Conclusions

In this thesis I have striven to bring out various facets of state making on the north-west frontier of India in the nineteenth century. These facets are revealed to us in the way the British went about constructing this idea. A traveller was the first representative of the state, explorer was the next. This was followed by the army and the administrative official. But as we have seen, this teleology was not that simple. All the aforesaid brought progressively the very 'idea' of state to 'reality' on the frontiers. This work has attempted to show that the gap between the 'idea' and 'reality' produced tensions which remained unresolved throughout the nineteenth century. In other words temporality lost its meaning. The British presence on the 'edges' of its Indian Empire remained as insecure in the late nineteenth century as it was in the first decade of the same century. The 'fears' which resonated time and again were of two kinds, first, the 'imperial' and second, the 'local'.

The 'imperial' concern had not shifted its focus from the region of central Asia in the nineteenth century, only the players had changed. In the first half, it was France which threatened to extend its rivalry with Britain from Europe to Asian 'colonies', in the latter half it was Russia which galvanized British efforts to strengthen their presence on the frontiers, by its constant involvement in the local affairs of the 'buffer states' between the two imperial powers. The presence of these tendencies ensured that the British state became more and more enmeshed in the politics of monitoring and control of its frontiers. But the growing British presence on its frontiers was not solely governed by these developments; it had its own logic and propellant. Trade and trade routes were important and so were revenues from newly acquired regions.
The 'local' fear manifested itself in the simple fact that local population continued to rebel against British intervention and British representatives continued to be targeted. We have shown in this work that this was true despite British authorities' efforts to counter this tendency by diplomatic alliance with local chieftains and having consent of the local *jirgas* or council of elders. It is here that the role of 'small wars' is precisely important to look at. Through these wars, the emerging state could temporarily establish the impression of its governance. Monetary fines, blockades of trade routes, destruction and burning of villages were not only instruments of 'coercion' against local 'tribes', such measures were the defining feature of the British frontier policy.