% of the total amount that was collected from school taxation of the Elementary education in Pafos and was given as subsidy to the Secondary education. The rest amount of 100 CYP was given as financial support for the teaching of the English language.

¹⁵⁶ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 6 July 1934, 2 September 1936, 29 October 1938, 2 August 1940 and 22 December 1945.

of Pafos was used mainly for the needs of the payment for the instructional personnel, the maintenance and extension of the building of the High School. The table below reports certain amounts that were disposed for the salaries of the schoolteachers:

The salaries of the High School of Pafos schoolteachers were among the lowest in whole of the Cyprus and for this reason the Staff Meeting submitted occasionally demands for increases. In 1939, the schoolteachers of the High School decided to ask from the School Committee, “that the salary of high school teachers would depend on qualifications and experience and that a salary scale would be put in place”.¹⁵⁷ In 1950, the schoolteachers of the High school asked again for an increase in their salaries with the excuse that they were lower by 20% than those of the Pancyprian Gymnasium. The Committee accepted the demand of the schoolteachers and at the same time decided to establish a Fund of Providence, proportional with that of the Pancyprian Gymnasium.¹⁵⁸ As from 1955 the School Committee classified the schoolteachers of the High School for payment purposes to four classes: In class A University’s graduates were classified, in class B those who had three years of studies, in class C those who had studied for a duration less than three years and in class D those who were holders of certain certificates. A special benefit was also granted to the High School’s Headmaster and the Head Assistant.¹⁵⁹

However, it should be mentioned that the salaries of the schoolteachers of the High School as well as the salaries of the schoolteachers of the secondary schools of Cyprus that were not subsidised by the Government, fluctuated in the period of 1945-47 between 72-180 CYP for the non-holders of academic qualifications and 120-216 CYP for the University graduates.

¹⁵⁷ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 27 February 1939.

¹⁵⁸ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 22 June 1950.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 4 November 1958 and 12 July 1960.

Comparable, it should be noted that in the same period the salaries of the schoolteachers of the elementary education fluctuated between 90-220 CYP.¹⁶⁰

The School Committee of Pafos had also the responsibility for the maintenance of the High School, its provision with desks and supervisory means¹⁶¹ as well as for issues concerning the purchase of textbooks, which were bought from bookshops of Pafos or were ordered directly from Athens.¹⁶² The confrontation of the housing needs of the High School, were also a very serious problem which was continuously rising due to the increase of the students that attended in the school year of 1944-45. The problem of the classrooms that was observed at that time was resolved provisionally with the accommodation of certain classes in the building of the kindergarten. However, the need for construction of a new building was made particularly perceptible during the school year 1952-53, due to the decision of the Office of Education to allow the utilisation of the kindergarten's building for the needs of the High School. The Committee for the final resolution of the housing problem decided that a new High School building had to be erected in a land that previously had been bought in the central Pafos' avenue.

¹⁶⁰ There was no categorisation for the schoolteachers of the elementary education. *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1945-47, p. 14. See also *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1942-45, p. 17 and *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1952-53, p. 5.

¹⁶¹ In 1946, the School Committee decided to order the instruments of both Physics and Chemistry from London (George & Barkes Ltd). See *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 11 December 1946. In 1948, the same order was cost 2000 CYP. See *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 6 September 1948.

¹⁶² In 1951, the books' purchase from bookshops would cost 1000 CYP and form the O.E.Σ.B. (Organismos Ekdoseon Scholikon Biblion) in Athens only 650 CYP. *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 6 August 1951 and 16 November 1951.

After the preparation of the plans of a classic style building, the excavation of the foundations began in 1952.¹⁶³ The project was completed in 1959 after a big delay that was mainly due to the pause of the members of the School Committee of Pafos in 1953. The replacement of its members with the three appointed Governmental employees had as a consequence the lack of the essential interest for the promotion and resolution of the problems of the High School.¹⁶⁴

It is worth mentioning that the Government did not provide any financial help to the School Committee for the construction of the new building. It only approved the architectural plans and the application that was submitted by the Committee for the contraction of a loan. The new building cost 27 800 CYP,¹⁶⁵ part of which was covered with the following donations:

1.2.2 COMMERCIAL LYCEUM (COLLEGE) OF PAFOS

The establishment of the School Committee was essential because the Commercial Lyceum as a private School was not liable to the administration of the School Committee of Pafos that was only responsible for the elementary education and the High School of Pafos. The first School Committee of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos was constituted by the following: Charalambos Liasidis (President), Eratosthenis Liasidis (Vice-president) and Michalis Michailidis, Lazaros Filippou, Ioannis Maratheftis, Michalis Dimitriou and Charalambos Thrasivoulou (members). Kostas Liasidis was appointed as Headmaster of the school with an annual salary of 90 CYP.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ The architectural plans were prepared by the architect Andreas Christodoulidis and the implementation of the project was assigned to the contractor Ioannis Tsadiotis. The new building included nine classrooms, one library, one hall and the offices of the Headmaster, the professorial association and the secretarial personnel.

¹⁶⁴ This mentioned in a letter, which the Mayor of Pafos and President of the “Επιτροπή Σωτηρίας” of the Gymnasium of Pafos Iakovos Iakovidis sent to the provisional Governor of Cyprus on 6 September 1955. See *File of Correspondence between the Mayor of Pafos and the Government 1954-55*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁵ *File of Correspondence between the Mayor of Pafos and the Government 1954-55*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁶ *Proceedings of the School Committee of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos*, 10 January 1942.

One of the first actions of the School Committee was the submission of an application to the Government for the registration of the school and for obtaining a licence of operation. At the same time, a meeting with the Director of Education was conducted during which it was indicated to the members of the Lyceum's Committee that the school should have had a practical character and to give great emphasis to the courses of the English and the Commercial Studies. The Director of Education approved the composition of the School Committee according with the above terms and granted the relevant authorisation for the operation of the Commercial Lyceum.¹⁶⁷

Moreover, a delegation of the School Committee of the Lyceum had a meeting with the Consul of Greece in Lefkosia, who was asked to help so that the school would be recognised by the Greek Government.¹⁶⁸ This recognition was essential because it gave the possibility to the graduates of registering and studying at the Greek Universities. Due to the conditions of World War II, with the absence of the Greek Government in Egypt, the issuing of recognition delayed and was secured in 1948 after the delegation of the School Committee went to Athens.¹⁶⁹

One of the terms of the Greek Ministry of Education for issuing the recognition was the acceptance and application of the Greek timetables and curricula. The Commercial Lyceum was changed to College of Pafos following the acceptance of this term from the School

¹⁶⁷ A list of instructive personnel was submitted in order to be granted the authorisation for the school's operation. The personnel were constituted by the Headmaster, K. Liasidis, and seven schoolteachers from different disciplines (Mathematics, English Language, Commerce, Commercial Law, Turkish Language, Music and Health Studies. The Headmaster taught Greek Language as well.

¹⁶⁸ *Proceedings of the School Committee of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos*, 10 January 1942.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Committee and was recognised as equivalent with the corresponding High Schools of Greece.¹⁷⁰ The College of Pafos functioned as a six class school from the school year 1948-49, with a parallel operation of two departments in the three last classes; that is, the Classic Department and the Commercial Department.

An important development in the administration of the College relates to the removal of its recognition by the Greek Government in 1950 after certain accusations that were made against the school.¹⁷¹ Evidently, the Headmaster of the High School of Pafos with his letter dated 25 July 1948 to the Minister of Education of Greece denounced the management of the College of Pafos, that it did not have qualified schoolteachers and that the courses “διδάσκονται ελλιπώς”.¹⁷² He also reported that the recognition of the College, “manages to damage our only national institution here, the classic Greek gymnasium of Pafos, a purely public institution” and for these reasons asked the removal of the recognition.¹⁷³ The Greek Government after the actions of the Management and the School Committee of the College of Pafos and mainly after contacts that a representative of the College had in Athens recognised again the College in 1953 as equivalent with the corresponding six-class High Schools of Greece.

The College of Pafos had a new issue arising in May and in June of 1953 due to the attendance of the students in the proceedings for the celebrations for the Crowning of the Queen of England. The English Director of Education with his letter, in June 1953, informed

¹⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the School Committee of the College of Pafos*, 7 July 1948.

¹⁷¹ *Newspaper of the Government of Greece*, 28 July 1950. The reasons for the lifting of the recognition were based on the non-observance of the Regulations of the Ministry of Education of Greece by the school. The Headmaster stated to the schoolteachers that “το μέτρο ελήφθη μετά από καταγγελίες και με σκοπό να φοβηθούν τα νεοαναγνωρισμένα σχολεία της Κύπρου ώστε να τηρήσουν τους Ελληνικούς Κανονισμούς”. *Proceedings of the School Committee of the College of Pafos*, 28 October 1950.

¹⁷² *File of Correspondence of the College of Pafos*, letter dated 25 July 1948.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

the Headmaster of the College of Pafos that he was removing his licence practising the profession because “he utilized his position as Headmaster of this school for the purposes of overturning good government and social class in Cyprus”.¹⁷⁴ This punishment was finally approved by the Deputy Governor of Cyprus, and was in effect from 16 June 1953 until 31 August 1953.¹⁷⁵ At the same time, the Deputy Governor of Cyprus in his letter of July 1953 to the School Committee of the school “he was looking for reasons to avoid ordering the Director of Education to proceed to deletion of the College of Pafos from the records of High School Institutions”.¹⁷⁶ Finally, the Colonial Government ceased the members of the School Committee of the College and prohibited the use of the school building. These measures were similar with the measures taken by the colonial authorities in the case of the School Committee of Pafos as well as in the case of the High School’s Headmaster.

Later on, and after the assurance of the Headmaster of the College that all the measures would be taken for strengthening the order and discipline in the school, the Director of Education with his letter (dated 19 October 1953), reported that “he will allow the school to operate undisturbed for another year”.¹⁷⁷ For this reason, the Director of Education granted the license of profession to the Headmaster of the College, approved the members of the School Committee that were proposed to him and allowed the use of the school building.¹⁷⁸

The participation of the schoolteachers and the students of the College of Pafos in the struggle of freedom of 1955-59 was important. The students of the College participated in all

¹⁷⁴ *File of Correspondence of the College of Pafos*, letter no. 80/52, 16 June 1953.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, letter no. 49/53, 18 June 1953 and letter no. S.49/53/A, 24 July 1953.

¹⁷⁶ *File of Correspondence of the College of Pafos*, letter no. S.49/53, 6 July 1953. See *Proceedings of the School Committee of the College of Pafos*, 9 July 1953.

¹⁷⁷ *Proceedings of the School Committee of the College of Pafos*, 25 October 1953.

¹⁷⁸ The new School Delegates of the College of Pafos were Charalambis Liasidis, Ioannis Maratheftis, Christos Symeou and Christodoulos Koupatos. *Proceedings of the School Committee of the College of Pafos*, 25 October 1953.

demonstrations and other events that were organised in the town against the police and the army, while many schoolteachers and students of the College were killed in battles against the forces of the British army (Georgios Papaverkiou, Miltiadis Stylianou, Georgios Konstantinidis and Takis Sofokleous).¹⁷⁹

In 1955, the Colonial Government imposed to the School Committee strict measures and terms in order to allow the operation of the school because of the participation of the schoolteachers and students of the College in the events of 1955-59. Among these were the prohibition of operation of the College in April of 1956 and the removal of the licence for practicing the profession from all the schoolteachers of the College that came from Greece, a fact that created serious problems in the smooth operation of the school, because the majority of the schoolteachers of the College were from Greece. This problem was discussed in the Educational Council of Ethnarchy in August 1956 and it was decided to take specific measures for the confrontation of it.¹⁸⁰

The financial management of the College of Pafos was also a responsibility of the Headmaster and to a lesser degree of the School Committee that was informed in the regular meetings. The College, with its registration, was classified in the category of the private, non public-aided schools of secondary education and for this reason it was not taking any Governmental subsidy. The management of the College applied to the British Council, the Town Hall of Pafos, the Diocese and many other institutions and asked for financial aid.¹⁸¹ In 1949, the

¹⁷⁹ Nikolaos P. Vasileiadis, *Εθνομάρτυρες του Κυπριακού Έπους 1955-59*, Athens: Adelfotis Theologon “ο Sotir” 1992, pp. 136-47.

¹⁸⁰ One of the measures that had been taken was the placement of the philologists Sofoklis Lazarou and Theodora Pozatzidou and Mathematician Savva Koupatou. See *Proceedings of the Educational Council of Ethnarchy*, 21 August 1956.

¹⁸¹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos*, 25 July 1942.

Committee also dispatched a call for help to the expatriates living in the U.S.A., via a person related to the Headmaster, which the Metropolitan of Pafos, Kleopas, co-signed. The call was outlining the following: “the history of the College’s foundation, its contribution towards the education of Pafos and at the end the contribution of the homogeny was asked for the school’s support”¹⁸².

The School Committee was preparing and approving the budgets of the College after the proposals of the Headmaster. The expenses of the budgets concerned the maintenance of the College, the payment of the schoolteachers, the rent of the school building and the construction of the owned building and ranged from 645 CYP in 1942 to 6738 CYP for the school year 1953-54.

The income of the College was emanating mainly from the tuition fees of the students, which in the first years of the school’s operation were very limited, due to the small number of the students. In 1942-43, the income amounted to 575 CYP, an amount that corresponded to the tuition fees of 115 students. It is worth mentioning, that the income was improved mainly after the year 1953-54, when an important increase of the students had been observed. The tuition fees in the above year were determined for 1st grade at 9 CYP, for 2nd grade at 10 CYP, for the 3rd grade at 12 CYP, for 4th grade at 13 CYP, for the 5th grade at 15 CYP and for 6th grade at 21 CYP annually.¹⁸³

¹⁸² *Proceedings of the School Committee of the College of Pafos*, 19 February 1949.

¹⁸³ *Proceedings of the School Committee of the College of Pafos*, 26 December 1953.

1.2.3 HIGH SCHOOL AND GYMNASIUM OF POLIS CHRYSOCHOUS

1.2.3.1 Establishment and Student Enrollment

In the summer of 1948, some citizens of Polis Chrysochous undertook the initiative for the re-establishment of a school of secondary education. After relevant preparatory work, a “πάνδημος” assembly of the region’s residents was organised on 22 June 1948, in the Association of *Ακάμας* building, in which, “η ίδρυσης Ανωτέρας Ελληνικής Σχολής εις Πόλιν Χρυσοχούς (διτάξιος ή τριτάξιος) με σκοπόν την Γυμνασιακήν εκπαίδευσιν των μαθητών”¹⁸⁴ was decided. During that assembly, the subject of viability of a secondary school in the region was discussed as well as the issue of the expenses of its foundation. From the discussions it was realised that the expenses which would be required for the foundation and operation of such a School, for the first year, would be between 1000 and 1200 CYP; an amount that, as all believed, would be covered from the Governmental subsidy and from other contributions.¹⁸⁵

Before taking a final decision, the assembly elected a provisional Committee of 17 persons, with the command that all villages of the region examine how many students would like to study under the foundation school and in which class. In the first meeting of the provisional Committee, it was realised that the number of the students that would like to study in the school amounted to 84, a number that was judged satisfactory. After taking the decision of the establishment of the school, the provisional Committee elected “διά βοής”¹⁸⁶ a Committee consisting of ten members which was organised as follows: Pavlos Georgiou (President), Sokratis Argyrou (Vice-president), Polyvios Charalambidis (Secretary), Christodoulos

¹⁸⁴ *Proceedings of the School Inspection (“Εφορεία”) of Polis Chrysochous*, 22 June 1948.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Proceedings of the Committee of the High School of Polis Chrysochous*, 28 June 1948.

Papanicolopoulos (Cashier), and Xenophon Sarikas, Kostas Georgoulas, Kostas Achilleos, Andreas Savvidis, Savvas Stefanou and Andreas Kouppas (members).¹⁸⁷ What should be clarified is that the School Committee had the responsibility only for the administration of the High School of Polis Chrysochous, and its members were elected by the residents of the community, contrary to the School Committee of Pafos, whose members from 1929 were appointed by the Government and their responsibilities covered so much the elementary as well as the secondary education.

One of the first actions of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous¹⁸⁸ was the registration of the School in the Registration archives of the Government, according to the provisions of the Law 25/1935.¹⁸⁹ At the same time, it was decided to start the process for the recognition of the school from the Greek Government, to re-write its Statute of operation and to initiate the efforts for securing economic resources, as well as the employment of teaching personnel. Concerning the issue of the registration of the School, a serious disagreement resulted between the School Committee and the English Director of Education G. F. Sleight, in meetings held between them.¹⁹⁰ By expressing the official educational policy, the English Director of Education insisted that the School should have had a practical and technical orientation, while the School Committee insisted on the classic direction of the School.¹⁹¹ A proposal of the Committee concerning the operation of the School with classic and commercial character, similar with that of the Commercial School of Pedoulas, was rejected

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ In the *Proceedings of the School Committee* is used the term Inspection (“Εφορεία”) instead of Committee.

¹⁸⁹ SA1:696/30, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

¹⁹⁰ They had met four times discussing the registration issue: end of August 1948, end of May 1949, 21 June 1949 and 01 September 1949.

¹⁹¹ The Greek-Cypriots believed that the main aim of their schools ought to be the moulding of good Orthodox Christians and good Greeks and they insisted on Ancient Greek grammar and Greek history being the main subjects of their curriculum. See Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978).

by the Director of Education.¹⁹² Finally, after the exchange of opinions and discussions between the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous and the Director of Education, the latter accepted to register the School of Polis Chrysochous and to grant its licence of operation as a four-grade school of classic direction for the year 1949-50. The above registration of the School was made under the term that the School Committee would proceed to those actions in order that the High School of Polis Chrysochous would gradually change into a High School of commercial direction.¹⁹³

The next action of the School Committee of the High School of Polis Chrysochous was to ensure its recognition from the Greek Government and in order to succeed that, it began to ask the opinion of the Greek Consul in Lefkosia, for issues regarding the employment of the teaching personnel.¹⁹⁴ Generally, the Greek Consul played an active role in the educational issues of the Greek-Cypriot and had an important role in the issue of recognition.¹⁹⁵ The School's Headmaster completed all the required actions and after the authorisation of the School Committee, the Greek Government, with a decision that was published in the Newspaper of the Government of Greece, recognised "the four grades of the Greek high school of Polis Chrysochous-Cyprus [AESPC] as equivalent to the four lower grades of the old-type six-grade Government Gymnasiums still in operation".¹⁹⁶

Concerning the preparation of the Statute of the School, the Committee assigned the issue to the Greek Headmaster of the school P. Katsimbris. After its composition, it was presented

¹⁹² The "Ελληνική Πρακτική Σχολή Πεδουλά" gave emphasis on the languages, the agronomic and the commercial courses. See *Ελληνική Πρακτική Σχολή Πεδουλά: Πρόγραμμα και Κανονισμός της Σχολής*, Lefkosia n.d., p. 7.

¹⁹³ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous*, 27 June 1949.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5 September 1949.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Newspaper of the Government of Greece*, 140, 26 June 1950, p. 697.

and approved by the General Assembly that took place on 19 November 1950.¹⁹⁷ The parents and guardians of the students, the founding members of the school, the Greek Municipal Council of Polis Chrysochous, the Rural Committee and the Ecclesiastical Committee of Polis Chrysochous participated at the assembly. The Statute was constituted by 20 Articles which covered all the issues related to the administration, the curricula and in general the operation of the school.¹⁹⁸

Following an amendment of the Statute, which was made on 12 July 1953, the role of the Church in the administration of the school was upgraded since Article 1 determined that the School “τελεί υπό την εποπτεία της Εκκλησίας, ο δε εκάστοτε Μητροπολίτης Πάφου είναι επίτιμος Πρόεδρος της Εφορείας της Σχολής και ex officio μέλος αυτής”.¹⁹⁹ It was also specified that “ο πρώτος τη τάξει”²⁰⁰ priest of the community of Polis Chrysochous would also be an ex-officio member of the Committee.

Finally, the School was managed by nine members, seven elected and two as ex-officio. Within those who had the right to be elected, the members of the Elementary Council, the Rural Committee and the Ecclesiastical Committee were also added. As new Trustees, the same people of the previous three-year period were elected until the end of the school year of 1960. The High School operated as a four-grade school, up to the school year of 1952-53. During the next school year, a 5th grade was also added and from 1954-55 onwards it changed its name into Gymnasium of Polis Chrysochous. With an order from the Ministry of Education of Greece, which was published under No. 197/1955, issue A of the Governmental

¹⁹⁷ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous*, 19 November 1950.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 July 1953.

²⁰⁰ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous*, 12 July 1953.

Newspaper (dated 23 July 1955), the 5th grade of the Gymnasium of Polis was recognised during the school year of 1954-55 and the 6th grade from 1955-56, as equivalent to the 7th and 8th grades of the eight class Gymnasia of Greece.²⁰¹

1.2.3.2 Administrative problems of the School Committee of Polis

Chrysochous

This serious situation was discussed in meetings held in August 1956 by the Educational Council of Ethnarchy in Lefkosia. It was decided to propose to the School Committee of Pafos that a number of schoolteachers from the High School of Pafos should go for a few days of the week to Polis Chrysochous in order to teach in the Gymnasium.²⁰² This was discussed by a special Committee of the parents and the guardians of the Gymnasium of Polis Chrysochous' students in October 1956.

Another serious problem faced by the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous, was the financial one, which was also a problem faced by all other School Committees. For this reason and early on, the School Committee searched in different directions and made a lot of efforts to find resources to cover the amount that was required for the operation of the school. The first action of the Committee was to put forward the request for a financial subsidy which was submitted to the Government. This request was never satisfied because the Government demanded the acceptance of its terms as to the educational direction of the school.²⁰³ The amount ranging from 50-10 CYP per year sent to the School Committee by the Diocese of

²⁰¹ *Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the Gymnasium of Polis Chrysochous*, 18 November 1955.

²⁰² *Proceedings of the Educational Council of Ethnarchy*, 21 August 1956. See also *Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the High School of Pafos*, 6 October 1956.

²⁰³ *Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the High School of Polis Chrysochous*, 1948-49 & 1951-57.

Pafos was also very important. The Committee also received some help from the ecclesiastical committees of the surrounding villages.²⁰⁴

Indicative of the seriousness of this problem was the fact that for finding the money in March 1951, a special meeting of the School Committee, the students' parents and residents of the town and the village of Prodromi, together with the presiding board of the Charitable Ladies Union of Polis Chrysochous, took place. It was decided that the members of the School Committee visit the various communities, and ask for regular contributors. They were recording the names and the amount that each person paid as an annual contribution in a special book.²⁰⁵ The School Committee also requested help from large companies and financial factors in the whole of Cyprus.²⁰⁶

The housing was also a serious problem that preoccupied the School Committee. During the first years, the school was accommodated in various private residences as well as in *Ακάμας* Association building.²⁰⁷ In 1950, a private residence was bought which cost 560 CYP, with a loan made by the Committee.²⁰⁸ In 1955, the efforts of the Committee for the construction of a privately owned school building in a property that was bought in 1954 with money that was sent by Archbishop Makarios III were intensified.

In the above request of the School Committee, the Archbishop responded positively by covering the major part of the construction's expenses, which amounted to 7000 CYP, “με τη

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous*, 27 March 1951.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ The Association was paying for rent 2 CYP per month for hiring the private residence of Ch. Roussou. *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous*, 5 September 1949.

²⁰⁸ The residence belonged to Chr. Kaisis. *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous*, 12 June 1950.

συμφωνία ότι το ανεγερθησόμενον κτίριον θα εγγραφή επ' ονόματι της Εκκλησίας της Αγίας Παρασκευής Πόλεως Χρυσοχούς”.²⁰⁹ The construction of the school building, which cost 8000 CYP, completed in 1957.²¹⁰ Finally, the School Committee got a loan of 1500 CYP in order to pay for additional works in the school building.²¹¹

1.2.4 POLEMI HIGH SCHOOL OF COMMERCE

1.2.4.1 Establishment and Student Enrollment

On 10 July 1949, an assembly of all the community of Polemi was made in one of the rooms of the elementary school, “προς σύσκεψιν δ’ ίδρυσιν Ανωτέρας Σχολής και καταρτισμόν Καταστατικού αυτής”.²¹² Following a brief outline and discussion concerning the foundation of the school, it was decided to establish the Polemi High School of Commerce and the school’s Statute was approved. Articles 1-2 of the Statute referred to the name and location of the School, while Article 3 determined the aim of the School, which was the provision of education to the children of the countryside, “ανεξαρτήτως φυλής ή θρησκεύματος”,²¹³ and on the basis of the prepared curricula. Article 4 determined that the School would be “διτάξιος με προοπτικήν εξαταξίου Σχολής”²¹⁴ and Article 5 reported that “προνομιούχος διευθυντής θα είναι ο διευθυντής και ιδρυτής αυτής Νίκος Καραπατάκης”,²¹⁵ the duties of whom were determined by Article 6. The Articles 7-10 referred to the resources and the management of the School, which included a Committee of 10 members, who would be elected every five

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 20 February 1955.

²¹⁰ The building was constructed by the company *Filippou, Kleanthous and Dimitriadis*, *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous*, 3 April 1955.

²¹¹ Apart from the two aforementioned loans, the Committee contracted another two loans: a) 300 CYP in 1948 and b) 200 CYP in 1943. See *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous* 27 September 1948 & 23 December 1949. See also SA1:66/48/50, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

²¹² *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 10 July 1949.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

years, by those residents of Polemi who had the right to vote; those were all male residents of the village who had completed their 22 year of age till the day of the election.²¹⁶ In order to be eligible to be elected, candidates had to be over 30 years old.

After the approval of the Statute, the General Assembly elected a Committee of eleven members, which included the priest of the village, Papageorgios Neofytou and ten members as consultants.²¹⁷ From 1 November 1952, the new President of the Committee was Panayiotis Lambrianou, and with only minor changes, the School Committee remained the same during the period under investigation.²¹⁸ It is worth mentioning that in the *Proceedings of the School Committee*, there is no reference on any other General Assembly or other elections for appointing a new Committee. The only reference for the re-election of the Committee members was made in the Proceedings of the meeting held on 13 January 1952, with the suggestion of the Headmaster of the School for maintaining the members of the Committee “μέχρις επιχορηγήσεως της σχολής και ανοικοδομήσεως νέου κτιρίου δια στέγασιν αυτής”.²¹⁹

One of the first problems that the School Committee had to face was the issue of registration of the School, on the basis of the provisions of the Law 25/1935 and the Regulations of 1936.²²⁰ In a meeting of a delegation of the School with the English Director of Education, G. F. Sleight, the latter accepted to register the school under the condition that the School’s curricula would follow a commercial direction. The delegation of the School Committee

²¹⁶ Articles 9 and 10 of the Statute.

²¹⁷ The members were the following: Chr. Georgiou, Ch. Filippidis, I. Sotiriadis, I. Theodosiou, Evr. Lambrianou, Ch. Parperis, M. Christodoulou, K. Theodosiou, P. Kokkinos and Ch.. Georgiou. *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 10 July 1949.

²¹⁸ Theodosios Antonis and Charilaos Savva were nominated as new members from 26 April 1950 and 1 November 1952 respectively.

²¹⁹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 13 January 1952.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

agreed with the conditions set by the English Director, and ultimately the Government registered the School of Polemi, with Registration Certificate No. 75 (dated 28 December 1952), and granted the authorisation of the operation of the School.²²¹

A milestone in the history of the School of Polemi was the decision of the School Committee in 1952 to submit an application to the Government, to register the School as “δημοσίως επιχορηγούμενης”,²²² according to the provisions of the Law 18/1952.²²³ According to this Law, the Governor had the power to proclaim a school to be public-aided, after being requested by the governing School Committee. In such a case, the schoolteachers’ salaries would be covered by the Government, which would undertake the complete control of the School, both in terms of personnel employment and timetable and curricula.

The *Proceedings of the School Committee* reveal that members of the Committee had visited the Office of Education intending to find out “μέχρι ποίου σημείου ήταν διατεθειμένο να βοηθήσει”²²⁴ before submitting the application. The suggestions of the Government were judged as satisfactory, because the School Committee finally submitted the application, which was accepted, together with a letter that stressed the need for constructing a school building. In 1958, the Committee decided to change the name of the school and re-name it to Commercial Lyceum of Polemi,²²⁵ and in 1959 they changed it again into High School of Commerce.

²²¹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 28 August 1949.

²²² Public-aided.

²²³ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 13 January 1952.

²²⁴ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 1 November 1952.

²²⁵ This decision was approved by the Office of Education. See *File of Correspondence of the High School of Commerce of Polemi*, documents of the Office of Education 67/58, 25 July 1958 and 28 August 1958.

1.2.4.2 Administrative problems of the School Committee of Polemi

The personnel's payment was the largest sum covered by the Committee's revenues. Personnel's payment in 1951-52 amounted to 750 CYP and in 1952-53 to 900 CYP.²²⁶ The teachers' salaries were paid by the Government since March 1953, and these salaries were by far better than the salaries of teachers of the non public-aided schools of secondary education.²²⁷ The payment of the tuition fees by the students was the biggest part of the revenues received. In 1952 the revenues received from fees were 906 CYP (ranging from 7 CYP for 1st grade to 14 CYP for 5th grade per student). A smaller part of the revenues were the contributions of the village residents, the names of which were published in the daily press of Cyprus. The financial state of the School Committee began to be improving after 1952 when the School became public-aided and the government paid the salaries of the personnel. For this reason, in October 1953, 33 students of the School were exempted from the payment of tuition fees, based on the existing terms of the Law 18/1952 for the provision of free study in the 20% of the students.²²⁸

In order to deal with the housing problem, the School Committee used private residences in the first two years. In 1951 the Committee got a loan from the Monastery of Panayias of Kykkos and repaired the Metochi²²⁹ of the Monastery in Polemi and used it as a school

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13 January 1952 and 5 October 1952.

²²⁷ From March 1953 and later on, the teachers of the High School of Commerce of Polemi earned a salary of 36 CYP per month without having any academic qualification, while the teachers of the Gymnasium of Pafos with academic qualifications earned 25-30 CYP per month. In 1958, the salary was 70 CYP for the teachers of Polemi and 59.5 for the teachers of the Gymnasium of Pafos. See *File of Correspondence of the High School of Commerce of Polemi*, document 56/57, 28 April 1958 and *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 8 July 1952 and 4 November 1958.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 18 October 1953. See also *File of Correspondence of the High School of Commerce of Polemi*, 13 June 1960.

²²⁹ Metochi is called the property that belongs to a Monastery.

building until 1953, when they abandoned it because of damages caused by the earthquake that affected the province of Pafos that year.²³⁰ In the years 1953-56 the School Committee used again private residences for the accommodation of the School.²³¹ The efforts for dealing with the housing problem were intensified in 1955, when the Director of Education permitted it to proceed to the purchase of the required land against the amount of 150 CYP per acre.²³² For the construction of the school building the Committee raised a loan of 25 000 CYP from the Government.²³³ For the project, which began in 1955 and was finished in August 1956, were spent 26 800 CYP. The Committee was unable to pay the interests and the Government provided the help of 7500 CYP. The rest of the debt was granted by the Government after the Independence with the decision of the Archbishop Makarios III, President of the Republic of Cyprus at that time.

The employment of instructional personnel was another issue that the School Committee had to deal with. This issue was part of the administrative duties of the School Committee up to the school year 1952-53. When the school became public-aided, the Office of Education publicly announced the vacancies and after conducting personal interviews, filled the positions. Afterwards, they informed the School Committee about the decisions. The Office of Education used to send the list of the teachers together with the courses allocated to each teacher. It is worth mentioning that the teachers who were appointed by the Government in all the public-aided schools were not always holders of University qualifications; this has

²³⁰ See Christakis Efstathiou, “Η Κύπρος των σεισμών: ο κίνδυνος από την αρχαιότητα μέχρι σήμερα”, *Chroniko*, 106, 15 June 2003.

²³¹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 26 April 1950, 20 July 1951 and 8 October 1955. See also SA1:63/53/A & 134/53, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

²³² *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 18 October 1953 and 6 March 1954. See also *File of Correspondence of the High School of Commerce of Polemi*, 21 March 1955.

²³³ See *File of Correspondence of the High School of Commerce of Polemi*, letter of the Director of Education W. B. Tudhope, dated 1 February 1957.

always been a reason for protest by the “Οργάνωση Ελλήνων Λειτουργών Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης Κύπρου (ΟΕΛΜΕΚ)”.²³⁴

The struggle for freedom in 1955-59, created serious problems in the operation of the School because it was public-aided and was directly under the control of the Government. For this reason, the School and its teachers were seen suspiciously, especially by the residents of Polemi and the Cypriots in general. This feeling was quite evident in several cases. Quite often, for example, some residents of the village and students of the School demonstrated with the English teacher Macant and some Cypriot schoolteachers.²³⁵ In other cases, the students abstained for days from their studies or they even destroyed part of the school’s property and stole the typewriters. For this reason, the Office of Education informed the School Committee that if this situation continued, they would have to close the School based on the provisions of the Law 25/1935.²³⁶ Finally, from 1 May 1959 onwards, the responsibility for the Greek education was undertaken by the Greek Educational Council, which also placed under its control the High School of Commerce of Polemi maintaining the acquired rights of the teachers.²³⁷

1.3 FIRST CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS: AN OVERVIEW EXAMINATION OF THE EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROVINCE OF PAFOS

Indicative of the intentions of Britain when setting the Law 18/1933, it is an important confidential document of the Colonial Government that was saved in the *Public Archive of*

²³⁴ OELMEK. See *Report of OELMEK on the Educational policy of the Government*, Lefkosia 1955, pp. 13-28.

²³⁵ *Report of OELMEK on the Educational policy of the Government*, Lefkosia 1955, pp. 13-28.

²³⁶ *Correspondence of the School Committee of Polemi*, 15 November 1955.

²³⁷ See Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Έκθεση του Γραφείου Ελληνικής Παιδείας κατά το σχολικό έτος 1959-60*, Cyprus 1960, pp. 11-12.

Cyprus.²³⁸ This document (dated 7 March 1932) is a correspondence letter between the Governor of Cyprus, Sir Ronald Storrs, and the British Minister of the Colonies, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister. The Governor of Cyprus seeks the approval of the Minister of the Colonies, to put in practice the Law that would modify the educational Laws, which were established from 1929 until 1931. In addition, the letter stated the main amendments that were finally approved and established by the Law 18/1933 and the Regulations later,²³⁹ with which the Governor set the central power in the administration of the elementary education.²⁴⁰

Furthermore, in the letter, the Governor analysed the reasons behind the rationale for the removal of the power to set the curricula, the textbooks and the school holidays from the Educational Council. Regarding the curricula, the Governor mentioned that they did not relate to the educational needs of the citizens, while the textbooks were chosen with the only criteria being means of propaganda instead of their teaching value. Concerning the school holidays, his opinion was that these holidays, were of more interest to Greek citizens than Cypriot British nationals.²⁴¹

Concerning the duty of the Educational Council regarding the school taxation, the Governor supported that its power of having the final say on issues of disagreements should be removed. In order to back up his opinion on this, he referred to a letter of the Director of Education concerning alleged unfair behaviour against civil servants in Lefkosia by the School Committee.²⁴² The document reported the need for modifications on the subject of the discipline of the schoolteachers, which “αποδείχτηκε ότι είναι αναγκαίες από τη

²³⁸ SA1:1468/31/1, 7 March 1932, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

²³⁹ See paragraph 1.1.1 of the thesis.

²⁴⁰ SA1:1468/31/1, 7 March 1932, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² SA1:1468/31/1, 7 March 1932, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

δυσκολία που, λόγω του υφιστάμενου νόμου, συνάντησε η Κυβέρνηση στο θέμα του ελέγχου των δραστηριοτήτων των δασκάλων, γνωστών ως κομμουνιστών ή ενεργά ανυπάκουων στη Βρετανική Κυβέρνηση”.²⁴³ Concluding, the Governor stressed out the need for direct approval and implementation of his proposals in a favourable at that time period, due to the “Διάταγμα Άμυνας”,²⁴⁴ that was still in effect, and before the formation of the new Legislative Council. He also admitted that the modifications that he asked for would be “ένα πολύ αντιλαϊκό μέτρο στους πολιτικούς κύκλους”.²⁴⁵

The letter shows clearly that the process of the centralisation in the elementary education, which was completed with the establishment of the above proposals in the Law 18/1933, was mainly due to political incentives and not to educational ones. The divestiture of the Educational Council from the main powers it used to have and their relocation in the hands of the Governor is characteristic of the decision of the Colonial Government to remove the right of the Church and the Greek-Cypriots to have a say on their children’s education. For these reasons, both the Church and the School Committees protested intensively to the Government.

The protest of the School Committee of Pafos²⁴⁶ was formulated in the same manner. Their difference lies in the fact that the protest of the School Committee of Pafos was formulated in a much milder tone, and in the fact that it diplomatically avoided to refer to the real motives of the Government.²⁴⁷ This fact is indicative of the mild character of the Vice-president of the School Committee of Pafos and Mayor at the time, Nikolas I. Nikolaidis,

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Defense Order.

²⁴⁵ SA1:1468/31/1, 7 March 1932, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

²⁴⁶ See paragraph 1.1.1 of the thesis.

²⁴⁷ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 15 February 1933.

who had the final say on the decisions that were taken. Definitely, his attribute as Mayor, and in particular as an appointed Mayor, was decisive on the keeping of a mild attitude in his relations with the Government and the Office of Education.

As regards the implementation of the Law 18/1933 in Ktima, what should be mentioned is that the system of appointing the members of the School Committees that was adopted in 1929, and was implemented with the Law of 1933, had resulted in the undertaking of the School Committee of Pafos by members of the Nikolaidis family. Specifically, the Vice-president of the School Committee of Pafos (since 1923), Nikolaos I. Nikolaidis, undertook the presidency of the Committee in 1937 (the year that the Metropolitans lost the right to be presidents of the School Committees), and remained president till his death in 1964. Stefanos Ioannidis and Sokratis Nikolaidis who came from the same family, were appointed by the Government members of the School Committee of Pafos during the period 1933 to 1953.²⁴⁸ Their interest for the education of Pafos and the mild attitude they held against the Government, were the reasons for their appointment as members of the School Committee of Pafos.²⁴⁹ Despite the support of Nikolaidis to the request for Union, Galatopoulos accused them as being “διορισμένοι”,²⁵⁰ because Nikolaos I. Nikolaidis was appointed Mayor in the period of 1931-1943 and member of the School Committee of Pafos during the period that followed the riots of 1931.²⁵¹ Moreover, the support of Nikolaidis from AKEL

²⁴⁸ SA1:440/44, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ *Nea Politiki Epitheorisi*, 2 June 1945, p. 2, 12 October 1946, p. 3 and 2 November 1946, p. 2. See also *Pafos*, 30 May 1946, p. 2 and 24 October 1946, p. 3.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

in the municipality elections in 1943 and 1946 was the reason that he often accused the teachers of the High School for exercising “κομμουνιστική προπαγάνδα”.²⁵²

Concerning the effects of the Law 18/1933 on the elementary education of the villages of Pafos, we can refer to them as being positive, because of the increased rate of education’s growth to several villages of the province. As it has been aforementioned,²⁵³ the Rural Committee had the general responsibility for the school of the village. It was obliged to take the appropriate actions for the smooth operation of the school in accordance to the indications of the Inspector of the Office of Education.²⁵⁴ The most important, however, provisions of the Law that contributed to the growth of the elementary education in Pafos, were the reinforcement of the special governmental funds (Education Funds), which granted loans to the Rural Committees for the construction of school buildings, as well as the control that was enforced on the financial management of the schools.²⁵⁵ The foregoing provisions contributed to the increase of the communities who had elementary schools. In 1930, the communities who had elementary schools were 65 and in 1959-60 increased to 90.

Regarding secondary education, two issues have arisen: on the one hand there was the issue of interpreting the Government’s intentions with the enactment of the new Law 25/1935, and on the other hand, the reasons that prompted the School Committee of Pafos to reject the proposals of the English Deputy Director of the Education of Cyprus that provided a mixed type of high school, one with classical studies and one focused on natural sciences.

²⁵² *Pafos*, 10 October 1946, p. 3 and 17 October 1946, p. 2. See also *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos* 16 April 1948, 2 July 1948, 3 July 1948, 5 July 1948 and 6 July 1948.

²⁵³ See paragraph 1.1.1 of the thesis.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1932-33, p. 6.

The intention of the Colonial Government with the enactment of the new Law with respect to the secondary education was the completion of the governmental control on the educational issues of the island, specifically after the completion of the process of centralisation in elementary education by the Law 18/1933. The starting point of the aforementioned governmental policy were the events of 1931, which surprised the British authorities and at the same time led the way for all future developments, both in the political and in the educational sector. Nonetheless, apart from these it should be acknowledged that there were indeed educational reasons for the enactment of the new Law 25/1935 and the Regulations of 1936. Moreover, these new regulations reflected on the prevailing educational tendencies that existed in England at the time and encouraged a more practical orientation of the secondary education.²⁵⁶ This orientation existed a decade ago in England with the effort of creating schools with more technical character.²⁵⁷ It was, therefore, expected that the employees of the Office of Education, would be influenced from the educational policy that was followed in their country.

As for the attitude of the School Committee of Pafos towards the new Law, and specifically towards the new orientations of the Government for technical and practical secondary education, it should be attributed to two main reasons: Firstly, the decreased control that the School Committee would practice on the High School, and secondly, on educational and national reasons. Regarding the first reason, the School Committee would be compelled, if they wanted to include the High School of Pafos in the public-aided schools, to accept the governmental control on issues related both with the timetables and the curricula and the

²⁵⁶ See B. Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform, 1920-1940*, London: Lawrence & Wishart 1978, pp. 261-62 and H. C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, London: University of London Press 1971, pp. 271-75.

²⁵⁷ H. C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, London: University of London Press 1971, pp. 271-75.

qualifications of the instructional personnel.²⁵⁸ The School Committee of Pafos found it very difficult to accept the aforementioned terms, because the High School of Pafos had already adopted the Greek curricula and running regulations since it was a recognised school by the Greek Government. Apart from this, the High School of Pafos had to accept control only from the “Επιθεωρητή Ελληνικών Σχολείων Αλλοδαπής” of the Ministry of Education of Greece.²⁵⁹

Despite the aforementioned reasons, there also existed educational and national reasons. The *Proceedings of the School Committee* reveal that most of its members believed that a classic high school provided a form of education that could not be replaced by a school with more practical orientation. The opinion of Paschalis Paschalidis, Loizos Filippou and Nikolaos I. Nikolaidis, who loved humanitarian education, was very important.²⁶⁰ The humanitarian and national education were the two main axes of the work carried out in the High school. Indicative is the fact that the High School Headmaster, Paschalis Paschalidis, had always stressed out in his speeches the national mission of the High School, which he considered as “ὕψιστον ἱερὸν σκοπὸν”.²⁶¹ This mission would succeed if the High School was maintained as an “ανεξάρτητον Ελληνικὸν Γυμνάσιον”,²⁶² as has been stressed out in his speech for the school year 1938-39, when referring to the issue of choice of the direction of the High School that preoccupied the School Committee and the teachers in the years 1935-1938.²⁶³

²⁵⁸ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1935-36, p. 6. See also *Regulations under the Secondary Education Laws, 1935-36*, SA1:696/30, *Public Archive of Cyprus*, p. 2.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ See Andreas Fylaktou, “Λοῖζος Φιλίππου”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 19, 13 April 2003.

²⁶¹ Magda Kitromilidou, *Τα Ελληνικά γράμματα στον αλύτρωτο Ελληνισμό – Η περίπτωση του Γυμνασίου Πάφου*, Lefkosia 1984, p. 234.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

²⁶³ Magda Kitromilidou, *Τα Ελληνικά γράμματα στον αλύτρωτο Ελληνισμό – Η περίπτωση του Γυμνασίου Πάφου*, Lefkosia 1984, pp. 234-36.

In another meeting of the School Committee, it was reported by Loizos Filippou, that the members of the Yearly Committee²⁶⁴ may not accept to give sponsorship to the High School, for the reason that it would continue to be under governmental control.²⁶⁵ Apart from these, the labour market that would absorb graduates of commercial schools was relatively limited before 1940 in Pafos, due to the small economic possibilities of the province. Studying abroad and mainly in Greece would be a way out of the problem, and this in turn made it necessary to study in a classic High School.

Quite the opposite happened in the other cities of Cyprus, particularly in Larnaka, Lemesos and Ammochostos, where the needs of the market imposed the operation of either Schools of Commerce, or commercial departments within the High Schools.²⁶⁶ Moreover, this was also the main reason that the School Committees of Lemesos and Ammochostos accepted similar governmental proposals and proceeded with the change of the timetables and the curricula of their High Schools. The main differences in the timetables between the High School of Pafos and the High Schools of Lemesos and Ammochostos were about the course of the Ancient Greek: the High School of Pafos had 52 teaching periods per week (see table 26), while the High School of Lemesos and Ammochostos had 33 and 43 teaching periods per week respectively.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Yearly Committee was the administrative Committee of the Holy Bishopric of Pafos.

²⁶⁵ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 8 April 1936.

²⁶⁶ In 1910, the Pancyprian Lyceum of Commerce was established in Larnaka, while in Lemesos and Ammochostos the School Committees accepted in 1936 the Sloman's plan of mixed type of school. See Kostas Kyrris, *Ιστορία της Μέσης Εκπαιδύσεως Αμμοχώστου 1191-1551: ιδίως δε του Ε.Γ.Α.*, Lefkosia 1967, pp. 116-17.

²⁶⁷ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 24 August 1936. See Kostas Kyrris, *Ιστορία της Μέσης Εκπαιδύσεως Αμμοχώστου 1191-1551: ιδίως δε του Ε.Γ.Α.*, Lefkosia 1967, p. 116.

It should be pointed out, that the School Committees of these schools, when they found themselves in financial difficulties, managed to increase the governmental sponsorship with the appropriate actions,²⁶⁸ whilst, at the same time, they managed to maintain the recognition of the Greek Government²⁶⁹ despite the modification of the timetables of their High Schools. On the other hand, the School Committee of Pafos found itself in a very difficult financial position, even worse than the Pancyprrian Gymnasium, which had also not accepted the governmental proposals.²⁷⁰ The reason was that the Pancyprrian Gymnasium was not deprived of the governmental sponsorship, because the Government accepted only the Pancyprrian Gymnasium to operate as a classic High School.²⁷¹

The *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos* suggest that the reasons for the rejection of the governmental plan in the 1936 appeared to be financial as well, with the argument that probable acceptance of the governmental plan would create a deficit of 610 CYP.²⁷² However, it was revealed in the various discussions of the issue in the repeated meetings of the School Committee, that the invocation of the financial reasons was used as an argument for the rejection of the plan for the transformation of the High School of Pafos into a commercial school.²⁷³

²⁶⁸ The subsidy for the High Schools in both Lemesos and Ammochostos amounted in 1942 and 1943 to 519 CYP and 411 CYP respectively. In 1946 and 1947 the subsidy amounted to 6402 CYP and 6452 CYP respectively. See *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1942-45, p.15 and *Report on Secondary Education*, 1945-47, p.14, SA1:696/30, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

²⁶⁹ The Headmaster of the Pancyprrian School, Konstantinos Spyridakis, who was against the governmental policy to control the High Schools, accused the School Committees of Lemesos and Ammochostos, because they had accepted it. See Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Η Εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της εν Κύπρω Αγγλικής Κυβερνήσεως (1878-1952)*, Ekdotis Grafeiou Ethnarchias Kyprou: Lefkosia 1952, pp. 24-27.

²⁷⁰ P. Pavlidis, “Το Γυμνάσιον Πάφου μόνον”, *Eleftheria*, 8 November 1960, p. 5.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 12 June 1936 and 12 August 1936.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

Following the above examination of various issues that were related with the legislation of 1933 and 1935 and their effects in Pafos, the thesis will also examine various issues related to the establishment of the schools of the secondary education of Pafos, such as the Commercial Lyceum (College) of Pafos, the High School of Polis Chrysochous (AESPC) and the High School of Commerce of Polemi.

In order to interpret the establishment of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos, it should be interrelated with the tendencies that were developed in the education of Cyprus after 1931. The political disturbances of 1931 provided a reason for the Colonial Government for revising the weakening of the classic High Schools, which were considered as places for exhibiting propaganda favouring Union, and encouraging technical and practical education, with a focus on commercial courses.²⁷⁴ Both social and economic reasons constituted in the modulation of the new tendencies in the secondary education. Particularly, during World War II onwards, an important rise in the population's standard of living was observed as a result of the increased opportunities for employment that had been then created.²⁷⁵ All these reasons gave the opportunity for establishing High Schools of Commerce or commercial departments as a part of the existed High Schools.²⁷⁶

The foundation of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos in 1942 by the theologian Kostas Liasidis should also be examined and interpreted in the aforementioned context. During

²⁷⁴ In 1940 the College for Agricultural of Morfou was founded and in 1946 the “Σύστημα Μαθητείας” for technical training of young workers was established. *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1945-47, pp. 15-17.

²⁷⁵ See *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1945-47.

²⁷⁶ In 1938-39, six Schools of Commerce were established in entire Cyprus: The Pancyprian Lyceum of Commerce in Larnaka, the High School of Pedoula, the High School of Lefkoniko, the High School of Agros, the American Academy (Girls' School) of Lefkosia and the American Academy of Larnaka. See *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1942-45, p. 16. Departments of Commerce were also established within the High Schools of Lemesos and Ammochostos (1937-38), the Pancyprian High School (1949) and the High School of Pafos (1934-1945 and re-established after 1954).

World War II, the Colonial Government established various projects, for defensive aims, such as the small military airport of Pafos, while, at the same time, the presence of military units in Pafos created new opportunities for the employment of suppliers, clerks, warehousemen and interpreters. The establishment and operation of Banks also contributed greatly to the creation of new occupations. Before 1931, a form of savings bank, the Bank “Μέλισσα”, existed, while later on, the Ionian Bank, the Popular Bank and the Bank of Cyprus established branches all over the island.²⁷⁷ Moreover, the various departments of the Municipality of Pafos and the governmental services had a need for well trained personnel. The aforementioned new opportunities for employment that were created, imposed new trends in the secondary education of Pafos that should prepare the required personnel well-trained in English, Commerce, Accountancy and Typewriting.²⁷⁸

These needs were covered by the creation of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos, which filled the gap that existed in the province of Pafos. This was also the reason that in the timetables of the Lyceum of Pafos, the courses of English and Commercial Studies, had an important part, while at the same time, the Turkish language was taught in the first classes of the School during the first years of its establishment.²⁷⁹ Reasons relating with the personal ambitions of the founder of the school also contributed for the creation of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos. Kostas Liasidis served as a theologian in the High School of Pafos from 1931 until 1939, when the School Committee of Pafos denied renewing his appointment, despite the opposition of many citizens of Pafos, who asked from the School Committee to revise its decision. The reasons for his dismissal were that he was in disagreement with

²⁷⁷ *Pafos*, 25 March 1943, p. 3.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ *Proceedings of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos*, 25 July 1942.

members of the School Committee of Pafos.²⁸⁰ He protested for his dismissal by sending a letter to the Government in November 1939, in which he denounced the members of the School Committee of Pafos that they did not appoint him due to personal causes.²⁸¹ It should be noted that from 1939 until 1942 he served as a teacher in the High School of Lapithos in the province of Keryneia.²⁸² These personal reasons and his immense longing to return and work in the place of his origin constituted a powerful motive for the foundation of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos.

It is quite interesting to also mention the reasons for which the Office of Education accepted the request of the School Committee of the Commercial Lyceum for issuing a licence of operation. The acceptance of the request should be included in the wider context of the policy that the Government followed for the support of the commercial schools. The Government perceived positively the fact that the Lyceum would have a commercial direction and agreed to authorise its operation. Another reason was the acceptance of the School Committee and the Management of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos of all the terms that the Office of Education placed for the registration of a school of secondary education in the Government record. These terms were the existence of the School Committee would be responsible for the administration of the school, the appointment of qualified instructional personnel and the creation of appropriate premises that would accommodate the School.

Having in mind the policy of the Government for preventing the national education that was cultivated by the classic High Schools, we can set forth the opinion that behind this acceptance of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos there were political reasons as well. The

²⁸⁰ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 3 August 1939.

²⁸¹ SA1:1230/1939, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

foundation and operation of a Commercial school next to a classic High School (High School of Pafos), would limit the enormous contribution that the teaching of the classic letters had in the reinforcement of the national morale and the promotion of the demand for Union, without meaning that the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos would become a means for the promotion of the English propaganda.²⁸³ Besides, despite its initial educational orientation, the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos, since the school year 1948-49, operated with two directions, the classic and the commercial one. At the same time, it was renamed into College of Pafos and was, finally, recognised by the Greek Government.²⁸⁴

Another aspect of the administration and operation of the College of Pafos was related with the removal of its recognition in 1950 by the Greek Government.²⁸⁵ According to the content of a written claim of the Headmaster of the High School of Pafos, P. Pavlidis, to the Ministry of Education of Greece, the reasons for the removal of the recognition of the College were that the instructional personnel were not qualified and that the management and the Committee of the College of Pafos advertised their school at the expense of the High School of Pafos, aiming to attract new students. It is worth mentioning that in 1956 a new danger for removal of the recognition of the College by the Greek Government was created, because the Governor of Pafos suspended temporarily the operation of the School. The problem that resulted was the main subject of a special meeting of the Educational Council of Ethnarchy held on 12 April 1956.

²⁸³ Androula Paschalidou, “Αποικιοκρατία και Εκπαίδευση”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 27, 15 June 2003, pp. 13-15.

²⁸⁴ *Proceedings of the School Committee of the Pafos*, 7 July 1948.

²⁸⁵ *File of Correspondence of the College of Pafos*, letter dated 25 July 1948. See *Proceedings of the School Committee of the Pafos*, 28 October 1950.

On the subject of the foundation of the High School of Polis Chrysochous (AESPC), a few issues related with the reasons that required its foundation result from the description that proceeded earlier. In order to interpret these reasons, they need to be considered within the wider educational and political context of the period being examined. From the early years, Polis Chrysochous was developed in a small rural centre, due to the existence and operation of the mine of copper pyrites of Limni (a region next to the town) and other governmental services. It was also the administrative centre of a region, which included many big and relatively rich communities, such as Argaka, Lysos, Peristerona, Steni, Prodromi, Kritou-Terra and Neo Chorio. Many students who studied at the High School of Pafos came from these villages.²⁸⁶

The foundation of the High School of Polis Chrysochous aimed mainly to cover the educational needs of the region. It can also be said that the High School of Polis Chrysochous belongs to the group of rural schools of secondary education that were founded in a later stage than the other schools.²⁸⁷ Evidential of the educational needs that existed in the region of Polis Chrysochous is the fact that, by preliminary research conducted by the School Committee of the AESPC, approximately eighty-four students from all the communities of the region, reported that they would study in the school being established.

Apart from the aforementioned educational reasons for the foundation of the School, there were political reasons as well. These reasons were related with the issue of dispute between

²⁸⁶ From the above communities fourteen schoolboys and two schoolgirls were studied at the High School of Pafos in 1931-32, thirty-one schoolboys and seven schoolgirls studied in 1944-45 and thirty-nine schoolboys and ten schoolgirls studied in 1946-47. See *Students' Name Lists of the High School of Pafos, 1931-32, 1944-45 and 1946-47*.

²⁸⁷ In this category belong also the schools of Secondary education that had been established during the school year 1949-50, in Gialousa (province of Ammochostos), in Saint Ambrosios (province of Keryneia) and in Polemi (province of Pafos). See *Report of the Department of Education, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1949-50, p. 13*.

the Church and the Greek community on the one side, and the Colonial Government on the other, with regard to the control of the secondary education in Cyprus.²⁸⁸ This dispute was declarative of the two different opinions that existed concerning the role and potential of the secondary education in Cyprus. The Church and the majority of the liberal upper urban classes of the Greek-Cypriots, perceived the High Schools as a means for the promotion of the demand for Union, whereas the English side perceived the schools of secondary education, and mainly the commercial schools, as a means for stopping and eliminating the political demands of the rival side.²⁸⁹

The foundation of the AESPC was partly the answer of the Church and of the Greek community of Cyprus to the Governmental challenge of the Law 25/1935 on secondary education. The contribution of the Church on the foundation of the School of Polis Chrysochous is also apparent from the continuous interest and help that was provided to the School.²⁹⁰ Indicative of this interest is also the fact that in July 1948, even before the operation of the School, the Metropolitane of Pafos, Kleopas, promised to offer to the members of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous who visited him, “υλικήν και ηθικήν υποστήριξη”²⁹¹ for the School and prepared a “παραινετικήν επιστολή”²⁹² that was addressed to ecclesiastical committees and institutions of Pafos and all over Cyprus, by which he recommended “την κατά δύναμιν βοήθεια αυτών προς την εν λόγω Σχολήν”.²⁹³

²⁸⁸ Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, “Παλμεροκρατία”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 30, 6 July 2003, pp. 8-16.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous*, 1 July 1948.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

Indicative of the interest for the foundation and operation of the AESPC as well, was the active involvement of the Church, and specifically of the Metropolitan of Pafos, Fotios, in the administration of the High School of Polis Chrysochous, which was made with the amendment of its Statute in July 1953, by which the School “τελεί υπό την εποπτεία της Εκκλησίας”.²⁹⁴ This direct involvement of the Metropolitan of Pafos, Fotios, is related with the events in the early days of June 1953 in Ktima during the celebrations of the Government for the Crowning of the Queen of England.

Following the involvement of the Metropolitan of Pafos in the administration of the High School of Polis Chrysochous, the Church of Cyprus stressed out its determination to keep the schools under its influence, preventing in this way the control of the School Committees of the island the Governmental propaganda Law 18/1952 tried to impose on the secondary education.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, the involvement of the Metropolitan of Pafos was also a direct answer on the oppressive measures that the Government set by the suspension of the School Committee and the Headmaster of the High School of Pafos.

The aims of the foundation of the High School also mentioned that “η εξυπηρέτησις της Ελληνικής παιδείας εις το διαμέρισμα τούτο και εν γένει την επαρχίαν της Πάφου και η συνέχισις της μορφωτικής και εθνικής δράσεως του χειμαζόμενου Ελληνικού Γυμνασίου Πάφου”.²⁹⁶ In Article 4 of the “Πρακτικού Ιδρύσεως”, it was also reported that the High School “έχει την αμέριστον υποστήριξιν της Εθναρχίας καθώς και του Εκπαιδευτικού της

²⁹⁴ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp.143-44.

²⁹⁵ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp.143-44.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

Συμβουλίου”.²⁹⁷ In practice, this support was expressed in 1954, when the Educational Council of Ethnarchy recommended to the Greek Government the recognition of the High School of Polis Chrysochous, despite the fact that the school still did not fulfil all the necessary terms and conditions of operation, and mainly, the terms related with the number and the qualifications of the instructional personnel.²⁹⁸

Concerning the foundation and administration of the High School of Commerce of Polemi, two issues arise that should be examined. The first one is related with the foundation of the School, and the other one with the registration of the School in the Government’s record of the public-aided schools in 1952. The *Proceedings of the School Committee* reveal that the foundation of the School was mainly owed to educational and political reasons.²⁹⁹ The schoolteacher and first Headmaster of the School, Nikos Karapatakis, had realised from the various visits to the community of Polemi, the existence of the educational needs of the region. Particularly, it was realised that Pafos needed mainly a commercial school that would prepare the students for the governmental examinations of the Cyprus Certificate of Education³⁰⁰ and the various commercial enterprises. The results of the above findings and discussions of Nikolaos Karapatakis with residents of the community was the founding

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *Proceedings of the Educational Council of Ethnarchy*, 8 December 1954.

²⁹⁹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 10 July 1949.

³⁰⁰ The examinations for granting the Cypriot Certificate were established in 1950 and included examinations in English, Greek, Mathematics, History, Geography and Physics. The holders of this Certificate could enter in the governmental service, enrolled in the English Universities and become teachers in schools of Secondary education. Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, p. 193. See also Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της εν Κύπρω Αγγλικής Κυβερνήσεως (1878-1952)*, Ekdotis Grafeiou Ethnarchias Kyprou: Lefkosia 1952, pp. 29-30. For the results of the examinations see SA1:344/1913, SA1:344/1930-1940, SA1:506/1938 and SA1:344/1945-1949, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

assembly of “όλης της κοινότητας”,³⁰¹ in which the foundation of the school was decided and the first School Committee was elected.³⁰²

What resulted from the study of the unpublished *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi* was that the initiative for the foundation of the School came from the first Headmaster and a team of progressive residents of the community. There is no evidence that the Office of Education of the Colonial Government was involved in any way. Nevertheless, even though it is not apparent that the Government was involved in generating the idea for the foundation of the school, there was encouragement and help afterwards provided by the government because it realised that in this way, its political and educational objectives could be promoted.³⁰³

In addition, the political objectives of the Colonial Government were promoted because the commercial direction of the School of Polemi would prevent the practice of “Ελληνική Προπαγάνδα”; a policy that, according to the officials,³⁰⁴ was represented as the main objective of the classic High schools. The operation of a commercial school was to the Government advantage, because it could attract students from the villages of the region, which would set back the tendency towards studying in the classic High Schools of Pafos and Polis Chrysochous. On the other hand, the educational objectives of the Government were being promoted as well, because, as it has been reported earlier, its policy after 1931 was to support and promote the commercial schools of secondary education that were essential for the preparation and training of employees that were needed in various

³⁰¹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 10 July 1949.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp. 41-69.

³⁰⁴ B. Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940*, Lawrence and Wishart: London, 1978, pp. 255-63.

governmental services. Besides, these schools also corresponded to the new tendencies for a more practical and adjusted to the needs of life education, which began to have wide practice in England since the first decade of 1930.³⁰⁵

The aforementioned reasons were the rationale behind the immediate authorisation for the operation of the School in September 1949 granted by the Director of Education, G.F. Sleight, even though many of its basic functional problems were not resolved. A crucial prerequisite for the above action on behalf of the Director of Education was the adoption by the School Committee of the High School of Commerce of Polemi of the timetables and curricula that the Office of Education prepared.

In 1952, the School Committee of Polemi, however, decided to submit a request to become a public-aided school.³⁰⁶ Its request was finally granted, but this decision led to a massive critique on the part of the Church and various organisations of Cyprus.³⁰⁷ The “Μνημόνιο για την εκπαιδευτική κατάσταση της Κύπρου”,³⁰⁸ which was published by the Educational Council of Ethnarchy in 1957, indicates the hostile attitude held by the Church and the representatives of the Unionist ideology against the High School of Commerce of Polemi after 1952. Among others, in the “Μνημόνιο”, a reference to the Law of 1952 has also been made, where the School Committee of Polemi was blamed for the aforementioned decision, by which “το σχολείο αυτό έχει απομονωθεί από όλα τα άλλα σχολεία Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ The public-aided schools were differed from the rest ones, because the schoolteachers' salaries were paid by the Government, while the students' tuition fees could not exceed the 15 CYP per student annually. See Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Η Εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της εν Κύπρω Αγγλικής Κυβερνήσεως (1878-1952)*, Ekdotis Grafeiou Ethnarchias Kyprou: Lefkosia 1952, pp. 31-32.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *A Memorandum of the Educational Council of the Cyprus Ethnarchy on the educational situation in Cyprus*, Lefkosia 1957.

και από ολόκληρο τον Ελληνικό λαό της Κύπρου”.³⁰⁹ What led to immense and intense criticism towards this decision of the School Committee of Polemi was that despite the negative attitude held by the Church and the various organizations concerning the new Law, it was the only Greek-Cypriot School in 1952³¹⁰ which accepted the tempting proposals of the Colonial Government. This approach was due to the certainty people felt that its foundation aimed at attracting students from the communal Greek secondary schools, which the English thought that it would disable the practice of Greek “propaganda” in these schools.³¹¹

Moreover, the provisions of the new Law determined high allowances to the teachers, while at the same time, they also determined the maximum amount of tuition fees.³¹² The Colonial Government would also grant low rated loans for the construction of new school buildings. The Law 18/1952 is undoubtedly a continuation of the policy that the Colonial Government followed for the implementation of its opinions and decisions since 1923, where it achieved the enactment of the Law 22/1923 by taking advantage of the unattractive professional conditions experienced by the schoolteachers. The difference lies in the fact that in the case of 1952, the Colonial Government took advantage not of the schoolteachers, but the financial problems that the School Committees faced.³¹³ Moreover, the decision of the School Committee of the High School of Commerce of Polemi to submit an application to register the School in the Government’s record of the Cyprus public-aided schools should

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³¹⁰ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1952-53, p. 14.

³¹¹ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1952-53, p. 14.

³¹² At the High Schools of Cyprus the students paid as tuition fees 28-50 CYP, while the students at the public-aided schools would not pay such an amount. Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp. 136-37.

³¹³ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp. 136-37.

also be examined based on the aforementioned framework. On the one hand, the financial problems of the School Committee of Polemi that dated since the foundation of the School in 1949, and on the other hand, the “δέλεαρ”³¹⁴ for their resolution by accepting the Law 18/1952, compose the context in which this decision of the School Committee of Polemi should be considered.

In 1951 and 1952 the School Committee faced serious financial problems due to the fact that the revenues from the students’ tuition fees were not the expected ones. The low revenues received were enough only for the payment of the salaries of the schoolteachers.³¹⁵ Moreover, since the beginning of 1952, the School Committee tried to find money for the construction of a privately owned school building, which meant that it would cost approximately 2490-3100 CYP. The new building would be built in a land which belonged to the Church of the community and its utilisation would only be made with the approval of the Metropolitan of Pafos, Fotios.³¹⁶

In the meantime, in August 1952 the Law on the establishment of the public-aided schools was put in practice, which set new developments in the educational facets of Cyprus, resulting in the escalation of the crisis that already existed in the relations between the Church and the Government. One of the measures undertaken by the Educational Council of the Ethnarchy for the confrontation of the tempting governmental proposals was to recommend to the Metropolitans to try and set under their control and economically strengthen most of the secondary – mainly the commercial schools – that existed and

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ In 1951 the School Committee of Polemi owed to P. Kokkinos 197 CYP for the rent of the building and 40 CYP to the President of the Committee, Papageorgios Neofytou. See *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 2 September 1951.

³¹⁶ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 13 January 1952.

functioned in Cyprus.³¹⁷ Within this context, the Metropolitan of Pafos, Fotios, was seeking the opportunity to interrupt any cooperation that the High School of Commerce of Polemi had with the Office of Education, and asked from the members of the School Committee of Polemi to maintain the School only as a three-grade school and the students after their graduation, to study in the College of Pafos.³¹⁸

Due to the refusal of the School Committee to accept this requirement, the Metropolitan of Pafos, Fotios, suspended the financial support of the Diocese of Pafos and the Church of Polemi to the School. Furthermore, with the indication of the Metropolitan, the President of the School Committee of Polemi, Papageorgios Neofytou, submitted his resignation on 1 November 1952. The new President was Panayiotis Lambrianou, a strong supporter of the construction of the school building and generally, an active member of the Committee of the School and his community.³¹⁹ Within the frames of the above decision, a delegation of the School Committee of Polemi, together with the Headmaster N. Karapataki, went to Lefkosia and in order to have a meeting with the responsible key persons of the Office of Education. In the meeting of the School Committee that took place on the 23 November 1952, the decision of the School Committee of Polemi to become public-aided was taken unanimously.

³¹⁷ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, p. 139.

³¹⁸ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, p. 139.

³¹⁹ Panayiotis Lambrianou was also President of the “Συμβούλιο Βελτιώσεως” (like a Town Hall). See *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi*, 13 January 1952.

CHAPTER TWO

PAFOS' PROVINCE EDUCATION'S OPERATION AND CONTENT

(1931-1960)

2.1 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

2.1.1 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

According to the above data, it appears that the increase in the number of schoolgirls in Pafos, particularly during 1933-1960 was impressive. This was due to the low rates of schoolgirls' education during the previous period (1878-1931), influenced by social and economic conditions. In general, education was economically very important to the Cypriots, in particular the Greek-Cypriots.³²⁰ The ideas of enlightenment, widespread in the early nineteenth century, had aroused high aspirations, political as well as social even for the women, who, until then, were staying home till they got married.³²¹ After the 1940s the Cyprus economy was developing quickly³²² and this meant more public money could be afforded for education, which began, for the first time in the 1940s, to be conceived of as "social services".³²³ Consequently, education was gradually seen as an agent of social amelioration and as deserving high priority even for the girls, despite of their social position at the time. Furthermore, the severe unemployment problem after the economic crisis of the 1930s alongside with the need for recruiting public servants locally, after the policy of barring Cypriots from the upper grades of the public service was terminated, motivated many Greek-

³²⁰ Panayiotis Persianis, "The British Colonial Education 'Lending' Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): an intriguing example of an elusive 'adapted education' policy", *Comparative Education*, 32, 1, 1996, p. 50.

³²¹ Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Ninetenth Century*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1996

³²² G. Georgallidis, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1979

³²³ Cyprus, CR, 1946, pp. 27-36.

Cypriot parents to send their children to schools in the hope of their securing employment in the public sector.³²⁴ This was an effort to make “the best Cypriot qualities working for and not against the Government”.³²⁵

Consequently, a need was created for girls attending schools, in order to be trained as the future civil servants as well. Many parents were prepared to sacrifice money and property to pay for the higher education of their children, either boys or girls.³²⁶ The social demand for education was increasing year by year. A very convincing piece of evidence for the strong social demand for education is the fact that in 1960, when the British left Cyprus, 90% of the 6-12 year old population attended primary schools.³²⁷ On the contrary, as far as schoolboys are concerned, there was no material increase since the numbers already show an impressive increase from previous period.

From the above table it can be inferred that schoolboys in Pafos and Keryneia had the lowest increase whereas the number of schoolboys in Lefkosia had the greatest increase. At the same time we do not see big differences in the percentages of the other towns. On the contrary, the number of schoolgirls in Pafos had the greatest increase among towns, which is due to the slow development in schoolgirls' education during the previous period.³²⁸ More specifically, we can see that the increase in the number of schoolboys' and schoolgirls' education concerning the province of Pafos from the following table:

³²⁴ Panayiotis Persianis, “The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): an intriguing example of an elusive ‘adapted education’ policy”, *Comparative Education*, 32, 1, 1996, p. 51-57.

³²⁵ R. Storrs, *Orientalisms*, London: Nicholson and Watson 1937

³²⁶ *Report on Education in Cyprus*, 6 August 1913, CO 67/165, p. 252 and Cyprus, CR, 1935, p. 79.

³²⁷ G. F. Sleight, *Cyprus, Report of the Department of Education for the School Year 1953-54*, Lefkosia: Government Printing Office 1955). See also Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης των κοριτσιών στην Κύπρο: Μελέτη της πορείας Κοινωνικού και Εκπαιδευτικού εκσυγχρονισμού της Κύπρου*, Lefkosia 1998 and Andreas Chatzithomas, “Η γυναίκα της Κύπρου”, *Chroniko*, 130, 30 November 2003.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

According to Census data of 1946, which in chronological order start in the middle of the period that we are examining (1931-60), it is obvious that the 184 schoolboys and schoolgirls of Peyia (1941-42) amount to the 13.05% of the community population, 166 of Drousia amount to the 19.80% of the population, 115 of Panayia to 11.63% and 53 of Armou to 11.54%.³²⁹ By studying the Students' Name List and the Books of Inspections it can be observed that the rate of increase in the number of schoolgirls was in all the above villages larger than that of schoolboys. It is impressive to observe also that the increase in the number of schoolgirls in the elementary school of Armou, which was initially 8 during 1931-32, sums up to 27 in 1959-60.³³⁰ At this point it should be reported that the continuing interruption of the educational studies constituted a serious problem, particularly in the decade of 1930-40. The elementary schools of Peyia, Drousia, Panayia and Emba presented high rates of student withdrawal which fluctuated between 60-70% for schoolboys and between 55-72% for schoolgirls.³³¹

Improvement was seen in the elementary education of Pafos' town, where a material increase was observed not just in the number of schoolboys, but in the number of schoolgirls as well. During the period of 1931-51, 860 students registered in Neofyteion Urban School, a number that amounts to a 97.57% increase. As far as schoolgirls are concerned, during the same twenty years, 870 schoolgirls were registered at Dimitreion Girls School, a number that represents an increase of 116.36%.

³²⁹ The population of Peyia was 1409 residents, Panayia 988, Drousia 838 and Armou 459 residents, *Cyprus, Census of Population and Agriculture 1946, Report and Tables*, London, 1949, p. 13.

³³⁰ Based on the *Cyprus, Report and General Abstracts of the Census 1921*, London, 1922, the eight schoolgirls of 1931-32 constituted the 2.16% of the village population (369 residents), while in 1946 the 27 schoolgirls constituted the 5.88% of it. See *Cyprus, Census of Population and Agriculture 1946, Report and Tables*, London, 1949.

³³¹ See *Students' Name Lists* of Peyia (1928-1949), Drousia (1933-1952), Panayia (1931-1960) and Emba (1913-1940).

The main characteristic of the elementary education in Pafos³³² was the relatively small rate of increase in the number of students, compared with the corresponding rate for the other provinces. Similarly, the rate of students who interrupted their studies was high enough, which was also mentioned in the *Report of the Office of Education* for the school year 1932-33.³³³ This Report mentions that “μέχρι 50% των μαθητών της Α΄ τάξης των σχολείων εγκαταλείπουν το σχολείο μετά από δύο χρόνια παρακολούθησης”.³³⁴ The Report considered as the main cause the parents’ poverty, and expected from the Town School Committees to provide the textbooks free of charge. Similar statements were also made in the *Report of the Office of Education* in the year 1933-34, where it was reported that due to the employment of the students in agricultural labour, as much as 75% of them interrupted their studies after the age of ten.³³⁵

Another feature that results from the above table is that, even though many schoolgirls dropped out of school, their rates remained quite high particularly in Panayia village. Having in mind the statements of the Office of Education of Cyprus for the occurrence of strong prejudices and bias against educating women that was particularly apparent in the villages,³³⁶ it can be assumed that this had a negative impact on the education of the girls.³³⁷ This is also evident in the high rate of schoolgirl dropouts. Nonetheless, the problem of withdrawal occurred all over Cyprus and preoccupied the Office of Education, which is also evident from the frequent statements in the annual Reports.³³⁸ The increase of student enrollment would be

³³² See Table 13 of the thesis.

³³³ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1932-33.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³³⁵ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1933-34, p. 4.

³³⁶ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1933-34, p. 7.

³³⁷ See also Andreas Chatzithomas, “Η γυναίκα της Κύπρου”, *Chroniko*, 130, 30 November 2003 and Andreas Chatzithomas, “Η Εκπαίδευση στην Τουρκοκρατία και Αγγλοκρατία”, *Chroniko*, 120, 21 September 2003, pp. 19-22.

³³⁸ See *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1932-33.

accomplished only if more gender-separate schools would have been established instead of the mixed ones. The reason was that “η κοινή γνώμη δε θα ανεχόταν ακόμη το διορισμό δασκάλου και δασκάλας στο ίδιο μικτό σχολείο”.³³⁹

The difficult financial conditions that prevailed over Pafos during the decade of 1930 seem to have influenced the schooling development in the two elementary schools of Ktima. According to the Records of these schools, which kept data for the schoolboys/schoolgirls that were enrolled in 1st grade and graduated five years later, in the Urban School (School of Boys) during the period of 1919-1931 there have been enrolled 442 students, while in 1931-1939/40 there were enrolled only 289. After 1940, however, with the improvement of the situation, the enrollments in the Urban School reached the 571 (during the period 1941-1950).³⁴⁰

The corresponding percentage for the schoolgirls in the decade of 1930 was approximately 54%, while in the decade of 1940 it was reduced to 45%. From the data it can be also observed that the majority of the parents of the boys and girls who dropped out of school were farmers, craftsmen, owners of small businesses, or the students were orphans.³⁴¹ On the other hand, the rate of dropouts from students whom their parents were doctors, lawyers, teachers and public servants was very low.³⁴² This observation can be justified mainly on the ground that the latter did not have to assist their parents at work as it was the case with those whom their parents were farmers or owners of small business.³⁴³ Moreover, these families, on

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7 and *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1933-34, p. 9.

³⁴⁰ See *Registration Books, Neofyteion Urban School*, 1900-1957.

³⁴¹ See *Registration Books, Neofyteion Urban School*, 1939-1944.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ See Andreas Fantis, *To 1948, χρόνος οξύτερης ταξικής αναμέτρησης*, Lefkosia 1979.

average, were experiencing financial hardships and their children had to work younger. Therefore, they did not have any other choice, but to drop out of school and help with their families' business.³⁴⁴

From another point of view, it can be observed that the number of students in elementary education is related to the Government's policy for mixed schools (having both schoolboys and schoolgirls in the same classrooms). On the contrary, in cities and big rural centers one could find schools only for boys and schools only for girls in small villages. Mixed schools had only one or two teachers and that was due to the very small participation rates. These schools were mainly schools for boys, in which a very small number of girls studied, usually children of schoolteachers or priests that their parents decided to send them there. During 1934-35, almost all schools in Cyprus became mixed and this decision affected schools that operated in villages and towns. Therefore, two schools were operating at the same time: one school consisted only of 1st, 5th, and 6th grade, which were usually under the responsibility of a male teacher whereas the other one consisted of 2nd, 3rd and 4th grade, and was under the responsibility of a female schoolteacher. Due to this change, the Government believed that “θα ήταν πιο αποτελεσματική η διδασκαλία από το δάσκαλο που θα είχε να φροντίζει μόνο τρεις τάξεις, παρά αν ήταν υπεύθυνος για ολόκληρο το σχολείο”.³⁴⁵

88 of the 90 schools that existed in the city and province of Pafos during 1959-60, were mixed and only two remained with the old type of schools (the Elementary School of Boys and the Girls School of Ktima). The number and type of schools was related to the Government's

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1933-34, p. 8.

policy of school grouping.³⁴⁶ These schools consisted of a very small number of the students from villages, and were judged disadvantageous not only from a financial but from an educational aspect as well. Most schools, mainly those of the 3-5 schoolteachers, belonged to this category.³⁴⁷

The Neofyteion Urban School and the Dimitreion Girls School continued functioning as non-mixed schools until the school year of 1941-42, when it was decided the two schools would have to operate as one due to World War II. This type of mixed school continued to operate even after the end of the war with very small changes in its name: in 1941-42 it was named Mixed Urban School, in 1945-46 until 1948-49, the school took the name of Neofyteion Mixed Urban School, and as from 1949-50 onwards, it was named Standard Mixed Urban School.³⁴⁸ In the school year of 1954-55 onwards the mixed school of Ktima closed, but it reopened again as two distinct schools under the same administration.

2.1.2 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION TIMETABLE

In his memorandum to the Headmaster at the Department of Education, the famous scholar and member of the Greek Educational Council Loizos Filippou³⁴⁹ (which was also signed by G. Chrysafinis and another member of the Council), disagreed with the decision for joint course of Greek History and Geography. Using extracts from projects of English scientists and teachers, he supported that the Greek History course should not be downgraded, and emphasised the great instructive effect the particular course had for the spirit of young people

³⁴⁶ SA1:969/39, SA1:1236/23/3, SA1:1395/38, *Public Archive of Cyprus*. See also *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1953-54.

³⁴⁷ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1953-54, p. 3.

³⁴⁸ *Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the Neofyteion Urban School* of the aforementioned school years.

³⁴⁹ See Andreas Fylaktou, “Λοΐζος Φιλίππου”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 19, 13 April 2003.

in Cyprus.³⁵⁰ In his letter to the Colonial Secretary, the British Headmaster of Education rejected the explanations sent by Loizos Fillipou and proposed to increase the teaching periods of Cypriot History and English language at the expense of Greek language and literature. However, the Colonial Secretary disagreed with the above proposal reporting that, “it would be a mistake to increase the teaching hours for English at the expense of the Greek language”.³⁵¹

Another important change concerned the introduction of English language in the elementary school curricula for the first time. This educational innovation was viewed a big and controversial political issue that would preoccupy Cyprus for a long time. According to the provisions of the “Τροποποιητικός Νόμος Περί Δημοτικής Εκπαιδύσεως 1935”,³⁵² the subject of English language was introduced in the two last grades of elementary schools in the cities, as well as in the provincial schools that had more than three schoolteachers. In Pafos, English language was taught in the schools of Ktima and in few big communities, such as Peyia, Geroskipou, Polis Chrysochous, Panayia, Drousia and Kritou-Terra.

The Greek language became an issue of intense conflict. From 1927 to the end of the period that we examine, Greek language (spoken) was taught in the four first grades of the elementary school and *katharevousa* (written) was taught in the two last ones, in contrast with Greek education, were from 1930 onwards the Greek spoken language was obligatorily taught in all grades of every elementary school and *katharevousa* was only taught in the two last

³⁵⁰ SA1:731/34/1, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

³⁵¹ SA1:731/34/2, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

³⁵² *Regulations under the Secondary Education Laws of 1935-36, Cyprus Government Gazette*, 2 February 1936, pp. 34-37.

grades of the elementary school.³⁵³ In April 1939, the Greek Educational Council submitted a resolution to the Government of Cyprus proposing the establishment of the Greek language in all elementary school classes, supporting the argument that “η δημοτική είναι η γλώσσα του λαού διά την μόρφωσιν του οποίου αποβλέπει το δημοτικόν σχολείον”.³⁵⁴ The Director of Education with a letter to the Colonial Secretary proposed the rejection of the resolution of the Greek Educational Council, based on the argument that the teaching of Greek language in both forms should be continued for the reason that *katharevousa* was taught in the schools of the secondary education and was the language used by the press.³⁵⁵

2.2 SECONDARY EDUCATION

2.2.1 SECONDARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

The greatest increase in the College of Pafos was in the period 1942/43-1955/56 and had summed up to 283%. For schoolgirls the greatest increase was marked in the period of 1942/43-1955/56 and had summed up to 350% while in the next period it was 184%. As far as schoolgirls are concerned, in the period since the AESPC opening, their number remained constant without any increase, while from 1953-54 until 1954-55 there was an increase of 92% that abated in the period of 1954/55-1958/59 to 83%. The increase in schoolgirl registrations during 1953/54-1954/55 is due to the fact that many schoolgirls that studied in the High School of Pafos had enrolled in the newly established High School of Polis Chrysochous. The greatest increase in schoolboy registrations at the High School of Commerce of Polemi occurred during the first years of its operation, a thing that is indicative of the positive way in which the residents of the region accepted the foundation of this

³⁵³ Sifis Bouzakis, *Νεοελληνική Εκπαίδευση (1821-1985)*, Athens: Gutenberg 1986, p. 83.

³⁵⁴ For the resolution of the Educational Council and the letter of the Headmaster of the education see SA1:818/39, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

School. This increase is also due to the fact that since school year of 1953-54 the School became public and its students studied partly free of charge.³⁵⁶

In the period of 1953/54-1955/56 the increase in registrations was not big, since student enrollment seems to have been completed in the previous years. The increase shown in the last period (1955/56-1958/59) was small, which reflects the change in the attitude the parents against the School during the events of 1955-59 as the School was public. Registration of schoolgirls during the first years of the School's foundation was extremely low. A significant increase took place in the period 1953/54-1955/56 with reduction of that percentage in the period of 1955/55-1958/59. Among the students the highest percentages were observed in the period of 1931-1937 and 1950-1956, while during the remaining periods (after 1954) the percentages are significantly reduced.

During the period that we examine there has been an important increase in the number of students both from Ktima but particularly from the province. The rate of increase for students from Ktima was 100% in the period of 1931/32-1959/60, while the equivalent percentage regarding the province of Pafos in the same period was roughly 636%. Reduction in the number of the schoolboys and schoolgirls from Ktima was observed in the school year of 1936-37 and was due to the reduction of their number in the 1st grade, since tuition fees from the School Committee had been raised.³⁵⁷ Among schoolgirls an important increase had been observed with particularly high percentages for schoolgirls from the province. Regarding the increase that was shown regularly in the total number of the schoolboys and schoolgirls after 1944-45, we have the opinion that this is due to the improvement of the socio-economic and

³⁵⁶ See p. 66 of the thesis.

³⁵⁷ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 2 September 1936. See also pp. 29-30 of the thesis.

educational conditions both in the city and province of Pafos during World War II and afterwards.³⁵⁸

2.2.2 SECONDARY EDUCATION TIMETABLE AND CURRICULA

The High School of Pafos, which operated as a six-grade School during the school year of 1924-25, followed the decisions and Laws of the Greek Government regarding timetables and curricula. By simply comparing the curricula followed by the High School of Pafos and a corresponding Greek school, and more specifically on issues which were determined by the enactments set on 18 November 1931 and 5 November 1935, illustrates how similar the timetables followed were. The only differences included some minor adjustments for the Pafos School which were deriving from the general local conditions in Cyprus and more specifically that of Pafos.³⁵⁹ For example, French courses, which were always taught in secondary schools in Greece, were not included in the curriculum of the High School of Pafos for the school year 1936-37, but were included again in 1959-60.

Another differentiation was that of Commercial courses, which were included in the curricula of the High Schools of Cyprus from 1908-09.³⁶⁰ Regarding the High School of Pafos, the teaching of this course was under the authority of the Headmaster and the School Committee of Pafos. It should be noted that the Commercial course was taught more systematically as a

³⁵⁸ Several factors played role for this improvement (as explained at footnote 392 & pp. 133-35 of the thesis), such as the social change which resulted from the decrease of the rural population and the creation of a strong, ambitious and very influential middle class. See D. A. Percival, *Cyprus, Census of Population and Agriculture*, London: Crown Agents for the Colonies/Government of Cyprus 1949 and Andreas Fantis, *To 1948, χρόνος οξύτατης ταξικής αναμέτρησης*, Lefkosia 1979.

³⁵⁹ Alexis Dimaras, *Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε (Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας)*, vol. B, Athens: Nea Elliniki Vivliothiki 1988, pp. 175-76.

³⁶⁰ The Pancyprian High School established a Department of Commerce from 1907-08, which was operated only for few years. See *Commemorative Album for the fifty years of the Pancyprian High School*, Lefkosia 1944. Department of Commerce was also established at the High School of Ammochostos during the academic year 1939-40. See Kostas Kyrris, *Ιστορία της Μέσης Εκπαιδευσεως Αμμοχώστων 1191-1551: ιδίως δε του Ε.Γ.Α.*, Lefkosia 1967, p. 117.

major in the 4th, 5th and 6th grades, during the school years of 1934-1945. During the school year of 1954-55 the Commercial section, which began from the 4th grade, was established but it operated on a permanent base again during 1959-60.

Some other differentiations also existed, for example, the introduction of art courses for the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th-grade students in the High School of Pafos as from the school year of 1933-34; the course of Painting for the students of 3rd to 6th grades, as well as the introduction of Educational course for the 6th-grade students during the school year of 1934-35. Latin courses were mandatory classes for the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th-grade students in the High School of Pafos while in Greece the course was considered as optional since 1931. Housekeeping, Physical Health and Music were also considered as optional courses in Greece, while in the High School of Pafos these courses were not taught on a permanent base. Physical Health class was taught during 1937-38, and then on a more permanent base during 1953-54, while Handicraft and Housekeeping courses were taught on a permanent basis from 1951-52. Music (choir practice) in the first years of the period that we examine was taught in the two first grades, and from 1951-52 in all first four grades of the High Schools.³⁶¹

In the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos the three first grades followed the same courses as those of the High School of Pafos while the three higher grades followed a commercial direction with relevant courses that placed emphasis on English and the Commercial courses. This was the reason why some courses were not taught, such as the Psychology in the 5th grade and Cosmography and Chemistry in the 6th grade. During the school year of 1948-49, the Commercial Lyceum was renamed College of Pafos after relevant recognition from the Greek

³⁶¹ *Special Control Book of the High School of Pafos* of the aforementioned years.

Government, and the three high grades operated two parallel departments: Classical Studies which followed the timetable and curriculum of the High School, and the Commercial Studies which focused on Commercial courses.³⁶²

The High School of Polis Chrysochous (AESPC), later known as Gymnasium of Polis Chrysochous, endorsed the curricula set by the High School of Pafos and operated as a traditional Gymnasium from the beginning of its foundations in 1948-49. From the year 1954-55, Accounting and Typing were introduced as optional courses for students in the 4th, 5th and 6th grade (Accounting) and 5th and 6th grade (Typing). On the other hand, the High School of Commerce of Polemi endorsed a different curriculum than the aforementioned schools. The reason was that ever since it first started operating, it accepted the proposal of the Educational Office which applied courses with commercial direction prepared by the British. The Religion course was set only for the first three grades for just one teaching period, while Ancient Greek was taught for just four teaching periods for the first three grades and for three teaching periods for the higher grades. On the contrary, emphasis was given to Modern Greek course which was taught for six teaching periods per week in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 6th grades, and for five teaching periods in the 4th and 5th grade. What should be reported here is that the English language was taught for ten teaching periods in all the grades.³⁶³

It is evident that the timetable of the High School of Pafos was overloaded in terms of teaching periods. This was mainly the case regarding the English courses offered in the High Schools of Pafos. The English course was considered as a very important course in the

³⁶² *Special Control Book of the High School of Pafos*, 1942-43, 1953-54 & 1956-57.

³⁶³ *Special Control Book of the High School of Commerce of Polemi*, 1954-55 & 1959-60.

overall curriculum offered, compared to the corresponding timetable offered by the Greek schools.³⁶⁴ The aforementioned timetable of the High School of Pafos was also followed by the College of Pafos (after the school year of 1948-49) as well as by the High School of Polis Chrysochous.³⁶⁵ In the Commercial sectors of the High School and the College of Pafos, Accounting, Commercial Studies, Commercial Law and Typing were taught.

With certain modifications made in the above timetable during the school year 1958-59, Hygiene and Calligraphy courses were introduced for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th grade, and Housekeeping was introduced to the 4th grade students. During the school year of 1959-60, the responsibility for all secondary education schools was undertaken by the Greek Educational Office, and the High School of Commerce of Polemi was renamed to Gymnasium, and followed from that point onwards the curricula of the Gymnasia of Cyprus with classical studies.

The College of Pafos (after 1948) and the High School of Polis Chrysochous had the same curricula with the corresponding Gymnasia of Greece. This was ensured by the fact that the above schools followed the orders of the Greek Ministry of Education and had the same textbooks that were used in Greece and which were sent each year to the School Committees. The main differentiation was the number of teaching periods set by each school for each course.

³⁶⁴ See Charalambos Noutsos, *Προγράμματα Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης και Κοινωνικός Έλεγχος (1931-1973)*, Athens: Themelio 1988, pp. 57-104. See also Nikos P. Terzis, *Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική και Εκπαιδευτική Μεταρρύθμιση: Πρόγραμμα και πραγματικότητα-Πράγματα και πρόσωπα*, Thessaloniki: Adelfon Kuriakidi 1988, pp. 220-24.

³⁶⁵ The High School of Polis Chrysochous followed approximately the same timetable and curriculum with the one that the High School of Pafos applied during the school year 1936-37. See *Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the High School of Polis Chrysochous*, 6 October 1954.

Another issue related with the operation of the schools in secondary education, was that of student enrollment, transfers and examinations. These issues were always subject to the legislation and the regulations, which were published each time by the Greek Ministry of Education. An example is 1943, when students of the High School of Keryneia, which was not a six-grade school at that time, submitted an application to the High School of Pafos to allow them to take the final examinations there. The Headmaster accepted their application, as he was acting in accordance with A.N.19/20 Law of November 1935 of the Greek Ministry of Education.³⁶⁶ In the College of Pafos, the Staff Meeting, when announcing the results of the examination during the school year of 1952-53, acted “λαβών υπ’ όψιν το Βασιλικόν Διάταγμα, ημερ. 8/7/1955 περί διεξαγωγής εξετάσεων”.³⁶⁷ It should be noted that the above order was also followed by the High School of Pafos as well as the High Schools of Cyprus, which were recognised by the Greek Government.³⁶⁸ The Greek legislation on this issue was also applied in the High School of Polis Chrysochous. This was foreseen through Article 3 of the School’s Statute, which states that “for the exams, the classification, the final exams, the enrolments, the transfer registrations, and the analytical timetable, it is governed by the Laws and the Regulations of the Greek Ministry of Religion and Education”.³⁶⁹

2.3 SECOND CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS: AN OVERVIEW EXAMINATION OF PAFOS’ PROVINCE EDUCATIONAL OPERATION AND CONTENT

The difficult financial conditions that prevailed over Cyprus during 1931-1934,³⁷⁰ caused a small increase of student enrollment during the period under investigation and a high

³⁶⁶ *Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the High School of Pafos*, 2 October 1943.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁸ *Newspaper of the Government of Greece*, 173, 8 July 1955, pp. 1313-35.

³⁶⁹ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous*, 12 July 1953.

³⁷⁰ See p. 7 of the thesis.

percentage of withdrawal rates until 1940.³⁷¹ This opinion is based on the fact that in a period where the financial problems influenced most sectors of the Cypriot society, education, which is greatly related to the economic situation of a family, could not possibly avoid the negative consequences of these problems.³⁷² It should also be noted that in Pafos, a province that was predominantly agricultural, these problems were particularly immense due to the drought and the reduction in the prices of rural products.³⁷³ The situation was worsened by the fact that in Pafos, a very big part of the cultivable land (*tsiflikia*) was owned by few people and the monasteries.³⁷⁴ In order to confront the problems caused by the bad financial situation, the farmers of Pafos were forced to raise loans at interest or mortgage loans³⁷⁵ from the Rural Bank, which could only lent small amount of money.³⁷⁶ Finally, another negative result of the economic crisis of the years 1931-1934 was rapid urbanisation,³⁷⁷ as it was the case of Malta.³⁷⁸

Moreover, negative consequences in the education of Pafos were also caused by the social environment.³⁷⁹ The rate of illiteracy, for example, was one of the highest on the island.³⁸⁰

³⁷¹ See pp. 98-100 of the thesis.

³⁷² Alastos reports that the farmers faced the problem of hunger and thousands of animals were killed due to the lack of provenders. See Doros Alastos, *Cyprus in History: A Survey of 5000 Years*, London: Zeno Publishers 1976, p. 359.

³⁷³ *Pafos* newspaper gave emphasis on the problem of the cereals' price and continuously asked from the Government to take drastic measures in order to help the farmers, whom it considered them as the "σπονδυλική στήλη της οικονομίας". See *Pafos*, 24 May 1934, p. 1, 31 May 1934, p. 2, 14 June 1934, p. 2, 21 June 1934, p. 1 and 19 July 1934, p. 3.

³⁷⁴ "Το αγροτικό ζήτημα και η Πάφος", in *Pafos*, 20 January 1933. See also *Pafos*, 3 February 1933, p. 2 and 17 February 1933, p. 3.

³⁷⁵ G. P. Georgallidis, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985, p. 304. See also *Pafos*, 21 March 1935, p. 2.

³⁷⁶ See Kyriakos M. Angastiniotis, *Ο Συνεργατισμός, γέννησις και ανάπτυξις του εν Κύπρω*, Lefkosia 1965, pp. 65-66. See also *Pafos*, 21 June 1934, p. 2 and 30 September 1936, p. 3.

³⁷⁷ See *Pafos*, 4 November 1932, p. 3, 24 February 1933, p. 3 and *Census* 1921, p.44 and *Census* 1946, p. 8.

³⁷⁸ See R. G. Sultana, *Education and National Development: historical and critical perspective on vocational schooling in Malta*, Msida, Malta: Miverna Publications 1992.

³⁷⁹ See Androula Paschalidou, "Αποικιοκρατία και Εκπαίδευση", *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 27, 15 June 2003.

³⁸⁰ For the high percentage of illiteracy of Pafos, see special report in *Cyprus, Census of Population and Agriculture 1946, Report and Tables*, London, 1949, p. 28.

However, as it has been aforementioned with regard to the elementary education in the 1930s, student enrollment was increased. The main reasons for this development were the measures that had been undertaken by the Colonial Government to confront with the difficulties and the improvement of the socio-economic situation in the province of Pafos. The increase rate of the schoolgirl enrollment after 1940, which was one of the highest in Cyprus, was indicative of the improvement of the elementary education in Pafos.³⁸¹

Besides its political expediency, the “Περί Δημοτικής Εκπαιδύσεως Νόμος 18/1933”³⁸² contributed to a great extent in the development and growth of the elementary education in Pafos as well. Under the provisions of the Law, the elementary education would be provided free of charge, which would help in the progressive implementation of obligatory education.³⁸³ It is worth mentioning, that obligatory education was first time applied during the school year 1959-60, when the Greek Educational Council undertook the responsibilities for the Greek education following the treaties of Zürich and London.³⁸⁴ The Office of Education took several steps in order to implement the aforementioned decision. It increased, for example, the lending funds from the money received by the school taxation. By applying these measures, the Government intended, “the establishment of schools and hiring of school teachers even at small villages and to help the local Committees as to the construction of new school buildings”.³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ See Tables 13 and 14 of the thesis and Andreas Chatzithomas, “Η γυναίκα της Κύπρου”, *Chroniko*, 130, 30 November 2003.

³⁸² “Περί Δημοτικής Εκπαιδύσεως Νόμος” (18/1933), *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 29 May 1933, pp. 309-10.

³⁸³ The obligatory Elementary education was established under “Περί Υποχρεωτικής Εκπαιδύσεως Νόμος” of 1931, which was included in the Law of 1933. See *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1932-1933, p. 6.

³⁸⁴ See Konstantinos Spyridakis, *Έκθεση του Γραφείου Ελληνικής Παιδείας κατά το σχολικόν έτος 1959-60*, Cyprus 10960, p. 11.

³⁸⁵ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1932-33, p. 4.

In 1933, the Government's decision to offer the textbooks free of charge could be regarded as another step that contributed to the development of the elementary education in Pafos. Furthermore, the *Report of the Office of Education* reached the same conclusion, by stating that, "many poor parents, for whom the cost of the books was previously an obstacle, now send their children to school. The increase is remarkable in the province of Pafos, which includes many poor villages where the increase reached 13%".³⁸⁶ The money needed for buying the textbooks would be therefore included in the school taxation that was imposed on all the taxpayers of the province of Pafos.³⁸⁷ Moreover, the establishment of a Mobile Dental Unit in 1950³⁸⁸ was a measure undertaken by the Government in order to reinforce the education by improving the health conditions of the students. The MDU occasionally visited many of the far away schools of the province of Pafos.³⁸⁹ Moreover, the establishment of the School Medical Service in 1956 and the supply of the elementary schools with audiovisual means, contributed to a large extent in the growth of education.³⁹⁰

The improvement of the socio-economic conditions that were observed in Pafos after 1940³⁹¹ can explain the schooling development³⁹² during that period as well. Indeed, the various military projects that were constructed by the English for the needs of World War II, especially in the province of Pafos, had a positive impact in the economy of the province, which had been greatly undermined during the 1930s.³⁹³ Apart from the above, the conscription of many residents of Pafos in the English army, resulted in the aid of the

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ MDU. Androula Paschalidou, "Αποικιοκρατία και Εκπαίδευση", *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 27, 15 June 2003, p. 15.

³⁸⁹ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1950-51, p. 9.

³⁹⁰ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1955-56, p. 13 and 1956-57, p. 5.

³⁹¹ *Pafos*, 7 August 1941, p. 2, 25 March 1943, p. 2, 19 May 1945, p. 3.

³⁹² See Table 15 of the thesis.

³⁹³ Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, "Παλμεροκρατία", *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 30, 6 July 2003, p.13.

financial situation of their families, while at the same time, the new roads that were constructed after 1940, contributed to the growth of transportation and communication connecting the villages of Pafos with Ktima.³⁹⁴ In addition, the provided medical services were improved with the establishment of many rural medical centers in the big villages of the province.³⁹⁵

As a result of the recovery of the economy, urbanism begun dramatically to increase after 1934 and new job positions had been created.³⁹⁶ The new environment helped the residents of Pafos (mostly the farmers) to improve their social and economic situation.³⁹⁷ Improvement was also observed regarding women's social position. The number of the women employees was increased,³⁹⁸ especially in professions such as the weaving and manufacturing of silk textures. These textures were manufactured only in Pafos because of the sericulture growth and were famous and in great demand in Cyprus.³⁹⁹

Another important result from the economic recovery was the development of the elementary education regarding the increase of student enrollment during the aforementioned period. Specifically, in Peyia during the period of 1940-60, an important increase of the number of schoolgirls of the elementary school was observed by approximately 67%.⁴⁰⁰ Apart from this, it has been observed a reduction of the number of parents that were farmers, while at the same

³⁹⁴ *Pafos*, 7 August 1941, p. 3.

³⁹⁵ These rural medical centres had been established after 1940 in Panayia and Kelokedara.

³⁹⁶ See *Pafos*, 4 November 1932, p. 3, 24 February 1933, p. 3 and *Census* 1921, p.44 and *Census* 1946, p. 8.

³⁹⁷ From 1931 onwards was observed a reduction of the number of those dealing with agriculture and increase of the craftsmen, contractors, drivers of heavy vehicles, tradesmen, governmental employees and policemen. See *Cyprus, Report of the Census 1931*, Lefkosia, 1932, pp. 54-62.

³⁹⁸ Andreas Chatzithomas, "Η γυναίκα της Κύπρου", *Chroniko*, 130, 30 November 2003, pp. 10-13.

³⁹⁹ In 1931, 143 women were dealing with the manufacture of silk textures (clothe materials) in Pafos, the only ones in Cyprus. See *Cyprus, Report of the Census 1931*, Lefkosia, 1932, p. 57.

⁴⁰⁰ Andreas Chatzithomas, "Η Εκπαίδευση στην Τουρκοκρατία και Αγγλοκρατία", *Chroniko*, 120, 21 September 2003, pp. 19-22.

time there was an increase in the number of parents that were traders, craftsmen, professionals and employees,⁴⁰¹ which shows a change in the composition of the community's population as well.

During the period of 1931-1952 there was an increase of 186% in the number of schoolgirl enrollment in the community of Drousia, while it has also been observed a change in the rates of the parents' employment per profession.⁴⁰² It is worth mentioning that the presence of many expatriates who emigrated in the 1920s in countries like Egypt, Africa and America also contributed to the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the above communities.⁴⁰³ In addition, during the period that the thesis examines (1931-1960), there was also an increase in schoolgirl enrollment in Panayia, which reached 204%. This development was achieved due to the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the community, because several governmental services were operated in the area. Services such as the forest police station, the Panayia Police Station, the health-office and the rural medical centers, helped develop Panayia into a rural centre and created new employment opportunities.⁴⁰⁴

This chapter presented the timetables, curricula and the language of instruction of the elementary education schools in order to reveal certain issues. Their investigation would verify one of the main objectives of the thesis; namely to demonstrate the policy that the

⁴⁰¹ In Peyia, during the period of 1931-1940, the proportion was as follows: 60% were farmers and 40% other professions, while after 1940 the proportion became 46% to 54%. See *Students' Name List, Elementary School of Peyia* from 1928-49.

⁴⁰² In Drousia the proportion was as follows: In 1931, 41% were farmers and 59% other professions, while in 1941 the proportion became 46% to 54%. See *Students' Name List, Elementary School of Drousia* from 1931-52.

⁴⁰³ Androula Paschalidou, "Αποικιοκρατία και Εκπαίδευση", *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 27, 15 June 2003, p. 14.

⁴⁰⁴ See *Students' Name List, Elementary School of Panayia*, 1931-1960.

English followed on the aforementioned issues. Regarding the issue of the timetable and curricula, the disclosure of the content of certain documents of the Colonial Government reveals the intentions of the British, who introduced the new curricula in 1935. The first document is a letter sent by the Director of Education Culleen to the Colonial Secretary (dated 24 December 1934). The Director in his letter asks from the Secretary to reject the proposals made by the educational advisers Loizos Filippou and G. Chrysafinis. Both scholars had disagreed with the Director's will to join the Greek History course with another one. The argument put forward by Culleen was that, "the counsellors want children to concentrate on ancient Greece and Byzantium".⁴⁰⁵ This argument clearly depicts that the British were most afraid of the Greek influence over the Cypriots and the intention of the Director of Education was to suppress this influence by serving British political interests.⁴⁰⁶ However, they were still interested in the development of the educational system.⁴⁰⁷

Indicative of the efforts of the English in keeping secret their real intentions on the issue of the suspension of the Greek history, is the content of the *Confidential* letter of the Minister of the English Colonies to the Governor of Cyprus on 1 June 1943.⁴⁰⁸ On a question of a Deputy of the English Parliament about the History course, the Minister of Colonies answered that "was laid on broader foundations and from an educational point of view the new arrangements involve important progress in the old system and a better and more balanced analytical timetable".⁴⁰⁹ This answer aimed to be announced and for this reason it was

⁴⁰⁵ SA1:731/1934/1 and SA1:867/36, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁴⁰⁶ Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, "Παλμεροκρατία", *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 30, 6 July 2003, pp. 13 & 15.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ SA1:1230/34, 25 November 1943, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

formulated in such a way as to withhold the real intentions of the English educational policy.⁴¹⁰

Another important document that shows the British Government's intentions, is one from the *File of Correspondence* of the Colonial Secretary (dated 27 August 1934), in which the Deputy Governor of Cyprus put forth his opinions on the issue of teaching the History and English Language course. In this document the English official, stated that he could not understand why they should be taught French and German history, and expressed the opinion that "the timetable should equally include English and Cypriot history, whilst the history of other countries should be incorporated in general European history".⁴¹¹ He also added that emphasis should be laid on teaching English History. Moreover, he asked the chapter on the American Revolution "against the British Crown" to be erased and replaced with a chapter analysing how "England emerged as a winner from European colonial competition".⁴¹²

In the same document, the Deputy Governor expressed his disagreement on the proposal of the Director of Education to increase the teaching periods of the English Language course at the expense of the Greek one. The reason for the disagreement was the political reaction that such a decision of the Government would bring about, and the criticism that it would cause. Obviously, these actions show that the Colonial Government tried to exercise propaganda by removing from the curricula anything that could lower the image of Great Britain in students' conscience.⁴¹³ At the same time, the Greek History course would be suspended since it would

⁴¹⁰ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, p. 78.

⁴¹¹ SA1:731/34/2, 27 August 1934, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

⁴¹³ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp. 82-83.

be included in the General European History one, and emphasis would be given only on the British and Cypriot History.

Apart from the aforementioned intentions of the British, it should be pointed out, that by introducing the new timetables and curricula in the elementary education, there was an effort to introduce a more practical direction, which would be closer to the needs of life. The elementary education of Cyprus finally implemented the theories of the “σχολείο εργασίας”, obtaining some independence from secondary education.⁴¹⁴ The need for connecting school with the needs of the people was portrayed by the introduction of the Greek publication of the new curricula.

Concerning the language of instruction, the new curricula specified that the reading books “for the classes a-d will be written in demotic language and for the classes d-f in *katharevousa*”,⁴¹⁵ which expressed the linguistic policy that was determined by the regulations of the Law 5991/1933 of the Ministry of Education of Greece.⁴¹⁶ Even though the demotic language and generally the Demotic movement had strong supporters in Cyprus, in practice, the teaching of the language was limited. Demotic language was introduced only in the first four grades of the elementary school, while in the other two grades, the language of instruction continued to be *katharevousa*, despite the proposals of Loizos Filippou to the Educational Council for the opposite. It is worth mentioning that Loizos Filippou was one of the strongest supporters of the demotic language and the Memorandum that he sent to the Director of Education was one of his actions that confirmed his support for the introduction of

⁴¹⁴ The theories of John Dewey, Kerchensteiner, Alexandros Delmouzos and Dimitris Glinos were well known to the schoolteachers of Cyprus before 1935. Charalambos Papadopoulos, *Εκπαιδευτική Πεντηκονταετηρίς*, Lefkosia 1975, pp. 50-51. See also *Agogi*, 30-31, April-May 1926, pp. 4-7.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ Christos Lefas, *Ιστορία της Εκπαιδύσεως*, Athens 1942, pp. 461-62.

the demotic language in schools.⁴¹⁷ It is indicative that in 1940, the New Year's publication of the magazine *Pafos*, which he published, was dedicated to the "fifty year anniversary of the demotic system".⁴¹⁸ This publication brought together scholars and literary men from Greece and Cyprus that wrote articles with regard to the issue of the language.⁴¹⁹

The Grammar course was conducted in a creative way, and not by memorising as it used to be. In the 6th class, the teaching was conducted without textbooks, a method which the older schoolteachers opposed to.⁴²⁰ It should also be mentioned that since 1935 the supporting textbooks were withdrawn, because they were considered as anti-pedagogical, while the Greek textbooks in Comprehension and Reading were always in use, despite the efforts of the Office of Education for their replacement.⁴²¹

In secondary education, the schooling development of the students, the timetables and curricula should be examined within the socio-economic and cultural context of the period under investigation. The results of the examination of these issues support that in the 1930s the effect of the socio-economic conditions on secondary education was negative, while in the 1940s and onwards there appeared to be positive. As it has been aforementioned,⁴²² during the period of 1931-37, the number of student enrollment at the High School of Pafos was decreased; the schoolboys from 69 decreased to 42 and the schoolgirls from 50 to 28. This decrease was a result of the measures undertaken by the School Committee of Pafos in order to face the financial problems created by the consequences of the economic crisis following

⁴¹⁷ Charalambos Papadopoulos, *Εκπαιδευτική Πεντηκονταετηρίς*, Lefkosia 1975, pp. 50-51.

⁴¹⁸ *Pafos*, 124, January 1940, p. 2.

⁴¹⁹ Kostas Varnalis, Rigas Golfis, Yannis Skarimbass, Stratis Mirivilis and several scholars from Cyprus were publishing in the periodical *Pafos*.

⁴²⁰ Charalambos Papadopoulos, *Εκπαιδευτική Πεντηκονταετηρίς*, Lefkosia 1975, pp. 251 & 265-66. See also SA1:685/32, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

⁴²¹ Charalambos Papadopoulos, *Εκπαιδευτική Πεντηκονταετηρίς*, Lefkosia 1975, p. 7.

⁴²² See Table 25 of the thesis.

the rejection of the governmental proposals in 1936. One of these measures was the increase of the tuition fees. In 1932, the total amount of the tuition fees was 300 CYP per year, while in 1934 it was 428 CYP and, finally, in 1939 it was increased to 503 CYP.⁴²³ The result of these increases was the immediate reaction of the parents, who in 1936, after sending letters to the School Committee, they threatened that they would withdraw their children from the school.⁴²⁴

Moreover, the high rates of students' withdrawal were affected by the aforementioned economic reasons. As it has been mentioned above,⁴²⁵ the rates of withdrawal from school were particularly high during the periods of 1931-1937 and 1950-1956. These high rates of dropouts that were observed during 1931-1937 occurred because of the bad financial conditions of the period and the increase of the tuition fees by the School Committee. In addition, the high rates of dropouts during the period of 1950-1956, can be attributed to the rough situation that prevailed in the administration of the High School of Pafos during 1953-55, due to the events for the Crowning of the Queen of England. The rates of the schoolgirl dropouts remained high and only during the last period a small decrease was observed. The negative repercussion of the economic outcomes is also evident from the fact that in 1932 the Physics course was withdrawn "due to financial issues", as reported in the *Proceedings of the School Committees of Pafos*.⁴²⁶

⁴²³ 55 CYP from the 1st grade, 83 CYP from the 2nd grade, 98 CYP from the 3rd grade, 108 CYP from the 4th grade, 73 CYP from the 5th and 86 CYP from the 6th grade. See *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 29 October 1938.

⁴²⁴ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 2 September 1936.

⁴²⁵ See Table 24 of the thesis.

⁴²⁶ *Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos*, 2 July 1932.

The increasing rates regarding the student enrollment in secondary education in Pafos after 1940 should be examined within the wider socio-economic context of that period. Apart from the positive effect that the improvements of the economic conditions had on the schooling development, the social changes that have been observed during World War II and afterwards had positive effect on the educational development as well.⁴²⁷ The interaction, for instance, of the residents of Pafos with soldiers and tradesmen from other countries in the 1940s and the return of the veteran Pafian volunteers in 1945-46, who returned with more money and ideas, could easily influence the social and thus the schooling development of the citizens.⁴²⁸ Another social change was the integration of a high percentage of women in the workforce of Pafos, which had a beneficial effect on the social and economic situation of their families.⁴²⁹ Indicative of the positive effects that the socio-economic conditions had on secondary education in Pafos since 1940 onwards, it was the important increase of the rate of student enrollment in the High School of Pafos.⁴³⁰ Table 23 (p. 109) shows that in the period of 1931-1960, there was a significant increase in the rate of student enrollment in the province of Pafos. Particularly important was the increase of the number of student enrollment in Pafos' province in the 1950s. Indeed, the highest increase of the rate of schoolgirl enrollment became noticeable after the year 1955.⁴³¹ It should be underlined, however, that the events in 1955-59 were to a great extent one of the major reasons for the increase of the school population in the secondary schools of Pafos. This was due to the fact that the schoolteachers promoted the need of education for national reasons.⁴³²

⁴²⁷ P. Pavlidis, "Το Γυμνάσιον Πάφου μόνον", *Eleftheria*, 8 November 1960, p. 3.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ See *Cyprus, Census of Population and Agriculture 1946, Report and Tables*, London, 1949, pp. 8 & 53-59.

⁴³⁰ See Table 25 of the thesis.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

⁴³² Nikolaos P. Vasileiadis, *Εθνομάρτυρες του Κυπριακού Έπους 1955-59*, Athens: Adelfotis Theologon "ο Sotir" 1992, pp. 45-69.

Regarding the predominance of the classic direction of the secondary schools in Pafos' province, such as the High School of Pafos, the AESPC of Polis Chrysochous and the College of Pafos (after 1948-49), political-national reasons contributed to emphasise on certain courses such as classical literature, philosophy and language.⁴³³ The classic tradition of the High School of Pafos was one of the main means for the reinforcement of the students' national morale.⁴³⁴ During the period under investigation, this tradition was strengthened even more with the dynamic involvement in the educational matters of Pafos, of the Metropolitans of Pafos, Iakovos, Leontios, Kleopas and Fotios.⁴³⁵ Particularly important role in the preservation of the classic orientation of the High School of Pafos played the Metropolitite Leontios, who was one of the strongest supporters of the Union.⁴³⁶ This important role was particularly evident in 1936, when discussing the issue of the choice of the High School's direction and supported the sustenance of the classic type. Indicative of the favour that he showed to the classic letters, was the establishment in 1933 by himself of the "Ιακώβειο Διαγώνισμα"⁴³⁷ to the honour of his predecessor Metropolitite Iakovos.

According to the competition's regulations, the "Ιακώβειο Διαγώνισμα" was established "in order to award an annual prize in Greek studies to the best senior student of Pafos Gymnasium".⁴³⁸ For the same reasons, but especially for supporting the Religious course, the Metropolitite Leontios established the "Λεόντειο Θρησκευτικό Διαγώνισμα"⁴³⁹ in 1935 for

⁴³³ Magda Kitromilidou, *Τα Ελληνικά γράμματα στον αλύτρωτο Ελληνισμό – Η περίπτωση του Γυμνασίου Πάφου*, Lefkosia 1984, pp. 23-25.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, "Αρχιεπίσκοπος Λεόντιος Α'", *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 24, 25 May 2003.

⁴³⁷ For the establishment and the terms of the "Ιακώβειο Διαγώνισμα" see *Code of Metropolitite Leontios, File of the Holy Bishopric of Pafos*, p. 19.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ For the terms of the "Λεόντειο Θρησκευτικό Διαγώνισμα" see *Code of Metropolitite Leontios, File of the Holy Bishopric of Pafos*, 15 January 1935.

rewarding a graduate student of the High School of Pafos, “who is going to prove other than his/hers noble ethos and regular church-going, the biggest grade in religious studies in both written and oral exams”.⁴⁴⁰ Apart from the above, Metropolitan Leontios’ eagerness in the classic letters is also displayed in his *Circular*⁴⁴¹ that he sent to priests and schoolteachers. In particular, he asked the schoolteachers to educate the students, “ποτίζοντες αυτήν το γάλα της προγονικής ημών ευσεβείας και ανδρίζοντες αυτή διά του νάματος της προγονικής σοφίας”.⁴⁴² Another reason for the establishment of the classic High School in Pafos was also the personal contribution of the Presidents and members of the School Committees, who always had particular preference to the classic letters. Indicative is the fact that the rejection of the governmental plan by the School Committee of Pafos in 1936, was due to the attitude held by Loizos Filippou, P. Pashalidis and Nikolaos. I. Nikolaidis, who were strong supporters of the ancient Greek language and philosophy.⁴⁴³

The classic direction of the secondary schools in Pafos, with the exception of the High School of Commerce of Polemi, “was offering the subject of Ancient Greek an important position in timetables”.⁴⁴⁴ However, the other important development with regard to the curricula was the establishment of High Schools of Commerce or the establishment of commercial departments as part of the existed High Schools. Another finding is that the High School of Pafos, the College of Pafos since the year 1948-49,⁴⁴⁵ and the AESPC of Polis Chrysochous followed the corresponding curricula of the schools of Greece. On the contrary, the High

⁴⁴⁰ *Code of Metropolitan Leontios, File of the Holy Bishopric of Pafos*, 15 January 1935.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 23 August 1931.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴⁴³ Andreas Chatzithomas, “Πνευματική Πάφος: Μορφές που σφράγισαν μια εποχή”, *Chroniko*, 54, 9 June 2002, pp. 16-21.

⁴⁴⁴ Magda Kitromilidou, *Τα Ελληνικά γράμματα στον αλύτρωτο Ελληνισμό – Η περίπτωση του Γυμνασίου Πάφου*, Lefkosia 1984, p. 37.

⁴⁴⁵ The College of Pafos adopted, to a large extent, the curricula of both the High School of Pedoulas and Samouil’s High School of Commerce (Lefkosia).

School of Commerce of Polemi followed the curricula set by the Office of Education of the Colonial Government until 1959. The commercial direction of the school was established by the Office of Education for promoting the policy for the establishment of commercial schools,⁴⁴⁶ but also to wane the Greek influence, which the British authorities considered it as an obstacle to their strategic interests.⁴⁴⁷ These reasons encouraged the preservation of the High School of Commerce of Polemi aiming at the controversy between that school and the rest of the High Schools of Pafos' province, i.e. the High School of Pafos and the AESPC of Polis Chrysochous.

In addition, the predominance of the classic direction of the secondary schools in Pafos should be classified in the wider cultural context that prevailed mainly in Ktima, where the great influence of the “classical human ideal” was very evident.⁴⁴⁸ The architecture, for example, was intensely influenced by the ancient Greek style, portrayed by the public buildings that could be considered as a landmark in the entry of Ktima even today.⁴⁴⁹ What is more, the Association *Κινύρας*, which was founded in 1932 by Loizos Filippou, developed many activities in line with the “κλασικό ανθρώπινο ιδεώδες”.⁴⁵⁰ It organised an athletic event called *Πάφια*, which was the biggest athletic event in Pafos, as well as athletic competitions in many villages of the province in which students of the elementary schools participated. In 1936 and 1946, *Κινύρας* organised the *Παγκόπριους Αγώνες* with attendance

⁴⁴⁶ In Great Britain, after the *Hadow Report* of 1926, the Local Educational Authorities focused on establishing more schools that laid emphasis on Natural Sciences. See B. Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940*, Lawrence and Wishart: London, 1978, pp. 255-70.

⁴⁴⁷ Andreas Chatzithomas, “Η Εκπαίδευση στην Τουρκοκρατία και Αγγλοκρατία”, *Chroniko*, 120, 21 September 2003, pp. 20-25.

⁴⁴⁸ Andreas Chatzithomas, “Πνευματική Πάφος: Μορφές που σφράγισαν μια εποχή”, *Chroniko*, 54, 9 June 2002, p. 18.

⁴⁴⁹ A mixture of Ionian, Corinthian and Doric styles is the High School of Pafos (Lyceum A' Etharch Makarios III), the Nikolaideio High School, the Dimitreion Elementary school, the Municipal Library, the Town Hall, the Column of 28 October 1940, the Propylaea of Iakoveio Stadium and the Kostis Palamas Square.

⁴⁵⁰ See Loizos Filippou, *Λογοδοσία των πεπραγμένων του “Κινύρα”*, Lefkosia 1939.

of athletes from Cyprus, mainly aiming at the promotion of the ancient Olympic spirit.⁴⁵¹ The philological memorials of Greek men of letters aimed also at the promotion of the humanitarian ideal, such as Kostis Palamas, A. Pallis, Z. Papantoniou and the Cypriot poet Vasilis Michailidis.⁴⁵² Additionally, *Κινύρας* organised academic lectures for scientific, historical and folklore issues with speakers from Cyprus and Greece.⁴⁵³ The philological and musical soirees, where many men of letters and artists from Pafos and the other cities of Cyprus participated, were also a huge success.⁴⁵⁴

Furthermore, *Κινύρας* maintained a theatrical branch, which held performances in Ktima, rural regions of the province and other cities of Cyprus. It is also worth mentioning that Loizos Filippou together with the man of letters Antis Pernaris published the philological magazine *Πάφος* in the years of 1935-1947.⁴⁵⁵ This magazine together with the *Κυπριακά Γράμματα*, were the most important literary magazines of Cyprus of that time.⁴⁵⁶ *Κινύρας* also published the lecture series “Περί των κορυφαίων Κυπρίων φιλοσόφων και πεζογράφων” in 1937⁴⁵⁷ and the series “Περί της Κυπριακής ποιήσεως” in 1938.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵¹ See *Pafos*, 30 January 1947, p. 3.

⁴⁵² See Yiannis Katsouris and Pavlos Paraskevas, *Βασιλῆς Μιχαηλίδης: Η ζωή και το έργο του*, vol. A, Lefkosia: Ekdoseis Xr. Andreou ²2002 & Yiannis Katsouris and Pavlos Paraskevas, *Βασιλῆς Μιχαηλίδης: Άπαντα*, vol. B, Lefkosia: Ekdoseis Xr. Andreou ²2002.

⁴⁵³ See *Pafos*, 13 December 1947, p. 4. See also Loizos Filippou, *Λογοδοσία των πεπραγμένων του “Κινύρα”*, Lefkosia 1939. Some of the topics of the discussions were the following: “Πρέπει να δοθεί ψήφος εις τας γυναίκας;”, “Είναι η Δημοκρατία το ιδεώδες πολίτευμα;”, “Πόλεμος ή ειρήνη;”, and “Πρέπει να καταργηθεί η θανατική ποινή;”. See *Pafos*, 17 November 1945, p. 3, 29 November 1945, p. 4, 6 December 1945, p. 4, 27 December 1945, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁴ The music-philological events included songs, recitations etc. See *Pafos*, 31 March 1933, p. 3, 4 April 1933, p. 4, 21 April 1933, p. 4.

⁴⁵⁵ Andreas Chatzithomas, “Πνευματική Πάφος: Μορφές που σφράγισαν μια εποχή”, *Chroniko*, 54, 9 June 2002, p. 21.

⁴⁵⁶ In the periodical *Pafos*, Cypriots and Greek poets, such as Nikos Kavvadias, Kostas Varnalis, Myrriotissa, Tasos Papatsonis, Miltiadis Malakasis, Georgos Athanas published several of their poems. See Kostas Ierokipriotis, “Το φιλολογικό περιοδικό *Πάφος*”, *Pnevmatiki Kypros*, (306-307), June-July 1986, pp. 149-53.

⁴⁵⁷ Kypros Chrysanthis, *Σωματεία και Οργανώσεις της Κύπρου 1878-1955: Διαλέξεις Λαϊκού Πανεπιστημίου*, vol. 2, Ekdosi Dimou Lefkosias: Lefkosia 1986, pp. 33-35.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

The “κλασικό ανθρώπινο ιδεώδες” was also noticeable in the intellectual and artistic events held by the schools. The High School of Pafos specifically, created a tradition with the performances of theatrical acts of mainly ancient tragedies. Among the acts that were held were *Ιριγένεια εν Ταύροις* (1939), *Ηλέκτρα* (1940), *Αντιγόνη* (1945), *Φοίνισσαι* (1946), *Ζήτω η Ελλάδα*, (1951), *Θυσία του Αβραάμ* (1952), *Όρκος του Πεθαμένου* (1952), *Μήδεια* (1953) and *Τρωάδες* (1954). Cultural events were also organised by the Associations *Πάφος* and *Ευσέβεια*, which included lectures and musical concerts,⁴⁵⁹ as well as the political parties and the trade-union organisations of Pafos. The *Σοσιαλιστική Πρωτοπορεία*, the *Εθνική Παφιακή Ένωση Νέων* (ΕΠΕΝ), which belonged to the Mayor Christodoulos Galatopoulos, and AKEL organised series of lectures and celebrations of national anniversaries. The above mentioned parties and organisations had also theatrical sections that held performances in the province of Pafos.⁴⁶⁰

The Mayor of Pafos, Christodoulos Galatopoulos (1943-1953),⁴⁶¹ was also a supporter of the ancient Greek spirit. Poet himself, with rich literary production,⁴⁶² founded in 1946 the Municipal Library of Pafos and established the *Παλαμικές Γιορτές*, which begun in 1936 by Loizos Filippou, and they continue to be held from 1951 till our days by the *Φυσιολατρικός Πνευματικός Όμιλος Πάφου*.⁴⁶³ In the same spirit, many *Μορφωτικοί Σύλλογοι* had established in the 1940s and developed intellectual and artistic activity in many villages of the province. In addition, the foundation of the Rural Unions, such as the *Παναγροτική Ένωση Κύπρου* that was founded in 1942 and the *Ένωση Κυπρίων Αγροτών* that was founded in 1949,

⁴⁵⁹ See *Pafos*, 22 July 1932, p. 3, 9 December 1932, p. 2 and 6 January 1933, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁰ See *Nea Politiki Epiteorisi*, 1 April 1944, p. 3.

⁴⁶¹ Giorgos Giorgi, “Χριστόδουλος Γαλατόπουλος”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 5, 5 January 2003.

⁴⁶² Christodoulos Galatopoulos published the poetic collections, *Τα τραγούδια της φυλακής* (1936), *Στύγιες Κραυγές* (1938), *Carmen Undarum* (1938), *Τα επιθαλάμια* (1939) και *Το γράμμα του στρατιώτη και ο δρόμος της Δαμασκού* (1940).

⁴⁶³ Andreas Fylaktou, “Λοΐζος Φιλίππου”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 19, 13 April 2003, p. 8.

contributed to the broadening of the *Μορφωτικών Συλλόγων*.⁴⁶⁴ The aims of these organisations, “except for the resolution of agricultural problems, was also the intellectual development of their members”.⁴⁶⁵ In conclusion, the Greek-Cypriots education in Pafos’ province was strong enough to survive and improve not only through schools, but also through the socio-cultural development due the initiatives of its scholar-citizens.

⁴⁶⁴ Kypros Chrysanthis, *Σωματεία και Οργανώσεις της Κύπρου 1878-1955: Διαλέξεις Λαϊκού Πανεπιστημίου*, vol. 2, Ekdoti Dimou Lefkosias: Lefkosia 1986, pp. 283-84.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of the thesis was the examination, assessment and evaluation of the Greek-Cypriots elementary and secondary education in Pafos' province during the last period of the British administration (1931-1960). The research focused on three main axes as these were outlined in the aforementioned chapters: the administration, the operation and the content of education in the province of Pafos. On the one hand, the first chapter examined the development of the administration of education in Pafos and observed the way of its organisation within the historical context that included both the Church and the Colonial Government's involvement. On the other hand, the second chapter analysed the education's operation in Pafos' province and particularly the school's management and the type of the schools that operated that time. It also presented and analysed, in the light of the socio-economic context, the student enrolment and withdrawal as well as the number of the schools established and operated. Moreover, the second chapter examined the content of the education in Pafos' province, i.e. the timetables and curricula as well as the educational methods, which were implemented in the elementary and secondary educational schools and investigated the probable effects from the timetables and methods of the corresponding schools of the rest of Cyprus and Greece. Last but not least, it investigated the probability of the influence of certain policies from the English educational system to mainly secondary schools and tried to determine the policy that the Colonial Government sought to impose in the secondary education of Pafos.

In particular, the first chapter underlined that the dissolution of the Legislative Council,⁴⁶⁶ which came immediately after the riots of October 1931, enable the Governor to assume

⁴⁶⁶ "Civil Disturbances in Cyprus in October", *Parliamentary Paper Cmd. 4045*, 1931, p. 2.

power over education. Through the Education Law of 1933 rigid centralisation was imposed on the Greek-Cypriots educational system. Under the provisions of this Law, a systematic shifting of responsibilities was observed from the region to the centre. The provisions of the Law caused the decrease of the citizens' participation and involvement in the education's administration.

Chapter one also revealed that the Colonial Government of Cyprus under the Law 18/1933 implemented the process of the centralisation of the administration of the elementary education, by placing under its complete control all the mechanisms regarding the employment of the schoolteachers, their payments as well as the appointment of the members of the School Committees. The action of the Government to proceed with the establishment of the aforementioned Law should be seen under the umbrella of the wider political feelings of that period, and it mainly should be correlated with what had happened during the revolt of October 1931, where the students of the schools of Cyprus had played a major role.⁴⁶⁷ The chapter also considered the intention of the Colonial Government with the enactment of the new Law 25/1935 with respect to the secondary education. Government's intention was the completion of the governmental control on the educational issues of the island, specifically after the completion of the process of centralisation in elementary education by the Law 18/1933.

Concerning the effects of the Law 18/1933 on the elementary education of the villages of Pafos, we can refer to them as being positive, because of the increased rate of education's growth to several villages of the province. The Rural Committee had the general

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

responsibility for the school of the village. It was obliged to take the appropriate actions for the smooth operation of the school in accordance to the indications of the Inspector of the Office of Education.⁴⁶⁸ The most important, however, provisions of the Law that contributed to the growth of the elementary education in Pafos, were the reinforcement of the special governmental funds (Education Funds), which granted loans to the Rural Committees for the construction of school buildings, as well as the control that was enforced on the financial management of the schools.⁴⁶⁹ The foregoing provisions contributed to the increase of the communities who had elementary schools.

The foundation of secondary schools, particularly those of a business direction, both in Pafos and in the rest of the island, was an important development in the educational matters of Cyprus in 1931-1960. During the period of 1940-1960, an important improvement in the economic situation of the island had been observed, which contributed, to a certain degree, to the improvement of the standard of living.⁴⁷⁰ The beneficial impact of the economic improvement was more obvious in the secondary education, which exhibited an impressive increase both in the number of new secondary schools and in the number of students. An example of this growth is that only in Pafos, except from the High School of Pafos, the College of Pafos, the High School of Polis Chrysochous and the High School of Commerce of Polemi had been founded.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ *Report of the Department of Education*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1932-33, p. 6.

⁴⁷⁰ See Andreas Fantis, *To 1948, χρόνος οξύτατης ταξικής αναμέτρησης*, Lefkosia 1979 and Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης των κοριτσιών στην Κύπρο: Μελέτη της πορείας Κοινωνικού και Εκπαιδευτικού εκσυγχρονισμού της Κύπρου*, Lefkosia 1998.

⁴⁷¹ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Συγκριτική Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης της Κύπρου (1800-2004)*, Athens: Gutenberg 2006, pp. 133-40.

The second chapter presented and analysed data regarding student enrolment, timetables and curricula of both the elementary and secondary education. The difficult financial conditions that prevailed over Cyprus during the period 1931-1934, caused a small increase of student enrollment during 1931-1960 and a high percentage of withdrawal rates until 1940.⁴⁷² Moreover, negative consequences in the education of Pafos were also caused by the social environment.⁴⁷³ The rate of illiteracy, for example, was one of the highest on the island.⁴⁷⁴ However, as it has been aforementioned, with regard to the elementary education in the 1930s student enrollment was increased. The increase rate of the schoolgirl enrollment after 1940, which was one of the highest in Cyprus, was indicative of the improvement of the elementary education in Pafos.⁴⁷⁵ The improvement of the socio-economic conditions that were observed in Pafos after 1940⁴⁷⁶ can explain the schooling development⁴⁷⁷ during that period as well. Indeed, the various military projects that were constructed by the English for the needs of World War II, especially in the province of Pafos, had a positive impact in the economy of the province, which had been greatly undermined during the 1930s.⁴⁷⁸

The second chapter presented also the timetables, curricula and the language of instruction of the elementary education schools in order to demonstrate the policy that the English followed on the aforementioned issues. Additionally, in secondary education, the schooling development of the students, the timetables and curricula examined within the socio-economic and cultural context of the period under investigation. The results of the

⁴⁷² See pp. 98-99 of the thesis.

⁴⁷³ See Androula Paschalidou, “Αποικιοκρατία και Εκπαίδευση”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 27, 15 June 2003.

⁴⁷⁴ For the high percentage of illiteracy of Pafos, see special report in *Cyprus, Census of Population and Agriculture 1946, Report and Tables*, London, 1949, p. 28.

⁴⁷⁵ See Tables 13 and 14 of the thesis and Andreas Chatzithomas, “Η γυναίκα της Κύπρου”, *Chroniko*, 130, 30 November 2003.

⁴⁷⁶ *Pafos*, 7 August 1941, p. 2, 25 March 1943, p. 2, 19 May 1945, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁷ See Table 15 of the thesis.

⁴⁷⁸ Chrysanthos Chrysanthou, “Παλμεροκρατία”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 30, 6 July 2003, p.13.

examination of these issues supported that in the 1930s the effect of the socio-economic conditions on secondary education was negative, while in the 1940s onwards there appeared to be positive.

On the whole, in considering the evidence provided in the thesis one could say that two main changes were introduced in both elementary and secondary education by the British administration. The first important change was introduced in elementary education. In September 1935 a new curriculum drawn up by the Education Department was introduced in all elementary schools. The change included also “sweeping changes in the content and the teaching methods of most subjects and in particular history and geography”,⁴⁷⁹ the substitution of local readers⁴⁸⁰ for those prepared in Greece by the Greek Ministry of Education, and the introduction of history of Cyprus textbooks written in Cyprus.⁴⁸¹ The explicit intention was the Cypriotisation of the two communities.⁴⁸² As the Colonial Report proudly put it, “the programmes of Orthodox-Christians and Moslem schools now differ in nothing but their religion and language of instruction”.⁴⁸³

The second change was connected with Greek secondary education. After a three-year period of hectic consultation in the Colonial Office on whether the Greek secondary schools ought to be very strictly controlled or taken over by government and forced to modify their nationalist curriculum, a policy which was very much favoured by the governor of Cyprus, the Secretary

⁴⁷⁹ Note of the Director of Education J. R. Cullen to the Governor of Cyprus, 3 January 1935, CO 67/259/13, p. 35.

⁴⁸⁰ CO, 67/332/2.

⁴⁸¹ CO 67/271/8, p. 158.

⁴⁸² A considerable number of Greek-Cypriot historians and historians of education have interpreted all the educational measures taken after 1931 as designed to bring about the Cypriotisation of the Greek-Cypriots. See P. Zannetos, *Cyprus in the Age of Palingenesia*, Athens 1930, pp. 115-25 and Konstantinos Spyridakis, *The Educational Policy of the English Government in Cyprus (1878-1954)*, Lefkosia: The Cyprus Ethnarchy Office 1954, pp. 40-1.

⁴⁸³ Colonial Report, *Cyprus*, London: HMSO 1935, p. 34)

of State finally decided as an alternative to accept an indirect control (registration of schools and teachers) over these schools and proceed with establishment of government schools. Two reasons were given for this decision. It was realised that closing down the Greek schools would be in opposition to the colonial policy circulated to all colonial governments on 25 October 1930, on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, that “voluntary educational efforts are welcomed”.⁴⁸⁴ Conversely, if the Greek schools were forced to alter their curriculum, they would stop being recognised by the Government of Greece and their leavers would not be accepted at the universities of Greece. Such a change was believed to be in opposition to the educational interests of Cyprus. The choice of Cypriots studying in British in preference to Greek or Turkish universities was regarded as impracticable at the time because of much higher cost that this would incur.⁴⁸⁵

Therefore, in 1952 the government carried on with the establishment of the public-aided schools, another kind of multiracial school, which would accommodate Greek and Turkish children alike. In addition, the Teachers Training College, a government normal school which established in 1937, was a multiracial institution and took the place of the teacher training schools which functioned in parallel for the two ethnic communities until 1935.⁴⁸⁶ The language of instruction in the multiracial schools was English. This contributed extremely towards the swift propagation of the English language and culture. English was also introduced as a compulsory subject in the large Greek and Turkey primary schools, at first in the top two and, a few years later, in the top three grades. The teaching of English was

⁴⁸⁴ Memo 417

⁴⁸⁵ For a detailed study of the matter see confidential file “Secondary Education and Vacancy for Inspector of Schools”, CO 67/249/14.

⁴⁸⁶ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp. 225-26.

also to a great extent expanded in many communal Greek secondary schools after government made it a condition for government grant-in-aid.⁴⁸⁷

In general, during the period under investigation (1931-1960) the government education policy can be described as “utilitarian and progressive because, in addition to the academic schools, it also promoted technical and vocational education in a move to provide the technical skills Cyprus needed after World War II for its technological and economic development”.⁴⁸⁸ Overall, the British educational policy could be said that it was a product of constant development which formulated mainly in London. This was made necessary because of the tense political situation. It can also be said that this educational policy was the result of the interplay of many factors: ideological, religious, cultural, social, economic and political. The specific historical background (discussed in the introduction), though, was such that the two major factors were the political and the economic ones with the political factor to be the most important of the two.⁴⁸⁹

Indeed, during 1931-1960 the colonial government use education in promoting its political aims. To this respect it applied four different kinds of measures: political,⁴⁹⁰ financial,⁴⁹¹ legal⁴⁹² and educational.⁴⁹³ Related to these measures was the need the colonial government

⁴⁸⁷ Cyprus, CR, 1946, p. 29.

⁴⁸⁸ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, pp. 225-26.

⁴⁸⁹ See also Panayiotis Persianis, “The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): an intriguing example of an elusive ‘adapted education’ policy”, *Comparative Education*, 32, 1, 1996, pp. 45-68.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.* It took over control of primary schools administration, curriculum content and training of teachers.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.* It paid the salaries and the pensions of teachers, it offered grants to secondary schools which were willing to modify their curriculum by increasing the time allocated for English and it offered scholarships to young Cypriots for studying in British universities.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.* It made British qualifications indispensable by law for the legal profession.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.* It offered the English Grammar School as a model for secondary education, it established a teacher training college and technical schools, it forced the teaching of English in primary schools, it encouraged attendance of young Cypriots at British universities and it introduced the Cyprus Certificate of Education, which became the most important qualification in the appointment in the civil service.

felt to legitimate its presence in Cyprus. In 1931 for the first time it called its colonial report an “Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Cyprus”. It is evident that the colonial government tried to promote its political objectives by creating certain economic interests. In fact the whole policy was encapsulated in the words of the Director of Education J. R. Cullen, who maintained that the “Cypriotisation of the services [had] a great political value in stabilising as least a section of the Cypriot population by giving them and their relations a stake in the administration”.⁴⁹⁴

In conclusion, the evidence presented in the thesis has shown that the colonial government has failed to formulate an educational policy that effectively took into account the particular political and cultural characteristic of the island. One thing that can be said from the outset about the colonial education policy in Cyprus is that “it was not uniform and it was not always explicit”.⁴⁹⁵ It took a long time to be formulated and it changed remarkably during the eighty-two years of the British administration in response to local conditions and, in general, as a result of conflict with the political and religious leaders of the Greek-Cypriot community, who continuously and systematically promoted the political union of Cyprus with Greece. Indeed, the two generalisations that can be made about the colonial education policy in Cyprus are that it was an elusive “adapted education”⁴⁹⁶ policy and that it can be described as the product of the colonial government’s response to local conditions. Whitehead’s conclusion in his book *Comparative Education* that “the characteristic of British colonial

⁴⁹⁴ Note of the Director of Education J. R. Cullen to the Governor of Cyprus, 3 January 1935, CO 67/259/13, p. 35.

⁴⁹⁵ Panayiotis Persianis, “The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): an intriguing example of an elusive ‘adapted education’ policy”, *Comparative Education*, 32, 1, 1996, p. 56.

⁴⁹⁶ For this term see more in Panayiotis Persianis, “The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): an intriguing example of an elusive ‘adapted education’ policy”, *Comparative Education*, 32, 1, 1996, pp. 56-60.

education policy owed more to the volition of the governed than to the persuasive powers of colonial officials”⁴⁹⁷ is exceptionally confirmed in the case of Cyprus.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ C. Whitehead, “Education in British colonial dependencies, 1919-1939: a reappraisal”, *Comparative Education Review*, 17, 1981, p. 79.

⁴⁹⁸ Panayiotis K. Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education: The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978, p. 46.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

“Περί Δημοτικής Εκπαιδευσεως Νόμος” (18/1933), *Cyprus Government Gazette*, 29 May 1933, pp. 309-10.

Annual Report on the Education Department, 1955-56.

Inspection Report Book of the High School of Pafos, 1936-37.

CD of the governor of Cyprus to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, 15 June 1933, CO 67/249/14.

“Civil Disturbances in Cyprus in October”, *Parliamentary Paper Cmd. 4045*, 1931.

Colonial Report, *Cyprus*, London: HMSO 1935.

Cyprus, Report and General Abstracts of the Census 1921, London, 1922, pp. 9, 12, 44-46.

Cyprus, Report of the Census 1931, Lefkosia, 1932, pp. 54-62.

Cyprus, Census of Population and Agriculture 1946, Report and Tables, London, 1949, pp. 8, 28, 53-59.

Code of Metropolitane Leontios, File of the Holy Bishopric of Pafos, 15 January 1935.

_____, *File of the Holy Bishopric of Pafos*, 23 August 1931.

Correspondence of the School Committee of Polemi, 15 November 1955.

Cyprus Government Gazette, 1 March 1954, pp.149-150.

_____, 29 May 1933, p. 314.

_____, 13 November 1952, pp. 101-103.

File of Correspondence and Inspection Book of the High School of Commerce of Polemi, 1956-57.

File of Correspondence between the Mayor of Pafos and the Government, 1954-55, p. 20.

_____, *High School of Pafos' Archive*, pp. 5, 9, 19, 25-29.

_____, *High School of Pafos' Archive*, Mayor's letter dated 6 September 1955.

File of Correspondence of the College of Pafos, letter dated 25 July 1948.

_____, letter dated 25 July 1948.

_____, letter no. 80/52, 16 June 1953.

_____, letter no. 49/53, 18 June 1953.

_____, letter no. S.49/53, 6 July 1953.

_____, letter no. S.49/53/A, 24 July 1953.

File of Correspondence of the Committee of Polemi, 21 March 1955.

_____, letter of the Director of Education W. B. Tudhope, dated 1 February 1957.

File of Correspondence of the High School of Commerce of Polemi, documents of the Office of Education 67/58, 25th July 1958 and 28th August 1958.

_____, document 56/57, 28 April 1958.

_____, 13 June 1960.

Government of Cyprus, *The Programme of Instruction for Elementary Schools*, Lefkosia: Government Printing Office 1935.

Newspaper of the Government of Greece, 28 July 1950.

_____, 140, 26 June 1950, p. 697.

_____, 173, 8 July 1955, pp. 1313-35.

Note of the Director of Education J. R. Cullen to the Governor of Cyprus, 3 January 1935, CO 67/259/13.

Parliamentary Paper Cmd. 4045, 1931

Proceedings of the Educational Council of Ethnarchy, 8 December 1954.

_____, 12 April 1956.

_____, 20 April 1956.

_____, 21 August 1956.

Proceedings of the Mixed (Mikti) Urban School of Pafos, 1935-49.

Proceedings of the Neofyteion Urban School of Pafos, 1948-49.

Proceedings of the School Committee of Pafos, 6 November 1929.

_____, 2 July 1932.

_____, 15 February 1933.

_____, 21 March 1933.

_____, 12 September 1933.

_____, 29 May 1934.

_____, 6 July 1934.

_____, 7 March 1936.

_____, 8 March 1936.

_____, 8 April 1936.

_____, 27 May 1936.

_____, 12 June 1936.

_____, 10 August 1936.
_____, 12 August 1936.
_____, 24 August 1936.
_____, 2 September 1936.
_____, 22 March 1938.
_____, 29 October 1938.
_____, 29 October 1938.
_____, 27 February 1939.
_____, 3 August 1939.
_____, 2 August 1940.
_____, 29 August 1941.
_____, 20 June 1944.
_____, 22 December 1945.
_____, 29 May 1946.
_____, 11 December 1946.
_____, 12 May 1947.
_____, 12 May 1947.
_____, 16 April 1948.
_____, 2 July 1948.
_____, 3 July 1948.
_____, 5 July 1948.
_____, 6 July 1948.
_____, 7 July 1948.
_____, 6 September 1948.
_____, 22 June 1950.
_____, 28 October 1950.
_____, 28 October 1950.
_____, 6 August 1951.
_____, 16 November 1951.
_____, 8 July 1952.
_____, 6 September 1952.
_____, 21 October 1955.

_____, 4 November 1958.

_____, 4 November 1958.

_____, 12 July 1960.

Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi, 10 July 1949.

_____, 28 August 1949.

_____, 13 January 1952.

_____, 1 November 1952

Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous, 28 June 1948.

_____, 28 June 1948.

_____, 8 September 1949.

_____, 27 January 1956.

Proceedings of the School Committee of the College of Pafos, 7 July 1948.

_____, 19 February 1949.

_____, 9 July 1953.

_____, 25 October 1953.

_____, 25 October 1953.

_____, 26 December 1953.

Proceedings of the School Committee of Polemi, 10 July 1949.

_____, 17 July 1949.

_____, 26 April 1950.

_____, 20 July 1951.

_____, 2 September 1951.

_____, 13 January 1952.

_____, 13 January 1952.

_____, 13 January 1952.

_____, 21 March 1952.

_____, 5 October 1952.

_____, 1 November 1952.

_____, 23 November 1952.

_____, 18 October 1953.

_____, 18 October 1953.

_____, 6 March 1954.

_____, 8 October 1955.

Proceedings of the School Committee of Polis Chrysochous, 1 June 1952.

_____, 1 July 1948.

_____, 11 July 1949.

_____, 12 July 1953.

_____, 12 June 1950.

_____, 13 July 1948.

_____, 16 January 1955.

_____, 19 November 1950.

_____, 20 February 1955.

_____, 22 August 1956.

_____, 22 November 1950.

_____, 23 December 1949.

_____, 24 May 1958.

_____, 27 June 1949.

_____, 27 March 1951.

_____, 27 September 1948.

_____, 28 May 1954.

_____, 3 April 1955.

_____, 30 May 1953.

_____, 30 September 1950.

_____, 5 July 1957.

_____, 5 October 1952.

_____, 5 September 1949.

_____, 6 July 1948.

_____, 6 May 1951.

_____, 8 September 1949.

_____, 9 June 1955.

Proceedings of the School Committee of the College of Pafos, 25 July 1942.

_____, 28 October 1950.

_____, 16 October 1954.

Proceedings of the School Committee of the Commercial Lyceum of Pafos, 10 January 1942.

_____, 25 July 1942.

Proceedings of the School Inspection (“Εφορεία”) of Polis Chrysochous, 22 June 1948.

Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the College of Pafos, 1942-1956.

Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the Gymnasium of Polis Chrysochous, 18 November 1955.

Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the High School of Pafos, 1934-1953.

_____, 2 October 1943.

_____, 23 December 1946.

_____, 6 October 1956.

_____, 7 July 1953.

Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the High School of Polis Chrysochous, 6 October 1954.

_____, 15 September 1954.

_____, 1948-49 & 1951-57.

Record of Inspections, Elementary school of Panayia, 14 November 1932.

_____, *Elementary School of Panayia, 11 January 1937.*

_____, *Elementary School of Panayia, 3 November 1934.*

_____, *Elementary School of Panayia, 3 November 1947.*

_____, *Elementary School of Peyia, 14 November 1932.*

_____, *Elementary School of Peyia, 4 January 1937.*

Registration Books, Elementary School of Emba, 1913-40, 1950-60.

_____, *Girls’ School of Emba, 1927-34.*

_____, *Girls’ School of Ktima, 1901-40.*

_____, *Mikti (Mixed) Urban School of Ktima, 1939-1957.*

_____, *Neofyteion Urban School, 1900-57.*

Regulations under the Secondary Education Laws of 1935-36, Cyprus Government Gazette, 2 February 1936, pp. 34-37.

Report of OELMEK (“Οργανισμός Ελλήνων Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης Κύπρου”) on the Educational policy of the Government, Lefkosia 1955.

Report of the Department of Education, Lefkosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office 1932-1933.

_____, 1933-34.

_____, 1935-36.

_____, 1942-45.
_____, 1945-47.
_____, 1948-49.
_____, 1949-50.
_____, 1950-51.
_____, 1951-52.
_____, 1952-53.
_____, 1953-54.
_____, 1955-56.
_____, 1956-57.

Report of the Office of the Greek Education 1959-60.

Report on Education in Cyprus, 6 August 1913, CO 67/165.

Report on Secondary Education, 1945-47.

Reports of the Department of Education, 1956-57, 1957-58 and 1958-59.

Reports of the Office of the Greek Education, 1959-60, pp. 14, 16 and 23.

“Secondary Education and Vacancy for Inspector of Schools”, CO 67/249/14.

Secretariat Archives (SA), SA1:1468/31/1, 7 March 1932, Public Archive of Cyprus.

_____, SA1:551/1903, “A Memorial from the Greek Population of Cyprus to the Right Honourable Mr. J. Chamberlain, His Majesty’s Secretary of State for the Colonies”, signed by Kyrillos, Bishop of Kitiou, and the Greek members of the Legislative Council, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1078/31, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1160/1937, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1230/1939, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1230/34, 25 November 1943, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1230/34, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1236/23/3, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:134/53, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1395/38, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1468/31, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1468/31/1, 7 March 1932, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1468/31/2, *Public Archive of Cyprus.*

_____, SA1:1468/31/3, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:1673/26, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:31/1, 10 February 1993, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:344/1913, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:344/1930-1940, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:344/1945-1949, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:440/1944, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:440/44, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:506/1938, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:63/53/A, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:66/48/50, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:685/32, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:696/1930, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:696/30, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:696/30, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:731/1934/1, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:731/34/1, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:731/34/2, 27 August 1934, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:731/34/2, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:818/39, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:867/36, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:87/1945, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:969/3, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

_____, SA1:995/1941, *Public Archive of Cyprus*.

Special Control Book, High School of Pafos, 1942-43, 1953-54 & 1956-57.

_____, *High School of Commerce of Polemi, 1954-55 & 1959-60.*

Student's Name Lists, AESPC/Gymnasium of Polis Chrysochous, 1948-1960.

_____, *Elementary School of Drousia, 1931-1952.*

_____, *Elementary School of Emba, 1913-1940.*

_____, *Elementary School of Panayia, 1931-1960.*

_____, *Elementary School of Peyia, 1928-1949.*

_____, *Gymnasium of Pafos, 1931-1960.*

_____, *High School of Commerce of Polemi*, 1949-1960.

_____, *High School of Pafos*, 1931-60.

_____, *College of Pafos*, 1942-1960.

Ελληνική Πρακτική Σχολή Πεδουλά: Πρόγραμμα και Κανονισμός της Σχολής, Lefkosia n.d.

Secondary sources

“Η Αγγλοκρατία στην Κύπρο (1878-1960)” in *Ιστορία των Ελλήνων, Κύπρος*, v. 15, Athens: Ekdoseis Domi ²n.d.

“Ιστορία της εκπαίδευσης της Κύπρου κατά τον 19ο και 20ό αιώνα” in *Ιστορία των Ελλήνων, Κύπρος*, v. 15, Athens: Ekdoseis Domi ²n.d.

“Το αγροτικό ζήτημα και η Πάφος”, in *Pafos*, 20 January 1933.

A Memorandum of the Educational Council of the Cyprus Ethnarchy on the educational situation in Cyprus, Lefkosia 1957.

Agogi, 30-31, April-May 1926, pp. 4-7.

Alastos, Doros, *Cyprus in History: A Survey of 5000 Years*, London: Zeno Publishers ²1976.

Angastiniotis, Kyriakos M., *Ο Συνεργατισμός, γέννησις και ανάπτυξις του εν Κύπρω*, Lefkosia 1965.

Antoniou, D., “Τα Προγράμματα της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης (1833-1929)”, *Istoriko Archeio Ellinikis Neoleas*, (A), Athens 1967.

Barnard, H. C., *A History of English Education from 1760*, London: University of London Press 1971.

Bouzakis, Sifis, *Νεοελληνική Εκπαίδευση (1821-1985)*, Athens: Gutenberg 1986.

Chatzicharalambous-Ktisti, Eleni, “Η Εκπαίδευση στην Κυπερούντα κατά την Αγγλοκρατία”, *Epetirida Kentrou Meleton Ieras Monis Kukkou*, 8, pp. 567-591.

Chatzithomas, Andreas, “Η γυναίκα της Κύπρου”, *Chroniko*, 130, 30 November 2003.

_____, “Η Εκπαίδευση στην Τουρκοκρατία και Αγγλοκρατία”, *Chroniko*, 120, 21 September 2003.

_____, “Ο προάγγελος μιας μεγάλης επανάστασης: Τα Οκτωβριανά”, *Chroniko*, 73, 20 October 2002.

_____, “Όταν οι Κύπριοι επαναστατούσαν”, *Chroniko*, 121, 28 September 2003.

- _____, “Πνευματική Πάφος: Μορφές που σφράγισαν μια εποχή”, *Chroniko*, 54, 9 June 2002.
- _____, “Σχολή Λεμύθου”, *Chroniko*, 69, 22 September 2002.
- Chionis, K. I., *Η Παιδεία στην Καβάλα (1864-1919)*, Thessaloniki 1990.
- Chrysanthis, Kypros, *Σωματεία και Οργανώσεις της Κύπρου 1878-1955: Διαλέξεις Λαϊκού Πανεπιστημίου*, vol. 2, Ekdosi Dimou Lefkosias: Lefkosia 1986.
- Chrysanthou, Chrysanthos, “Αρχιεπίσκοπος Λεόντιος Α’”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 24, 25 May 2003.
- Cobham, C. D., *Excerpta Cypria*, Cambridge 1908.
- Commemorative Album for the fifty years of the Pancyprian High School*, Lefkosia 1944.
- Dent, H.C., *The Educational System of England and Wales*, University of London Press Ltd: London, 1975.
- Dimaras, Alexis, *Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε (Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας)*, vol. A, Athens: Nea Elliniki Vivliothiki ²1987 & vol. B, 1988.
- Dimokratis*, Lefkosia, 26 July 1955, p. 3.
- Efstathiou Christakis, “Η Κύπρος των σεισμών: ο κίνδυνος από την αρχαιότητα μέχρι σήμερα”, *Chroniko*, 106, 15 June 2003.
- Ethnos*, Lefkosia, 2 September 1955, p. 2.
- _____, 18 July 1955, p. 1.
- _____, 22 July 1955, p. 1.
- _____, 22 July 1955, p. 2.
- _____, 26 July 1955, p. 1.
- _____, 29 July 1955, p. 3.
- _____, 3 September 1955, p. 2.
- Fantis, Andreas, *Το 1948, χρόνος οξύτερης ταξικής αναμέτρησης*, Lefkosia 1979.
- Filippou, Loizos, *Λογοδοσία των πεπραγμένων του “Κινύρα”*, Lefkosia 1939.
- _____, *Τα Ελληνικά Γράμματα εν Κύπρω κατά την περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας 1571-1878*, Lefkosia 1930.
- Fylaktou, Andreas, “Λοΐζος Φιλίππου”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 19, 13 April 2003.
- Galatopoulos, Christodoulos, *Τα τραγούδια της φυλακής*, Pafos 1936.
- _____, *Carmen Undarum*, Pafos 1938.

- _____, *Στύγιες Κραυγές*, Pafos 1938.
- _____, *Τα επιθαλάμια*, Pafos 1939.
- _____, *Το γράμμα του στρατιώτη και ο δρόμος της Δαμασκού*, Pafos 1940.
- Georgallidis, G., *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1979.
- Georgallidis, G. P., *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985.
- _____, *Public records in Cyprus before and after Independence*, *Journal of the Society of Archives*, 7, (4), October, 1983, pp. 230-41.
- _____, “Παλμεροκρατία”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 30, 6 July 2003.
- Giorgi, Giorgos, “Ο αγώνας του 1955-1959”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 17, 30 March 2003.
- _____, “Χριστόδουλος Γαλατόπουλος”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gekonota*, 5, 5 January 2003.
- Hepworth, Dixon W., *British Cyprus*, London 1879.
- Hill, George F., *A History of Cyprus*, (IV), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1952.
- Holland, Robert and Diana Markidis, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1850-1960*, Oxford: Oxford U.P. 2006.
- Ierokipiotis, Kostas, “Η πολιτιστική κίνηση στην Πάφο”, *Pnevmatiki Kypros*, (319-320), July-August 1987, pp. 141-50.
- _____, “Τα Οκτωβριανά στην Πάφο”, *Eleftherotypia (Cyprus)*, (21), October 1984, p. 5.
- _____, “Το φιλολογικό περιοδικό Πάφος”, *Pnevmatiki Kypros*, (306-307), June-July 1986, pp. 149-53.
- Katsiaounis, Rolandos, “Cyprus 1931-1959: The Politics of the Anti-colonial Movement”, *Epetirida tou Kentrou Epistimonikon Erevnon*, XXXIII, 2006, pp. 441-69.
- _____, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Ninetenth Century*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1996.
- _____, “Social and Political Change in Cyprus, 1878-1924”, *Επετηρίς*, 1995.
- _____, *Η Διασκεπτική 1946-48. Με ανασκόπηση της περιόδου 1878-1945*, Lefkosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2000.

- Katsouris, Yiannis and Pavlos Paraskevas, *Βασίλης Μιχαηλίδης: Άπαντα*, vol. B, Lefkosia: Ekdoseis Xr. Andreou ²2002.
- _____, *Βασίλης Μιχαηλίδης: Η ζωή και το έργο του*, vol. A, Lefkosia: Ekdoseis Xr. Andreou ²2002.
- Kitromilidis, P., “Το Χρονικό του Π. Πασχαλίδη για τα Οκτωβριανά στην Πάφο”, *Kypriakai Sproydai* (35), 1971, pp. 191-209.
- Kitromilidou, Magda, *Τα Ελληνικά γράμματα στον αλότρωτο Ελληνισμό – Η περίπτωση του Γυμνασίου Πάφου*, Lefkosia 1984.
- Kolozof-Markidou, Maria, “Η Εκπαίδευση στην Κομοτηνή πριν από το 1920”, *Thrakika Chronika*, (25), January 1967, pp. 160-68.
- Kouros, A., *Education under the British Administration (1878-1958)* University of London Press: London 1959.
- Kypros-Net, *The Constitution of Cyprus*, <<http://www.kypros.org/Constitution/>>, 24 November 2008.
- Kyrris, Kostas, *Ιστορία της Μέσης Εκπαιδύσεως Αμμοχώστου 1191-1551: ιδίως δε του Ε.Γ.Α.*, Lefkosia 1967.
- Lefas, Christos, *Ιστορία της Εκπαιδύσεως*, Athens 1942.
- Leventis, Giorgos, “Αυτοκυβέρνηση – Ένωση: Επίδραση του Ζαχαριάδη στη στρατηγική του ΑΚΕΛ”, *Chroniko*, 95, 23 March 2003.
- Mangan, J. A., *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*, London: Routledge 1993.
- Markides, Diana and G. P. Georgallidis, “British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13, 1995, pp. 63-81.
- Metropolite Filippon, Neapoleos and Thassou Prokopios, “Η Εκπαίδευση εις την Καβάλα και η ανέγερσις Παρθεναγωγείου αυτής 1890-1915, *Proceedings of Conference “I Kavala kai i periochi tis”*, Idrima Meleton Chersonisou tou Emou, (189), Thessaloniki 1980, pp. 9-92.
- Myrianthopoulos, Kleonoulos, *Η Παιδεία εν Κύπρω επί Αγγλοκρατίας (1878-1946)*, Lemesos 1946.
- _____, *Κυπριακαί Σελίδες*, Lemesos 1949.
- _____, *Nea Politiki Epitheorisi*, 1 April 1944, p. 3.
- _____, 19 August 1944, p. 1.

- _____, 19 May 1945, pp. 1-2.
- _____, 2 June 1945, p. 1-3.
- _____, 12 October 1946, p. 3
- _____, 26 October 1946, p. 2.
- _____, 2 November 1946, p. 2.
- _____, 21 December 1946, pp. 1-3 & 5.
- _____, 4 January 1947, p. 2.
- _____, 18 January 1947, p. 3.
- Neos Kypriakos Fylax*, 15 June 1938, p. 1.
- Noutsos, Charalambos, *Προγράμματα Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης και Κοινωνικός Έλεγχος (1931-1973)*, Athens: Themelio 1988.
- Pafos*, (newspaper), 10 October 1946, p. 3.
- _____, 11 March 1943, pp. 1 & 3.
- _____, 13 December 1947, p. 4.
- _____, 14 June 1934, p. 2.
- _____, 14 June 1945, p. 1 & 4
- _____, 15 July 1943.
- _____, 17 February 1933, p. 3.
- _____, 17 March 1933, p. 3.
- _____, 17 November 1945, p. 3.
- _____, 17 October 1946, p. 2.
- _____, 19 July 1934, p. 3.
- _____, 19 May 1945, p. 3.
- _____, 19 May 1945.
- _____, 21 April 1933, p. 4.
- _____, 21 June 1934, p. 1.
- _____, 21 June 1934, p. 2.
- _____, 21 June 1934, p. 4.
- _____, 21 March 1935, p. 2.
- _____, 22 July 1932, p. 3.
- _____, 24 February 1933, p. 3.
- _____, 24 May 1934, p. 1.

- _____, 24 October 1946, p. 3.
- _____, 25 March 1943, p. 2.
- _____, 25 March 1943, p. 3.
- _____, 25 March 1943, p. 4.
- _____, 25 March 1943, pp. 1 & 5.
- _____, 27 December 1945, p. 3.
- _____, 29 November 1945, p. 4.
- _____, 3 February 1933, p. 2.
- _____, 3 October 1946, p. 4.
- _____, 3 October 1946.
- _____, 30 January 1947, p. 3.
- _____, 30 May 1946, p. 2.
- _____, 30 May 1946, pp. 1 & 3.
- _____, 30 September 1936, p. 3.
- _____, 31 March 1933, p. 3.
- _____, 31 May 1934, p. 2.
- _____, 4 April 1933, p. 4.
- _____, 4 November 1932, p. 3.
- _____, 5 August 1943.
- _____, 6 December 1945, p. 4.
- _____, 6 January 1933, p. 3.
- _____, 7 August 1941, p. 2.
- _____, 7 August 1941, p. 3.
- _____, 8 April 1943.
- _____, 8 July 1943.
- _____, 8 March 1945, p. 4.
- _____, 8 March 1945.
- _____, 9 December 1932, p. 2.
- Pafos*, (journal), v. 124, January 1940, p. 2.
- Papadopoulos, Charalambos, *Εκπαιδευτική Πεντηκονταετηρίς*, Lefkosia 1975.

- Papadopoulos, St., *Εκπαιδευτική και Κοινωνική Δραστηριότητα του Ελληνισμού της Μακεδονίας κατά τον τελευταίο αιώνα της Τουρκοκρατίας*, *Makedoniki Vivliothiki*, (31), Thessaloniki 1970.
- Papapolyviou, Petros, “Το Ενωτικό Ζήτημα: Οι αγώνες μέχρι το δημοψήφισμα του 1950, τα απόρρητα ντοκουμέντα των Βρετανών”, *Chroniko*, 85, 12 January 2003.
- _____, “Στα χρόνια της ΕΟΚΑ: Από τον ένοπλο αγώνα στην ανεξαρτησία”, *Chroniko*, 96, 30 March 2003.
- Paschalidou, Androula, “Αποικιοκρατία και Εκπαίδευση”, *Kypros (Istoria): Prosopa kai Gegonota*, 27, 15 June 2003.
- Pavlidis, P., “Το Γυμνάσιον Πάφου μόνον”, *Eleftheria*, 8 November 1960.
- Percival, D. A., *Cyprus, Census of Population and Agriculture*, London: Crown Agents for the Colonies/Government of Cyprus 1949.
- Peristianis, Ieronymos, *Ιστορία των Ελληνικών Γραμμάτων, από της Τουρκικής κατακτήσεως μέχρι της Αγγλικής κατοχής*, Lefkosia 1930.
- Persianis, Panayiotis K., *Church and State in Cyprus Education, The contribution of the Greek Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British administration (1878-1960)*, Lefkosia 1978.
- _____, “The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): an intriguing example of an elusive ‘adapted education’ policy”, *Comparative Education*, 32, 1, 1996, pp. 45-68.
- _____, *Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης των κοριτσιών στην Κύπρο: Μελέτη της πορείας Κοινωνικού και Εκπαιδευτικού εκσυγχρονισμού της Κύπρου*, Lefkosia 1998.
- _____, *Συγκριτική Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης της Κύπρου (1800-2004)*, Athens: Gutenberg 2006.
- Pilavakis, Ar., *Η Λεμεσός και τα σχολεία της*, Lemesos 1929.
- Roditis, Antis, «Τὴν Ελλάδα θέλομεν καὶ ἄς τρώγωμεν πέτρες», Athens: Vivliopoleion tis “Estias” I.D. Kollarou ²2006.
- Servas, P., *Ευθύνες*, Athens: Grammi 1985.
- Simon, B., *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940*, Lawrence and Wishart: London, 1978.
- Simon, B., *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure (1780-1870)*, Lawrence and Wishart: London 1981.

- Sleight, G. F., *Cyprus, Report of the Department of Education for the School Year 1953-54*, Lefkosia: Government Printing Office 1955.
- Spyridakis, Konstantinos, *The Educational Policy of the English Government in Cyprus (1878-1954)*, Lefkosia: The Cyprus Ethnarchy Office 1954.
- _____, *Εκθεση του Γραφείου Ελληνικής Παιδείας κατά το σχολικόν έτος 1959-60*, Cyprus 1960.
- _____, *Η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της εν Κύπρω Αγγλικής Κυβερνήσεως (1878-1952)*, Ekdosis Grafeiou Ethnarchias Kyprou: Lefkosia 1952.
- _____, *Μελέται, Διαλέξεις, Άρθρα*, (B), Lefkosia 1974.
- Storrs, R., *Orientalisms*, London: Nicholson and Watson 1937.
- Stylianou, Petros, *Το κίνημα του Οκτώβρη του 1931 στην Κύπρο*, Diatrivi epi didaktoria, Panepistimio Ioanninon 1984.
- Sultana, R. G., *Education and National Development: historical and critical perspective on vocational schooling in Malta*, Msida, Malta: Miverna Publications 1992.
- Terzis, Nikos P., *Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική και Εκπαιδευτική Μεταρρύθμιση: Πρόγραμμα και πραγματικότητα-Πράγματα και πρόσωπα*, Thessaloniki: Adelfon Kuriakidi 1988.
- Vasileiadis, Nikolaos P., *Εθνομάρτυρες του Κυπριακού Έπους 1955-59*, Athens: Adelfotis Theologon “ο Sotir” 1992.
- Weir, W. W., *Education in Cyprus: Some Theories and Practices in Education in the Island of Cyprus since 1878*, Cyprus 1952.
- Whitehead, C., “Education in British colonial dependencies, 1919-1939: a reappraisal”, *Comparative Education Review*, 17, 1981, pp. 71-80.
- Zannetos, P., *Cyprus in the Age of Palingenesia*, Athens 1930.