CONCLUSION

After examining the activities of the European adventurers in north India in the light of available English and the French sources, it can be said that they played an important role in various spheres of action. The impact of their presence was not confined only to their military career; in fact, as it can be seen, their presence led to significant changes in political and economic fields as well.

Our study shows that two distinct phases can be discerned in the entire militarization process during this period: the phase of transition and the phase of transformation. But it must be pointed out that these two phases were not mutually exclusive of each other. In fact, the first phase paved the way for the second. But the historians generally ignored to see militarization of Indian army as a process and therefore failed to see the distinctions in the two phases. That is, they put all the adventurers on equal footing. For instance, for the scholar Lester Hutchinson, there was no difference between Sombre and De Boigne's military activity and the period they worked in. Lester Hutchinson fitted both of them in one frame.

In the first phase i.e. phase of transition changes were introduced in the indigenous military system. Importance of discipline and organization which was particularly missing in native armies for a very long time was highlighted and changes were made accordingly. European-led corps and auxiliaries of trained soldiers formed the disciplined and organized part of the army during this phase. In addition to reforms in the army, the knowledge on latest European military tactics, particularly hollow square system and defensive and offensive movement of the army during military campaigns was imparted to Indian soldiers. René Madec, Sombre, Gentil, and
Modave were some of the famous adventurers who effected changes in Indian military system.

The military landscape of the region was also changed. Many towns were developed as military centers with the establishment of arsenals and foundries there which catered to the needs of arms and ammunitions of the newly created Europeanized wings. Sombre, in particular, transformed some of the Jat towns including Deig into military centers. Besides this, an area about 6 km from Agra was developed into a formidable military center with the distinction of having one ordnance factory, a cannon-ball manufacturing factory, and a magazine to store arms. In addition to it, Agra was also given a military hue by the establishment of a big foundry there which cast twelve pieces of cannons and a mortar at a time. Apart from this, a modern form of hospital was also set up by Sombre for the treatment of the soldiers of his corps something which had not been in practice earlier.

Contrary to what some historians argued, the military transition that the Indian armies went through under the supervision of the European adventurers during this period drew serious response from the English company. For instance, Shelford Bidwell argued that these adventurers were no match to the English forces and the English did not attach much importance to them. However, our evidence presents a contrary picture to such a formulation. The evidence show that right from the time of Buxar, the English company had shown their serious concern about the adventurers’ presence in the region. It is particularly borne out from the fact that soon after the appointment of Sombre in the Jat state, the Governor of Bengal wrote a letter to the Jat Raja Jawahar Singh asking him to dismiss Sombre from his service. However, Jawahar Singh did not comply with the English demands and kept Sombre in his service. Apart from openly asking the Indian rulers to dismiss these adventurers from their service,
the English company also resorted to political espionage to gather information on their activities. Wendel and Del Pedro had particularly worked for the English company and passed information to Calcutta regarding the political and military developments in the region. The English company even indulged itself in political intrigues to have these adventurers expelled from the north Indian region. Najaf Khan was particularly pressurized by the English officials to dismiss the adventurers from the Mughal service. The French traveller and adventurer Modave reported that the rift that had come up between Madec and Najaf Khan was the result of British machinations against the adventurers. Thus, the evidence show that the English company were seriously concerned with the activities of the European adventurers in northern India and the improvement in the standards of the local army under their supervision turned out to be the cause of jittery and anxiety for the English company.

The second phase was the phase of transformation. During this phase, the militarization process reached its zenith under De Boigne and Perron. Compared to the first phase, the second phase witnessed complete military transformation with the organization of the entire army on European military ethics, i.e. brigade and battalion system. The Maratha leader Mahadji Sindhia for whom De Boigne raised and trained Europeanized brigades gave full financial support to De Boigne by giving him a land grant in Aligarh for raising and training the army and also to use the revenues of the land for the payment of the salary to his soldiers. In addition to it, De Boigne was given full discretionary powers to raise and train the Europeanized army.

The militarscape of the region underwent considerable alteration during this phase. Sardhana in Meerut, Hansi in Haryana, and Koil in modern UP emerged as important training centres of westernized soldiery. Barracks and cantonments made large-scale appearance during this period. Barracks were particularly erected at Koil for
providing accommodation to the soldiers. By the time of Perron when the number of
brigades had increased to five, numerous cantonments were established in Aligarh for
accommodating as many as 20,000 men. Military cantonments also sprang up in
Shikohabad situated on the eastern frontier of Etawah district of modern U.P. Many
more towns were developed as military centres. Arsenals and foundries were
established in Hodal, Palwal, Bulandshahr, Mathura, and Koil. Agra, where Sombre
had already built a foundry, a gunpowder-making factory was also set up. Gwalior
was developed as a cannon-ball manufacturing centre for its proximity to the iron ore
mines. Bikaner which was at a considerable distance from Aligarh was also brought
within the loop for being the source of saltpetre and sulphur, the important ingredients
of firearms. These foundries manufactured considerable amount of weapons. It was
reported that more than five hundred guns cast in these foundries were seized by the
English army during their 1803 campaign under Lord Lake. It was also reported that
these weapons were not really Mughal weapons, in fact, these weapons had been
manufactured under the supervision of European adventurers.

The rise of European-led principalities which remained a crucial feature of both
phases acquired more concrete form during the second phase. The principality of
Sardhana in Meerut and that of Aligarh came up as hub of various activities. De
Boigne's Aligarh, in particular, shaped up as a centre of multiple activities. Ruled by
De Boigne as an independent potentate, the Aligarh principality not only became
reputed for military establishment but also functioned as a political and commercial
centre. Aligarh emerged as an important power centre maintaining peace in the region
when there was political turbulence all around. Sardhana under Begum Sombre
functioned as a power centre of the Mughal central authority. And Begum was always
ready to serve the emperor with her trained troops.
The French adventurers' presence in Awadh gave another dimension to their role in the modernization of Indian armies. Here, the militarization of the Awadh army by them led the Nawab to direct confrontation with the English company. And as the military standards of the army improved, the Nawab's resistance to the English domineering attitude also increased, which reached such a stage that the Nawab even hinted for war to his *fidus achates* (faithful) Gentil. The army of Awadh made significant progress under the leadership of Gentil and other French adventurers. Infantry and artillery were overhauled by the French adventurers Gentil, Pedrose and Sonson. Artillery wing made remarkable progress when just in three years after the signing of Allahabad treaty in 1765 it was reported to be in possession of 268 cannons of various calibres. In the period from 1770 to 1775, the Awadh army made further progress when the strength of the army was increased from 80,000 in 1770 to 150,000 in 1775. Infantry was organized in battalions with very high military standards. The military efficiency of the Awadh infantry was also mentioned by the Court of Directors who in their letter to Calcutta described it equal to the 'most perfect' of the English ones in terms of discipline and appearance.

Gentil's *partis français* which created fears in the minds of the English also swelled in ranks. Its strength rose from 400 to 600 giving jitters to the English officials who in turn contrived various ways to arrest the entry of French adventurers into Awadh. *Partis français* was constituted as an efficient military body by Gentil. It possessed a well-trained and well-equipped Indian infantry as a supplement along with a few guns and some pieces of light field-artillery. *Partis français* remained the Nawab's important military asset in his scheme of conflict with the English. It was because of this reason he made heavy investments in it and spent around 36, 000 rupees per month only on the salaries of its officers.
Apart from the militarization of its army, Awadh also made considerable progress in the manufacture of arms and ammunitions. Military laboratories sprang up in various parts of the state for the manufacturing of war equipments. It was reported that as many as 22 foundries were established in Awadh alone with Faizabad forming the chief manufacturing centre. The quality of the arms produced in these foundries was highly praised by the connoisseurs of the military technology. Modave and even the English officers praised the high quality production of firearms in Awadh.

While Gentil, Sonson, and Pedrose were credited with improvements in Awadh army, Delamarr and his associates and Canaple were instrumental in the production of supreme quality weapons. Delamarr who was a military scientist was approached by the Nawab himself. It was under his expert supervision that the high quality weapons were cast in Awadh. Canaple built a strong fortress with bastions to impart solidity and strength to the fortress. It was construed as the Nawab’s response to the English architecture in Calcutta.

The European adventurers also played a pivotal role in the politics of the region. Their political role was particularly highlighted when they worked as political negotiators for the alliance between the Indian rulers and the French government. The diplomatic initiative which was taken by Chevalier, the Governor of Chandernagore, and later by the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, for military alliance with the French government against the English menace in 1770s had these adventurers as central figures of action. Du Jarday, Madec, and Modave acquired central position in this diplomatic exercise. Du Jarday achieved an early success when at the initial stage itself he concluded a treaty with the Maratha leader Mahadji Sindhia for the military union of the two powers. The treaty envisaged the English as a common threat and it was agreed upon that in case of war with the English, they would jointly fight against the common
enemy. Apart from Du Jarday, Chevalier also succeeded in entering into a treaty with the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam. It was agreed that Chevalier would write to the authorities in Paris for providing French military support of 4000 to 5000 soldiers for the Emperor and in return the French would get trading rights in Hindustan and a certain territory to station their troops subject to the payment of 30 lakhs and 25 lakhs to the Emperor and the Marathas respectively as a surety for never to be troubled by them nor that they would join the English against the French. Thus, the Indian powers showed seriousness for the initiative and signed treaties with these representatives of Chevalier. But the French government did not respond to Chevalier’s proposal despite the latter’s several letters full of information on the changing political condition in Hindustan and the emergence of anti-English sentiments among the Indian rulers. The Mughal Emperor’s seriousness for the alliance was evident from the fact that later he himself initiated the diplomatic parleys for the alliance when through Madec and Modave he proposed the cession of the city of Thatta to the French forces for their military support. Madec and Modave particularly played a crucial role in the Emperor’s diplomatic initiative when they drafted the Emperor’s letter and sent it to the French authorities without any mediation. The Emperor’s proposal was seriously considered by the French authorities who soon enquired about the feasibility of the project through the French Governor of Pondicherry Bellecombe. The French government sent Monsieur De Montvert and later Montigny for the finalization of the treaty which also showed the French government’s interest in the alliance. Montigny’s mission came very late. By the time he reached Delhi, Madec with whom he was directed to consult by the French government had left for France. Montigny also reported about the prevailing anti-English sentiments in Hindustan and the growing zeal of the Indian rulers for the alliance.
The diplomatic initiatives of Chevalier and the Mughal Emperor was an interesting
development of the period in the face of English colonial threat and for nearly whole
of the decade of 1770s, formation of military alliance with the French remained an
important part of the politics of the Mughals.

The European adventurers’ presence in commercial milieu of the region was another
important development of the period. Their vigorous commercial activities provided
impetus to the economy of the region. Polier’s trade in wide ranging commodities and
profits accrued from that showed the economic potentialities existing in the region.
Later Du Jarday, De Boigne, and Claude Martin’s indigo trade raised it to several
notches up. Polier’s commercial pursuits and long-distance trading linkages brought
some of the remotely lying areas within the main economic stream. Du Jarday and De
Boigne’s commercial enterprises changed the contours of European adventurers’ trade
in north India. Unlike that of Polier, they mainly focused on indigo and cotton trade. It
was due to the fact that they were in high demand in Europe and fetched high prices
in the markets there. Du Jarday and De Boigne’s indigo trade in Aligarh led to rapid
economic growth of the region. Many new towns were developed as indigo
manufacturing centres. Pora, Pilwa, Marehra, Aligarh, Khurja, Mendu, Jalesar, Khair,
and Farrukhabad were some of the important towns that emerged as famous indigo
producing centres. The support and promotion to indigo trade resulted in the marked
increase in the annual income of many villages. It was reported that the indigo trade
led to annual growth of 10-20 % in the income of several villages in the Aligarh
region. Farrukhabad came up as the chief entrepôt from where indigo was exported to
European countries.

Available sources show that despite approaching the trade in a professional manner,
the adventurers could also not stay away from the practice of using politics for smooth
functioning of their trade. It is shown that Polier often tried to ingratiate himself with the Nawab of Awadh by giving him costly gifts. Besides, he also strongly suggested his agent Manik Ram to cultivate such qualities to derive advantages from such connections. The versatility in Polier's commodities of trade and his ability to extract maximum gains out of their transactions presents him as an astute trader.

The friendly relations with the English company certainly helped the adventurers in the growth of their trade. Polier's visits to Calcutta were in addition to procure goods also to renew ties with his English friends. Although the links with the Company does not appear to have openly assisted Polier in his commercial enterprise but it would have been useful in his procurement of goods from Calcutta, the English company's bastion, and its smooth transportation to upper India from the territories of the English company jurisdiction. However, the friendly connections of De Boigne and Perron with the English company did have a bearing on the course of their trade in upper India. The abolition of trading rights by the English company in 1788 provided these adventurers the opportunity to use their friendly links to export indigo to foreign shores through English banking firms. After incurring losses in the indigo trade, the adventurers later invested considerable sum in Company Bonds which was an English company enterprise. Thus, the amicable relations of the adventurers with the English proved pivotal in the furthering of their trade.

The social world of the adventurers was characterized by their marked absorption and assimilation in the society. Their marriages to Indian women and adoption of Indian ways of life proved to be important Indianizing influence which not only proved pivotal in their entrenchment in the society but also brought complete change in their personality and outlook. The period was also marked by their growing appreciation and admiration for Indian culture and civilization which emanated from their
intellectual pursuits and passionate collection of Indian manuscripts and texts. Their admiration for Indian culture and civilization also led to its popularization in Europe when they donated their large and important Indian collections to the King of France or to various libraries after their retirement to Europe. In this manner, they were the pioneers, and forerunners of the British 'Indologists' William Jones and others who are commonly believed to have been the first to come in contact with Indian history and religion.