Knowledge Systems and the Making of Colonial Darjeeling (1835–1947): Institutions, Society, and Education

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ABSTRACT

The history of colonial Darjeeling has largely been interpreted through the frameworks of frontier expansion, plantation capitalism, missionary enterprise, or educational development. While these studies illuminate important aspects of the region's past, comparatively little attention has been paid to the ways in which colonial knowledge systems interacted with indigenous knowledge traditions through educational, missionary, and administrative institutions. After the British annexation of Darjeeling in 1835, the area became a strategic Himalayan frontier and hill station but also a major colonial centre where governance, education and missionary intervention were interwoven to establish imperial authority and change the intellectual and social landscape of the hills.

The paper seeks to study the emergence of colonial knowledge systems in Darjeeling, to analyse the role of educational and missionary institutions in the production and dissemination of colonial knowledge, and to explore their interaction with the indigenous knowledge traditions of the Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalis. The Charter Act (1813), Macaulay's Minute (1835), Wood's Despatch (1854), and subsequent reforms established a framework that allowed missionary organizations to create educational institutions. These schools and training networks were instrumental in producing knowledge that impacted language, identity, social mobility, and cultural practices, while also serving colonial governance.

This study is based on qualitative historical methodology and makes use of colonial gazetteers, administrative and missionary records, educational records and secondary literature. It examines the intersection of education, knowledge production, and colonial state building. The point is that indigenous peoples were active negotiators and adapters of colonial educational and institutional practices, and not passive recipients. The paper locates education in colonial knowledge systems to demonstrate the complicated process of making colonial Darjeeling. It highlights educational institutions, missionary networks and colonial administration in reshaping the intellectual, social and cultural landscapes of the region. It also discusses how the indigenous knowledge traditions were reshaped and the legacies that such reshaping left beyond the British rule.

Keywords: Knowledge Systems, Indigenous Knowledge Traditions, Colonial Education, Missionary Institutions, Darjeeling Hills, Colonial Governance.

INTRODUCTION

Darjeeling occupies a distinctive position in the history of British India. Acquired by the East India Company from Sikkim in 1835, it was initially developed as a sanatorium but soon became a centre of imperial administration, plantation development, settlement and military strategy. Its location along the Himalayan frontier adjoining Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, with routes towards Tibet, made it an important colonial frontier. Under British rule, Darjeeling developed into a hill station, administrative centre and educational space.

Colonial expansion did not occur over an empty landscape. Lepchas, Bhutias, Limbus, Magars and other communities already possessed established systems of land use, settlement, religious practices and social organisation. British intervention therefore involved not only territorial acquisition but also the classification and reorganisation of an existing social landscape (O'Malley, 1999). This process can be understood through colonial knowledge, which involved producing and circulating knowledge about people, languages, territories and institutions. Bernard Cohn's work highlights the relationship between such knowledge-making and colonial authority.

Education became an important part of this project. Policies including the Charter Act of 1813, Macaulay's Minute of 1835, Wood's Despatch of 1854 and the Hunter Commission of 1882 established frameworks for English and vernacular education, teacher training and wider schooling (Lama, 2009). Education was thus connected with literacy, social discipline, language hierarchy and administrative knowledge.

In Darjeeling, limited government provision allowed missionary organisations to become major educational actors. Missionary activity began significantly in 1841, followed by the expansion of the Church of Scotland Mission from the 1870s. Missionary institutions promoted teacher training, translation, vernacular materials, girls' education, residential schooling, vocational training and welfare.

This paper examines how educational and missionary institutions produced and circulated knowledge and interacted with indigenous languages, communities and traditions. It argues that administration, education, missionary institutions, language, translation and social welfare worked together to make Darjeeling increasingly legible and governable. These institutions fostered literacy and social mobility, but also helped create cultural and linguistic change. Indigenous communities did not passively receive. Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalis negotiated, appropriated and adapted colonial institutions. Colonial knowledge in Darjeeling was therefore a contested process that involved imperial power, missionary goals, and indigenous agency.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholarship on colonial Darjeeling covers political history, administration, education, missionary activity and social transformation. E. C. Dozey, L. S. S. O'Malley and Basant B. Lama provide important accounts of British rule, administrative development, migration and changes in hill society. D. B. Dewan's Education in the Darjeeling Hills is particularly significant for tracing government, missionary and private education, including teacher training, female education and higher education.

Bernard Cohn's Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge provides the broader framework for understanding how colonial rule depended on producing and circulating knowledge about people, languages, territories and institutions. Studies by S. C. Ghosh, B. K. Nayak and Gauri Viswanathan further explain the development of British educational policy and its links with language, administration and social organisation.

However, existing studies often examine political history, education and missionary activity separately. Less attention has been given to their interconnections as part of a wider colonial knowledge system. This study addresses this gap by examining education, missionary activity, language, translation and administration together, while emphasising the agency of Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalis in negotiating and adapting colonial institutions.

Objectives of the Study

The study is guided by the following objectives:

- To examine the transformation of Darjeeling into a colonial frontier and knowledge space after the British acquisition of the region in 1835.
- To analyse the development of colonial educational policy and its institutional implications for Darjeeling.

- To investigate the role of missionary institutions in the production and dissemination of colonial knowledge.
- To investigate language and culture change in education.
- To examine the social importance of colonial education in different societies.
- To investigate indigenous agency and responses to colonial educational institutions.
- To engage with colonial knowledge institutions' legacy

Research Questions

The study is guided by the following research questions:

- How did Darjeeling develop into a colonial frontier and knowledge space after its acquisition by the British in 1835?
- How did British educational policies influence the development and institutionalisation of education in the Darjeeling Hills?
- What role did missionary institutions play in the production, circulation and dissemination of colonial knowledge in Darjeeling?
- How did missionary and colonial education affect indigenous languages, cultural practices and knowledge traditions, particularly among Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalis?
- How did colonial education contribute to social mobility, employment and changes in the social structure of different communities in Darjeeling?
- How did indigenous communities negotiate, appropriate and adapt colonial educational and missionary institutions rather than simply receiving them passively?
- What were the long-term consequences of colonial educational and knowledge institutions for Darjeeling after 1947?

METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a qualitative historical-analytical methodology to examine colonial knowledge, education, missionary institutions and social transformation in Darjeeling between 1835 and 1947. It uses secondary sources, including colonial gazetteers, administrative and educational records, missionary writings, institutional materials and regional historical studies. The study examines educational and missionary institutions not simply as schools but as sites of knowledge production and cultural negotiation**.** Special emphasis is given to language, translation, teacher training, missionary printing, female education, welfare, and social mobility, as these linked educations to colonial rule and cultural change. The analysis is structured around four interrelated themes namely; colonial administration, educational and missionary institutions, language and knowledge production and indigenous responses. This approach highlights the paradox of colonial education; it promoted literacy and social opportunities, but it also contributed to cultural and linguistic transformation. Thus, colonial Darjeeling is located as a space of contested knowledge where the imperial project, missionary interests and indigenous agency converge.

Making Colonial Darjeeling: Frontier, Empire and Indigenous Knowledge Landscapes

Before British rule, the Darjeeling–Sikkim region was inhabited by communities including Lepchas, Limbus, Magars and Bhutanese groups, who possessed established systems of social organisation, cultivation, settlement and land use. The Lepchas, traditionally identifying themselves as Rong, were closely associated with Sikkim and the eastern Himalayas. They practiced shifting cultivation or jhum, moving their cultivation area from time to time as the forest regenerated (Lama, 2009). So the lack of large permanent settlements did not mean that the landscape was uninhabited. Limbu communities held land collectively under the Kipat system, and Magar and Limbu traditions preserved memories of earlier settlements. These practices indicate that social and environmental systems existed before the colonial intervention.

The political scene was altered by the expansion of Gorkha power in the eighteenth century. The Gorkha kingdom under Prithvi Narayan Shah expanded eastwards in the area of Sikkim and Darjeeling. Gorkha

forces occupied parts of Sikkim, but their expansion was ultimately checked by resistance from the Sikkimese. These political changes brought different communities into new administrative and military relationships and contributed to population movements across the region.

Gorkha expansion eventually brought Nepal into conflict with the British East India Company. The Anglo-Nepal War of 1814–1816 ended Gorkha expansion and resulted in the Treaty of Sagauli. The Treaty of Titalya of 1817 subsequently restored territories between the Mechi and Teesta rivers to Sikkim (Dozey, 2011). British involvement gradually developed beyond treaty relations and led to the direct acquisition of Darjeeling.

In 1835 Major George Lloyd negotiated with the Chogyal of Sikkim for the transfer of the Darjeeling tract to the East India Company. Originally the British planned to develop the region as a sanatorium because of its climate and geographical situation. Historical debate has surrounded the Darjeeling Deed of Grant about its date and documentation but British development continued and Darjeeling slowly became an important hill station and colonial center.

The development of Darjeeling accompanied wider processes of colonial expansion. Administrative structures were established, the tea industry developed and new populations entered the hills. Darjeeling consequently became a space where colonial administration, economic activity, settlement and institutional development interacted. The transformation involved not simply territorial acquisition but new systems for organising land, labour, education and governance.

Darjeeling also occupied a distinctive position within the colonial administrative system. After its acquisition in 1835, it was treated as a Non-Regulated Area, meaning that legislation applicable to ordinary parts of Bengal did not automatically extend to the district (Lama, 2009). This reflected the British perception that the hills possessed geographical, social and economic conditions different from those of the Bengal plains. The district subsequently received further special administrative treatment, including classification as a Scheduled District.

Its administrative position changed during the twentieth century. In 1905, Darjeeling was transferred from the Rajshahi Division of Bengal to the Bhagalpur Division of Bihar, but this arrangement was later reversed. In 1912, it returned to the Rajshahi Division. Darjeeling was declared a Backward Tract under the Government of India Act 1919 and a Partially Excluded Area under the Government of India Act 1935 (Bhanja, 1993). These classifications provided the colonial government with increased flexibility in the application of ordinary legislation to the hills.

This administrative history is relevant for understanding colonial systems of knowledge. The British encountered a land with established communities, land practices, political traditions and environmental adaptations . Rather than entering an empty frontier, colonial authorities sought to classify, administer and reorganise an already inhabited social landscape. Administrative institutions, the tea economy, the hill station and later educational and missionary networks were therefore part of a broader process through which the colonial state sought to make Darjeeling increasingly legible and governable.

Thus, the making of colonial Darjeeling was a layered process. Indigenous communities and their established practices formed the pre-colonial foundation; Gorkha expansion altered the political landscape; and British intervention following the Anglo-Nepal War and the acquisition of Darjeeling in 1835 transformed the region into a distinctive colonial frontier. Specialised administrative arrangements subsequently created the institutional environment in which education, missionary activity and other forms of colonial knowledge production could expand.

Colonial Educational Policy and the Institutionalization of Knowledge

The British educational policy in India evolved slowly from a policy of minimal intervention to the more systematic use of education as a tool of colonial rule. In the early period the East India Company usually did not intervene directly in Indian social institutions. Under Warren Hastings this approach found expression in

Orientalism, the promotion of the study of Sanskrit and Persian learning for cultural and administrative purposes. Early engagement with Indian languages, laws and traditions is reflected in institutions like the Calcutta Madrasah (1781), the Sanskrit College at Benares (1791) and Fort William College (1800) (Cohn, 1996).

However, in the early nineteenth century there was growing advocacy of intervention in Indian society, from Evangelical, Utilitarian and commercial interests. The Charter Act of 1813 was a landmark in that it allowed the operations of missionaries and provided money for the diffusion of literature and science in India (Ghosh, 2013). But the Act did not state whether education should propagate classical Indian learning or Western knowledge. This uncertainty produced the Orientalist–Anglicist debate.

The balance shifted decisively toward the Anglicists with Macaulay's Minute of 1835. Macaulay advocated English as the principal medium for imparting European literature and scientific knowledge and supported the creation of an educated intermediary class. Rather than extending education equally to the entire population, the initial strategy relied heavily on the "downward filtration" approach, whereby Western-educated elites were expected to transmit knowledge to wider society (Lama, 2009).

Wood's Despatch of 1854 marked a broader institutional development. It called for the expansion of elementary and higher education in the vernacular, for female education, for vocational education, and for teacher training. The institutional structure of colonial education was further strengthened by the establishment of universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857 (Viswanathan, 1989).

The next attention was drawn to the state of primary and secondary education by the Hunter Commission of 1882 (Nayak, 2012). It emphasized vernacular primary education. It recommended greater participation of local bodies in the administration of primary education. It suggested diversification of secondary education into literary and vocational streams. It also pointed to the poor provision of female education.

Education was no longer merely instruction but was increasingly linked to administration, labor, language, social organization and the production of useful colonial subjects. Vernacular education, teacher training, technical instruction, and higher education all contributed to expanding the institutional reach of this system.

For Darjeeling, this wider policy framework became particularly significant after its incorporation into British rule in 1835 (Dey, 2026). Education consequently became one of the mechanisms through which colonial knowledge could be introduced and circulated in the hills. Thus, the evolution from Orientalist engagement to Anglicist education, and subsequently to a more differentiated system of vernacular, vocational, female, and higher education, created the institutional framework within which missionary and educational organisations expanded in Darjeeling.

Missionary Institutions and Colonial Knowledge Networks

Missionary activity became an important force in expanding education in the Darjeeling Hills during the nineteenth century. The first significant experiment was associated with Reverend William Stuart and the Moravian missionaries, who established a school for local children at Tukvar in 1841 (Lama, 2009). Although short-lived, missionary activity expanded through Protestant and Catholic organisations, introducing new forms of schooling while engaging with local communities and languages.

The Church of Scotland Mission became particularly influential from the 1870s. Alexander MacFarlane established a school at Lochnagar in 1870, and by 1873 the mission reportedly operated 25 primary schools with 615 pupils (O'Malley, 1999). Vernacular education was important, although language choices remained contested. Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and Lepcha were used in different schools, while Nepali, the principal lingua franca of the hills, was initially neglected. MacFarlane promoted Hindi partly because of its similarity to Nepali and the availability of textbooks.

Missionary education was closely connected with language and knowledge production. Missionaries prepared primers and translated religious materials into Nepali and Lepcha. The University Mission Press

published schoolbooks and religious literature, and Ganga Prasad Pradhan translated Christian works into Nepali (Dewan, 1991). Archibald Turnbull later promoted Nepali and worked on its grammar and vocabulary. These activities encouraged literacy and textual production but also contributed to changes in the linguistic and cultural environment of the hills.

Teacher training further expanded the missionary network. MacFarlane's institutions trained local students who became teachers and missionaries, allowing education to spread beyond the original mission centres. Missionary education also expanded into female and boarding education. Loreto Convent, established in Darjeeling in 1846, became an important institution for girls, while later organisations established additional girls' schools and boarding institutions (Dozey, 2011). But access was still shaped by class, ethnicity, religion and the social structures of colonialism.

Catholic missions expanded their educational reach with institutions like Loreto and St. Joseph's, St. Alphonsus and St. Helen's. Initiatives in areas such as Pedong connected education with the trade route towards Tibet and engaged Nepali- and Tibetan-speaking populations (Dash, 2011). Missionary activity also extended beyond classrooms. Medical work, welfare, orphanages, boarding homes and vocational training became part of missionary activity. Dr. Graham's Homes at Kalimpong, established in 1900 as St. Andrew's Colonial Homes, combined education with residential care and practical training.

The relationship between missionary education and colonial rule was complicated. While missionaries had religious ends in mind, the colonial administration increasingly relied on education to produce literate and administratively useful populations. But missionary education also had some considerable limitations. The missionary network ultimately functioned as a wider colonial knowledge network. Schools propagated literacy, presses disseminated texts, translation linked European knowledge to local languages, teacher training replicated the system, and welfare activities extended the reach of influence beyond the classroom. Thus, missionary education had a double role: it expanded schooling, literacy, teacher training and female education, and it advanced religious and cultural objectives which affected indigenous languages and practices.

Colonial Institutions, Society and Identity

Education and Social Mobility

Colonial education in Darjeeling developed through missionary, government, municipal and private initiatives, but not equally accessible. Missionary work began in the 1840s but government education was slower in developing. The first government school opened in 1856 with only 33 students. From the 1870s, missionaries became major providers of schooling, with the Church of Scotland Mission and Catholic missions establishing networks of primary schools (O'Malley, 1999).

Education became increasingly a vehicle for employment and social mobility. In the tea industry, and in colonial administration, literacy and accounting skills were valued, and students were trained as teachers, clerks, missionaries and professionals. English-medium schools also helped some students enter the courts, police and forests.

However, education also promoted Christian evangelisation and European cultural values. Language was significant: although Nepali was widely spoken, early schools used Bengali, Hindi, Urdu or Lepcha (Lama, 2009). Later missionary texts strengthened Nepali-language education.

The gradual expansion of opportunities for girls and disadvantaged communities was achieved through girls' schools, scholarships, boarding facilities and night schools. In general, colonial education improved literacy, professional training and job opportunities, and created new opportunities for social mobility.

In the case of the tea plantation workforce, the relationship between education and social mobility also needs to be considered. The expansion of tea cultivation brought changes to the economy and employment structure of Darjeeling, but it cannot be assumed that plantation laborers enjoyed the same educational

opportunities as urban residents and established hill communities. Missionary and other educational efforts provided formal schooling, but the evidence examined here does not indicate how much plantation management restricted schooling, or how regularly laboring families were able to access it.This limitation indicates the need to differentiate the institutional expansion of education from its real accessibility to different social and occupational groups.

Anglo-Indian Communities

Anglo-Indians formed an important community in colonial Darjeeling, particularly through the tea industry, railways and colonial administration. As employment opportunities changed, many migrated from Calcutta and elsewhere to Darjeeling, where expanding tea plantations provided new opportunities.

Institutions such as Victoria Boys' School, Dow Hill Girls' School, St. Paul's and Mount Hermon followed British educational models, emphasising English, Christianity and European cultural values. Some schools also prepared students for Cambridge examinations. Graham's Homes at Kalimpong, founded by Rev. John Graham, was particularly significant.

It provided poor and orphaned Anglo-Indian children with education, residential care and practical training in agriculture, carpentry, sewing and domestic work. Such training helped graduates enter occupations including the army, railways, engineering, mining, teaching and clerical services. Women, however, had fewer opportunities, with nursing and teaching among the principal occupations.

While Anglo-Indians lived and worked among Nepalis and other hill populations, their educational institutions often maintained social and cultural separation. Government funding also brought out tensions over whether schools should be predominantly European and Anglo-Indian, or more inclusive of Indian students.

After independence, schools gradually became more inclusive, admitting non-European students and incorporating Indian languages. From around 1960, many Anglo-Indians began leaving Darjeeling because of changing employment opportunities, reduced institutional support and their continuing tradition of migration.

Overall, Darjeeling became an important educational and social centre for Anglo-Indians, while also functioning as a temporary "new home" shaped by colonial employment, missionary education and the community's search for security and opportunity.

Indigenous Communities

Darjeeling's colonial society consisted of diverse communities, with Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalis forming the major hill populations. Regarded as the original inhabitants of the region, the Lepchas traditionally practised jhum cultivation and maintained distinctive languages, cultures and religious practices (Lama, 2009). Their population gradually declined proportionally as Nepali migration increased. By 1941, about 12,470 Lepchas were recorded. Missionaries also established educational links with Lepcha communities. Bhutias and Tibetans formed another important hill community, traditionally associated with Buddhism, agriculture and herding.

About 7,612 Bhutias and Tibetans were recorded in 1941 (O'Malley, 1999). Buddhist institutions also provided an alternative to missionary education. Nepalis became the dominant population of the Darjeeling hills, comprising about 86.8% of the hill population in 1941. Groups included Rais, Limbus, Gurungs, Tamangs, Magars, Newars, Sherpas, Chhetris and Brahmans.

Migration was closely connected with tea plantations, agriculture, military service and other employment. Other communities, including Rajbanshis, Meches, Santals, Oraons and Mundas, were mainly associated with the Terai and plantation economy (Dash, 2011).

Language and Cultural Change

Colonial Darjeeling became a multilingual and multicultural society due to migration, education and colonial economic development. Nepali gradually became the main language of the hills, while Lepcha, Bhutia/Tibetan and other languages continued among their respective communities (Dozey, 2011). English gained importance in elite and higher education, while Bengali and Hindi were also used in schools and administration. Missionary education brought Christianity and western cultural influences while Buddhist institutions preserved Bhutia and Tibetan traditions. The Nepali literary and educational activities that developed further also strengthened the Nepali cultural identity. Overall, migration, tea plantations, transport and education brought different communities into closer contact, transforming Darjeeling culturally while also placing pressure on some older languages and traditions.

Therefore colonial education and indigenous agency should be looked at as a process of negotiation rather than as one of acceptance or resistance. Institutional possibilities in the form of missionary schools, vernacular publications, and teacher-training networks were available, but colonial authorities and missionaries were not the only arbiters of meaning and use. The promotion of Nepali-language educational materials, for instance, shows how the circulation of knowledge could also contribute to the development of local linguistic and cultural identities. The evidence however, much of it from colonial and missionary accounts, also limits the extent to which indigenous intentions and experiences can be directly reconstructed. This qualification is important to understanding colonial knowledge as a tool of governance and as a contested site of social change.

Women and Educational Opportunities

Female education expanded significantly during the colonial period, although opportunities remained more limited than those for boys. Several girls' schools were established, including the Nepali Girls' High School, Maharani Girls' School, St. Joseph's Girls' High School and Kalimpong Girls' High School (O'Malley, 1999). Missionary organizations played a particularly important role in women's education. The Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, Loreto institutions and other Christian organizations operated schools for girls. Girls received access not only to primary education but also to secondary education, teacher training and professional preparation. Scholarships were introduced to encourage girls' education (Dewan, 1991). In 1941, scholarships were awarded to hill girls and Bengali girls following the Primary Final Examination. The Scottish Mission also operated training facilities for women teachers. By 1944, its training school had a substantial number of women students. Girls' schools increasingly included subjects such as science, music, domestic science, games and physical education, showing a broadening conception of women's education. Women therefore gained new opportunities through colonial education, particularly in teaching and other forms of professional or semi-professional employment (Bhanja, 1993).

CONCLUSION

The legacy of colonial knowledge

In Darjeeling, the legacy of colonial education persists in the form of missionary schools, English medium instruction, institutional structures and higher education. Institutions established in the interests of colonial and Christian interests became important centres of literacy, social mobility and intellectual development. After 1947 the Indian state assumed a greater role in education but much of the institutions and practices of the colonial period persisted in a modified form (Lama, 2009).

Independence therefore did not completely break the colonial educational tradition. Existing institutions were adapted to the needs of independent India. St. Paul's School continued its boarding tradition, but its student population became more diverse. Loreto Convent gradually moved away from its earlier exclusive residential character, and became more accessible to students from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds.

Higher education also expanded after independence. Darjeeling Government College was established in 1948 and initially affiliated with Calcutta University. It introduced Honours courses from 1950 and later developed postgraduate programmes. Teacher education was strengthened through Shree Ram Krishna B.T. College in 1957 (Lama, 2009). Thus, the postcolonial state expanded rather than completely abandoned the institutional framework inherited from colonial rule.

The missionary legacy remains one of the most visible aspects of Darjeeling's educational heritage. From the 1870s to the early twentieth century, Scottish, Catholic and other Christian missions dominated formal schooling because government provision remained limited. They established schools, teacher-training institutions and educational centres, expanding literacy and producing teachers, catechists, social workers and other professionals. Missionary education provided institutional learning and a path to social mobility, alongside the promotion of Christian evangelisation and Western cultural values. The impact of this on indigenous linguistic traditions can be gauged from the early choice of Hindi and English over Nepali and Lepcha.

Higher education initially remained closely connected with missionary institutions. St. Joseph's College received University of Calcutta affiliation in 1927, followed by Salesian College in 1933. SUMI College at Kalimpong, established in 1933, provided Intermediate Arts education to men and women and responded to local demand for higher education. After independence, higher education increasingly became a state responsibility, with North Bengal University becoming an important affiliating university for colleges in the hills. The survival and transformation of institutions such as Loreto, St. Paul's and St. Joseph's demonstrates the continuing influence of colonial education. Their curricula, student communities and institutional objectives changed, while the Jesuit educational network also expanded into education, vocational training, health and social development.

Perhaps the most enduring legacy was the educational culture created during colonial rule. English-oriented curricula, formal examinations, boarding-school traditions, institutional discipline and the prestige of Western-style education became important features of Darjeeling's educational identity. Thus, the colonial knowledge system did not disappear in 1947; it was appropriated, modified and expanded within the postcolonial framework.

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