

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Richelieu's Army

War, Government and Society in
France, 1624–1642

The conduct of European war on an unprecedented scale is central to an understanding of the ministry of Richelieu (1624–42), and there has been no previous study of the French army during this period. This book provides a detailed account of the organization of the army, and examines the challenges posed by war to government and society in a period associated with the creation of the 'absolutist state'.

By making extensive use of archival material, the study cuts through myths concerning military and administrative evolution, and confronts typical assumptions about progressive centralization and more effective control of the war-effort by the crown and its agents. Although the European war imposed huge burdens upon the French people, Richelieu's ministry struggled to control the army through traditional administrative and financial mechanisms. Far from strengthening the absolutist authority of government, the waging of war eroded the ministry's control over army officers and troops and incited tensions between soldiers and civilians across French society which in turn contributed to the undermining of existing structures of authority and control.

The book also makes an original and sceptical contribution to the debate about a 'military revolution' in early modern Europe by examining the conduct of war in early seventeenth-century France. In addition, it seeks to contextualize the inadequacy of the war-effort during Richelieu's ministry by providing a view of the military context of French foreign policy after 1625 which challenges many of the orthodoxies about Richelieu's aims and objectives in involving France in the Thirty Years War.

DAVID PARROTT is Fellow and Lecturer in Modern History, New College, Oxford.

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN HISTORY

Edited by Professor Sir John Elliott, University of Oxford

Professor Olwen Hufton, University of Oxford

Professor H.G. Koenigsberger, University of London

Professor H.M. Scott, University of St Andrews

The idea of an 'early modern' period of European history from the fifteenth to the late eighteenth century is now widely accepted among historians. The purpose of Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History is to publish monographs and studies which illuminate the character of the period as a whole, and in particular focus attention on a dominant theme within it, the interplay of continuity and change as they are presented by the continuity of medieval ideas, political and social organization, and by the impact of new ideas, new methods, and new demands on the traditional structure.

For a list of titles published in the series, please see end of the book

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Richelieu's Army

War, Government and Society in
France, 1624–1642

DAVID PARROTT



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA

10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, VIC 3166, Australia

Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain

Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

© David Parrott 2001

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2001

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Ehrhardt 10/12 pt *System* 3b2 [CE]*A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library**Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data*

Parrott, David.

Richelieu's army: war, government and society in France, 1624-1642 / David Parrott.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 79209 6

1. France – History – Louis XIII, 1610-1643. 2. Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de, 1585-1642. 3. France. Armée – History – 17th century. 4. France – History, Military – 1610-1643. I. Title.

DC123.P37 2001

944'.032-dc21 00-065161

ISBN 0 521 79209 6 hardback

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

To my parents
Fred and Dorothy Parrott

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>Glossary</i>	xii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xvii
<i>Maps</i>	
1 North-east France, 1635–1642	xix
2 Eastern France, 1629–1642	xx
3 Alsace, Lorraine and Franche-Comté	xxi
4 North Italy, 1626–1642	xxii
5 Languedoc, Roussillon and Catalonia, 1637–1642	xxiii
6 Atlantic France and the Pyrenean frontier, 1627–1638	xxiv
 Introduction: war, government and society in France, 1624–1642	 i
 PART I THE MILITARY CONTEXT	
1 The French art of war during Richelieu's ministry	19
2 France at war, 1624–1642	84
Aims and methods, 1624–1634	84
The French war-effort, 1635–1642	110
3 The size of the French army	164
 PART II THE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT	
4 Paying for war	225
5 Recruiting and maintaining armies during the Thirty Years War: military enterprise	277
6 The French rejection of entrepreneurship	313
7 The civil administration of the army: the structures	366
The central structure of the war administration	367
The administrators with the French army before 1635	373

Cambridge University Press
0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642
David Parrott
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Contents

PART III RESPONSES AND REACTIONS

8	The management of the war-effort from 1635 to 1642: <i>commissaires des guerres</i> and <i>intendants</i>	399
9	The ministry and the high command	463
10	The army and the civilian population	505
	Conclusion	547
	<i>Bibliography</i>	557
	<i>Index</i>	579

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgements

As my colleagues and friends are well aware, this book has been long in gestation. Its origins lie in a more narrowly focused doctoral thesis that was examined back in 1985. Since then further research on Richelieu's army and its wider social and political context has competed with other projects for my time and attention, although these latter have had their own impact on the shape and argument of this work. Some of my scholarly debts therefore extend back to the years of my graduate work. I would especially like to thank Robin Briggs, who both suggested the subject of Richelieu's army as a doctoral study and then provided support, encouragement and advice as my supervisor. From the same period I also owe a great debt to Michael Howard for the time and attention he was prepared to give to my initial thoughts on early modern warfare, and to Cliff Davies and Robert Knecht, doctoral examiners but also unstinting sources of advice and suggestion. All have remained close to the project since then, and I am grateful for their forbearance and willingness to accept my protestations that the book would ultimately appear.

The book would not have been completed at all without an allocation of university research terms, the first two of these granted to me during my years of teaching in the Department of History at the University of York. I remember with deep affection the encouragement, collegiality and stimulation provided by all my colleagues at York, but am particularly grateful to Norman Hampson, Alan Forrest, Dwyrdd Jones and Jim Sharpe, with whom I had the opportunity to discuss many of the issues that have shaped my work. Since my return to Oxford I have benefited from further research terms generously granted me by the Warden and Fellows of New College, one of which was prolonged by an award under the British Academy's 'Research Leave Scheme'. Such absences can only be sustained by the willingness of colleagues to absorb extra burdens, and I am most grateful to my fellow historians at New College, Eric Christiansen and Ruth Harris, for facilitating these occasional *exeats*. My intellectual debts to colleagues in Oxford are extensive, though I would especially like to thank John Elliott, Laurence Brockliss, Jeremy Catto, Richard Cooper, Robert Evans, Olwen Hufton, Jonathan Powis, John Robertson, Guy Rowlands, Michael Screech, John Stoye, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Penry Williams for their interest in the project, their innumerable suggestions, ideas and their always profitable conversation.

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Acknowledgements*

The list of colleagues in the Anglo-Saxon, French and wider European academic worlds to whom I am grateful for advice and guidance, freely given references to their own work and generous and extensive discussion is intimidatingly lengthy. Amongst French colleagues I would particularly like to thank Michel Antoine, Père Jean-Robert Armogathe, Rainer Babel, Françoise Bayard, Lucien Bély, Jean Béranger, Olivier Chaline, Edward Corp, André Corvisier, Daniel Dessert, Marc Fumaroli, Charles Giry-Deloison, Arlette Jouanna, Bernard Masson, Bruno Neveu, René Pillorget and Jean-Louis Quantin. Outside of the Hexagon, Klaus Bußmann, Arabella Cifani and Franco Monetti, Sven Externbrink, Daniela Ferrari, Bernhard Kroener, Klaus Malettke, Cesare Mozzar-elli, Heinz Schilling and Peter Schroeder have all contributed to my research and thinking on war, government and society. I am no less obliged to British and American historians who have offered comments, help and advice, amongst them Simon Adams, Sydney Anglo, Jeremy Black, Richard Bonney, Derek Croxton, Karin Friedrich, Robert Frost, Graham Gibbs, Mark Greengrass, Simon Hodson, James Inglis-Jones, Jonathan Israel, Alan James, Colin Jones, Hellie Koenigs-berger, John Lynn, Roger Mettam, Toby Osborne, David Parker, Geoffrey Parker, Simon Pepper, David Potter, Cliff Rogers, John Rogister, Mía Rodríguez-Salgado, Robert Stradling, Christopher Storrs, Geoffrey Symcox and Frank Tallett. By their responsiveness to enquiries, willingness to exchange ideas and openness to debate all have demonstrated that scholarly and collegial values continue to exist in an academic world which at times can seem to have absorbed a depressing ethos of narrow self-promotion. I can only apologize in advance to any others whose names have been inadvertently missed, but whose contribution has been no less considerable. In addition to all those cited above, I would also like to record *in memoriam* three colleagues and close friends – Ragnhild Hatton, Rohan Butler and Jean Jacquart – all of whom made an irreplaceable contribution to my thinking about war and society in the states of the *Ancien Régime*.

The present book rests upon consultation of the holdings of a number of major archives and over the years I have drawn heavily upon the assistance of their archivists. My early work at the Archives de la Guerre was inestimably helped by the kindness, guidance and flexibility of the staff, under the then direction of Marie-Anne Corvisier-de Villèle. I am no less grateful to the staff of the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, and especially to Isabelle Richefort and Monique Constant. The staff of the *salle des manuscrits* of the Bibliothèque Nationale have been consistently helpful and obliging, while the Bibliothèque Mazarine provided a most welcoming and agreeable haven for consulting printed sources.

I am especially aware of a number of particular obligations accumulated in the production of this book. To Joseph Bergin and Hamish Scott I owe not merely their selfless commitment of time and effort to reading and commenting on large sections of this work, but years of encouragement, advice and friendship when the project was in its earlier stages. I am no less grateful to my father, Fred Parrott,

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Acknowledgements*

whose position outside the world of Richelieu and Claude de Bullion allowed him to read, advise and to go some way to improving the clarity and readability of the text. My sister, Jane Parrott, provided invaluable help with the index and bibliography, while Stéphane Jettot was generous enough to give up some of his time while researching in the Bodleian to correct some of my more egregious errors in transcribing seventeenth-century French. What mistakes remain after all of their efforts are entirely my own responsibility. To the four editors of the Cambridge Studies in Early Modern European History I owe another great debt, as I do for the expert copy-editing of Linda Randall, while the greatest obligation of all is to William Davies, whose professionalism, dynamism, kindness and extraordinary helpfulness in the preparation of the book has been unparalleled.

On a personal note, I would like to thank my sixth-form tutor, Joyce Willcocks, from whose teaching and stimulus I date the beginnings of my interest in Richelieu. I owe an incalculable debt to Roger Clark and above all to Robert Oresko, who have not merely provided me with intellectual and emotional support throughout this period, but have been prepared to put up with a project which has overshadowed a decade of our domestic life. To Robert, as well, I owe a great expansion of my horizons as a historian, and his intellectual influence is a pervasive feature of the entire study. I hope that the work will constitute some sort of tribute, however inadequate, to his encouragement and support over twelve years.

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Glossary

- armée*: (1) The total military establishment maintained by Louis XIII.
 (2) Individual army-corps serving in particular campaign theatres – army of the Valtelline, army serving in Franche-Comté, army of Italy, etc.

COMPANY AND REGIMENTAL OFFICERS

I have used the term non-commissioned officer (NCO) to denote those company posts with disciplinary authority below the rank of captain, lieutenant and ensign, though the term is itself an anachronism; ‘petty officer’ might be more appropriate to a seventeenth-century context, but creates its own confusions for a modern readership.

aide-major: assistant of the regimental (*sergent*-)major; liaison between the *major* and the company officers.

anspessade: veteran ranking soldier, allocated the most important positions in a company deployment. The *anspessade* was immediately subordinate to a corporal, but without the formal disciplinary authority of an NCO.

appointé: veteran soldier in a company, though of lower status than an *anspessade*.

archer: ordinary employee and assistant of the *prévôt*.

cornette: (1) Lowest-ranking officer in a company of *cavalerie légère*.

- (2) Frequently used to denote the cavalry company itself – ‘trois cornettes de cavalerie’.

enseign: lowest-ranking officer in an infantry company, by tradition charged with carrying the company banner. Equivalent in companies of *cavalerie légère* was the *cornette*.

état major: term for all officers and officials in a regiment outside the company hierarchy: *mestre de camp*, (*sergent*-)major, *aides-majors*, *maréchal de logis*, *commis-saire à la conduite*, chaplain, surgeon, the *prévôt* and his lieutenant and *archers*.

cuidon: lowest-ranking officer and standard-bearer in company of *gendarmes*.

lieutenant-général: supreme commander of an army-corps – the acting *lieutenant* of the king, commander of all his armies.

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Glossary*

maréchal: non-hereditary rank granted by the crown to a senior officer, in almost all cases one who had already served as commander of an army-corps. Provided court status equivalent to a *duc sans pairie*. It was not necessary to be a *maréchal* to command an army-corps, but a *maréchal* would enjoy precedence if two commanders were appointed to joint command of an army unless the other commander were a high-ranking *prince du sang* or *prince souverain*, for whom the status of *maréchal* was considered inappropriate.

maréchal de camp: officer of the high command immediately subordinate to the *lieutenant-général* of an army-corps. Overall responsibility for the quartering and encampment of the troops. In theory one or more *maréchaux de camp* was to remain with the army during the winter quarter to maintain discipline.

maréchal des logis: (1) Officer in each infantry regiment, directly under the orders of the *mestre de camp* and the major. Overall responsibility for the lodging of troops, provision of supplies, management of the soldiers at the *étapes*.

- (2) Low-ranking NCO in a company of *cavalerie légère*, *dragons* or *gendarmes*, charged with collection and distribution of forage, finding stabling, etc.

maréchal de bataille: officer within the general staff whose original function was to draw up the army for battle according to the plans established by the general.

mestre de camp: commander of a French infantry regiment; commanders of cavalry and foreign mercenary regiments held the title of colonels. (*Mestre* [*maître*] *de camp* derived from Spanish *maestro de campo*.)

sergent de bataille: subordinate to the *maréchal de camp* with duties similar to the *maréchal de bataille*, involving the embattling of the army and the general oversight of discipline in quarters. Some confusion of status between the two offices, and by the reign of Louis XIV the office of *maréchal de bataille* had replaced the *sergent*.

sergent-major (*major*): immediate subordinate of the *mestre de camp* in the regimental hierarchy, with authority over all the captains. Had control over the collection and distribution of all munitions to the regiment, and responsibility for drawing up the regiment in order of battle.

WEAPONRY, EQUIPMENT AND PROVISIONING

canon: (1) General term for the artillery pieces present with a French army-corps or in a fortification.

- (2) Heavy field or siege piece, weighing around 4,800 lb and firing a shot weighing 30–5 lb.

carabins: ultimately to be superseded by *dragons*, but under Richelieu the standard term for mounted infantry. Those armed with the heavier muskets were sometimes termed *mousquetaires à cheval*.

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Glossary*

cavalerie légère: the great majority of the French cavalry units. Cavalry armed with a sabre and two pistols, lightly armoured with *cuirasse*, helmet and in some cases arm and leg protection.

corselet: chest and back armour issued to pikemen. Ministers complained frequently that the pikemen declined to wear this cumbersome protection.

culverine: second-heaviest artillery piece, weighing around 3,700 lb, and firing a shot of around 20 lb.

dragons [dragoons]: mounted infantry, armed with muskets or, more usually, lighter firearms, descendants of the sixteenth-century arquebuse. Soldiers would dismount to fight.

flintlock musket (*fusil*): though the matchlock was the standard issue musket for the French (and other European) infantry during the Thirty Years War, numerous examples survive of the more sophisticated flintlock, a musket fired by means of a spark struck from a flint when the trigger was pulled. While the pistols issued to the French cavalry were fired by flint- (wheel-) lock technology, it was considered too expensive and unreliable for adoption by ordinary musketeers. Flintlock muskets remained prestige objects manufactured in relatively small quantities until the later seventeenth century. A small number of mounted infantry – *fusiliers* – were equipped with flintlocks.

gendarme: heavy cavalryman, in most cases still fully armoured. In theory the most prestigious element in the armies, since the companies of *gendarmes* were invariably the personal units of the royal household, major *grands* or the provincial governors. In reality the *gendarmerie* had a reputation for indiscipline and disorder, and played a modest role in campaigning, especially once the *cavalerie légère* had been organized into squadrons or regiments.

matchlock musket: musket fired by means of a ‘match’ – a length of smouldering fuse applied to the powder in the firing chamber when the musket trigger was pulled. Hence ‘match’ – quantities of slow-burning fuse issued to infantry with firearms: an extremely large item in the budget of munitions purchase and distribution.

munitionnaire: large-scale supplier prepared to negotiate contracts with the crown for the provision of *pain de munition* to the armies. Frequently linked into networks of other financial speculators.

pain de munition: the basic daily ration of bread provided to the French *infantry* (not cavalry and artillery) by systems of central contracting. The soldiers contributed 1 *sol* per day to this provision, and the crown absorbed the additional costs of providing grain, baking bread and distributing the rations. The bread ration was supposed to weigh 24 ounces.

vivandier: local, small-scale, entrepreneur-merchant who would sell food and

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Glossary*

drink to the soldiers in camp or garrison to supplement the standard issue of *pain de munition*.

ARMY ORGANIZATION

denier: one twelfth of a *sol*, one 240th of a *livre*.

deniers revenans bons: the financial sums outstanding from the gap between the calculations of the payment of the unit at 'full' strength, and the 'actual' size of the unit as established at the *revue*.

drapeau blanc: the privilege of carrying the king's standard, the *drapeau blanc*, in addition to regimental colours, was accorded to prestige infantry regiments. It was essentially identified with the *vieux* and *petits vieux* regiments, but a sequence of other regiments were accorded this privilege, together with *entretenu* status, during the 1630s.

écu: typically valued at 3 *livres* in 1630s/40s.

étape: prescribed halting-point for units marching down to the campaign theatres, supposedly provided with adequate provisions for the troops collected from the surrounding area or purchased via a local tax.

la colonelle: company in each of the *régiments entretenus* whose officers were nominated by the *colonel général de l'infanterie française*. The captain of this company was titled *lieutenant colonel*, and in theory enjoyed the highest status amongst the captains of the regiment, though this frequently ensured clashes with the captain commanding the company of the regimental *mestre de camp*.

licencierement: the disbandment of a regiment or company, either as a disciplinary penalty or because the numbers of troops in the unit had fallen beneath a minimal effective strength. *Licencierement* usually involved the dismissal of the unit officers and the incorporation of the soldiers and NCOs into other units.

livre tournois: basic unit of currency, though it did not correspond to an actual coin in the French monetary system.

millier: roughly 1,000 lb weight – used largely in connection with quantities of powder, lead, match.

montre: (1) 'Monthly' payment made to both soldiers and officers in the army by the *trésoriers de l'ordinaire et extraordinaire des guerres*. The number of *montres* was reduced by the *bureau des finances* from ten per campaign to eight to six (1634–6), though in practice few troops received more than three or four *montres* per campaign.

(2) Synonymous with *revue* (English 'muster'). French administrative ordinances frequently refer to *montres et revues des gens de guerre*, with no implication that these were different processes.

Cambridge University Press

0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642

David Parrott

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Glossary*

passe-volants: civilians or soldiers from other units, deployed by the unit commander on the day of the *revue* to deceive the *commissaires* and *contrôleurs* about the effective strength of his unit.

petits-vieux régiments: by 1635 this group consisted of seven elite regiments, maintained on a permanent basis and with the right to carry the *drapeau blanc*, but placed in a rank below the *vieux*: Neerestang, Sault, Rambures, Maugiron, Vaubecourt, Bellenaeue, Saint-Luc.

pike: one third of the French infantry were armed with pikes, ten to twelve foot staff weapons, headed with an eighteen-inch metal tip. The pikemen were the largest and strongest of the soldiers, who received higher pay and constituted the core of the infantry unit both in defence and attack.

prêt: basic subsistence payment made to the ordinary soldiers every ten days (in theory) on campaign to permit them to buy food, wine, etc.

réformation: reduction in the number of companies in a unit, usually to concentrate the soldiers and reduce the number of officers. During the winter quarter it was also possible for a full complement of companies to be maintained within a regiment, but at substantially reduced individual strength.

régiment or *compagnie entretenu(e)*: undertaking by the crown and its ministers that a selected regiment or cavalry company would not be disbanded, but would be maintained on a permanent basis regardless of whether France was at war. The unit might undergo a reduction of its effective strength, but the potential to reestablish the unit was always maintained.

revue: assembly of the soldiers in a particular unit or entire army-corps to allow the *commissaires* and *contrôleurs des guerres* to carry out an exact count of the real strength of the force, after which payment would be made – usually into the hands of the unit commander who would then distribute (some of) it to his soldiers.

sol: one twentieth of a livre.

vieux régiments: could include the king's own *régiments des gardes françaises* and *gardes suisses*. Most usually denotes the four oldest 'provincial' regiments of Picardie, Piémont, Champagne and Navarre. To these four were added the Normandie regiment from c. 1617 (Père G. Daniel, *Histoire de la milice française*) and Richelieu's *régiment de La Marine* in 1635, though in June 1640 the *Marine* was accorded fifth rank amongst the *vieux* (SHAT A¹59, fo. 272).

Abbreviations

AAE MD	Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, France
AAE CP	Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Politique
Anselme, <i>Histoire généalogique</i> ,	Père Anselme de Sainte-Marie, <i>Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, des pairs, grands offices de la couronne</i> . . . (3rd edn), (9 vols.; Paris, 1726–33)
ASMa AG	Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga
ASTo LM	Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri
Aubery, <i>Richelieu</i>	A. Aubery, <i>Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du cardinal duc de Richelieu</i> (2 vols.; Paris, 1660)
Avenel	D.L.M. Avenel (ed.), <i>Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'état du cardinal de Richelieu</i> (<i>Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France</i>) (8 vols.; Paris, 1853–76)
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
Code Michau	A.L. Jourdan, J. Decrusy and F.A. Isambert (eds.), <i>Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789</i> (28 vols.; Paris, 1821–33), xvi
Grillon	P. Grillon (ed.), <i>Les papiers de Richelieu. Section politique intérieure: correspondance et papiers d'état</i> (6 vols. to date; Paris, 1975–)
Hanotaux, <i>Richelieu</i>	G. Hanotaux and duc de La Force, <i>L'histoire du cardinal de Richelieu</i> (6 vols.; Paris, 1893–1947)
Michaud and Poujoulat	J. Michaud and J. Poujoulat (eds.), <i>Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe</i> – 3e série (10 vols.; Paris, 1838)
Ms.fr.	Manuscrit français
Ms.fr. PO	Manuscrit français, Pièces Originales
n.d.	no date
Petitot and Monmerqué	C. Petitot and L. de Monmerqué (eds.), <i>Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France</i> – 2e série (52 vols.; Paris, 1824–9)

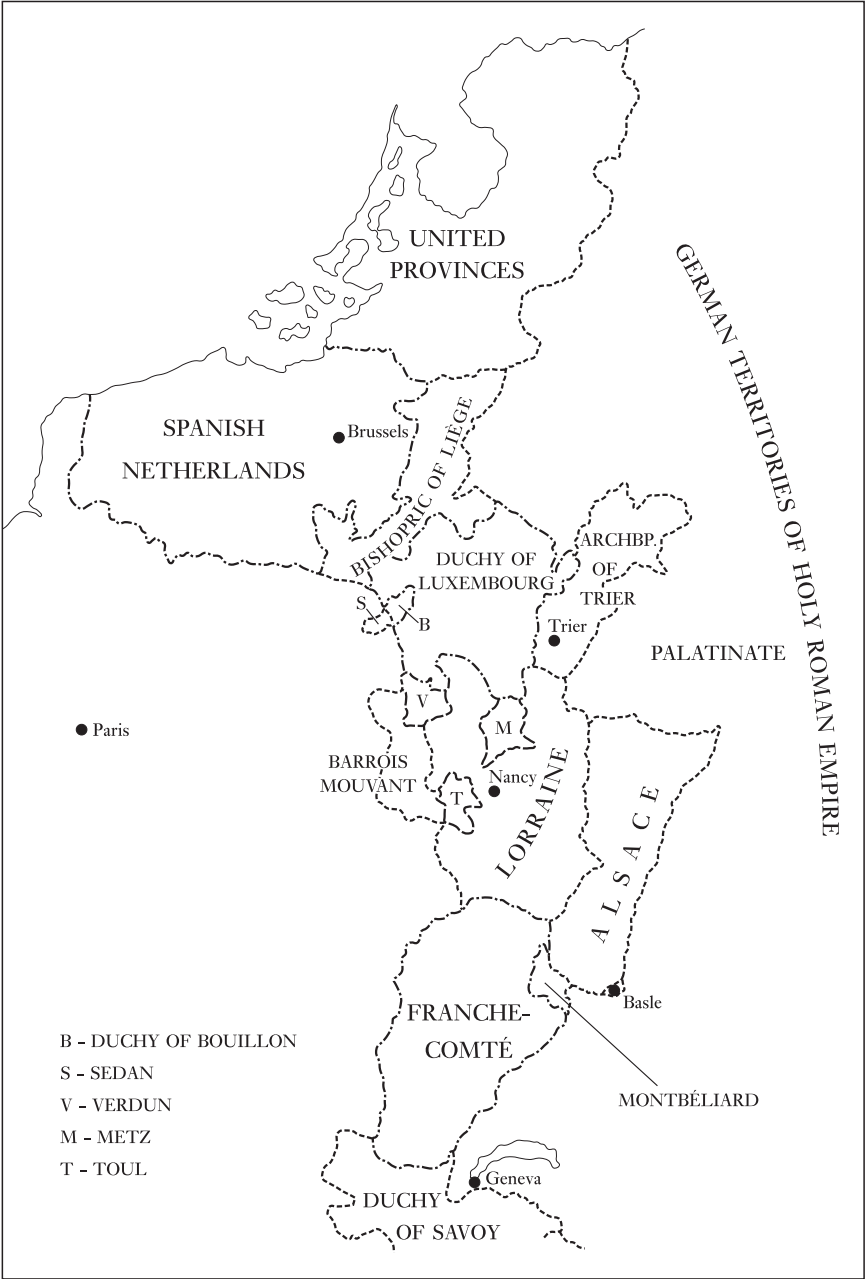
Cambridge University Press
0521792096 - Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642
David Parrott
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

List of abbreviations

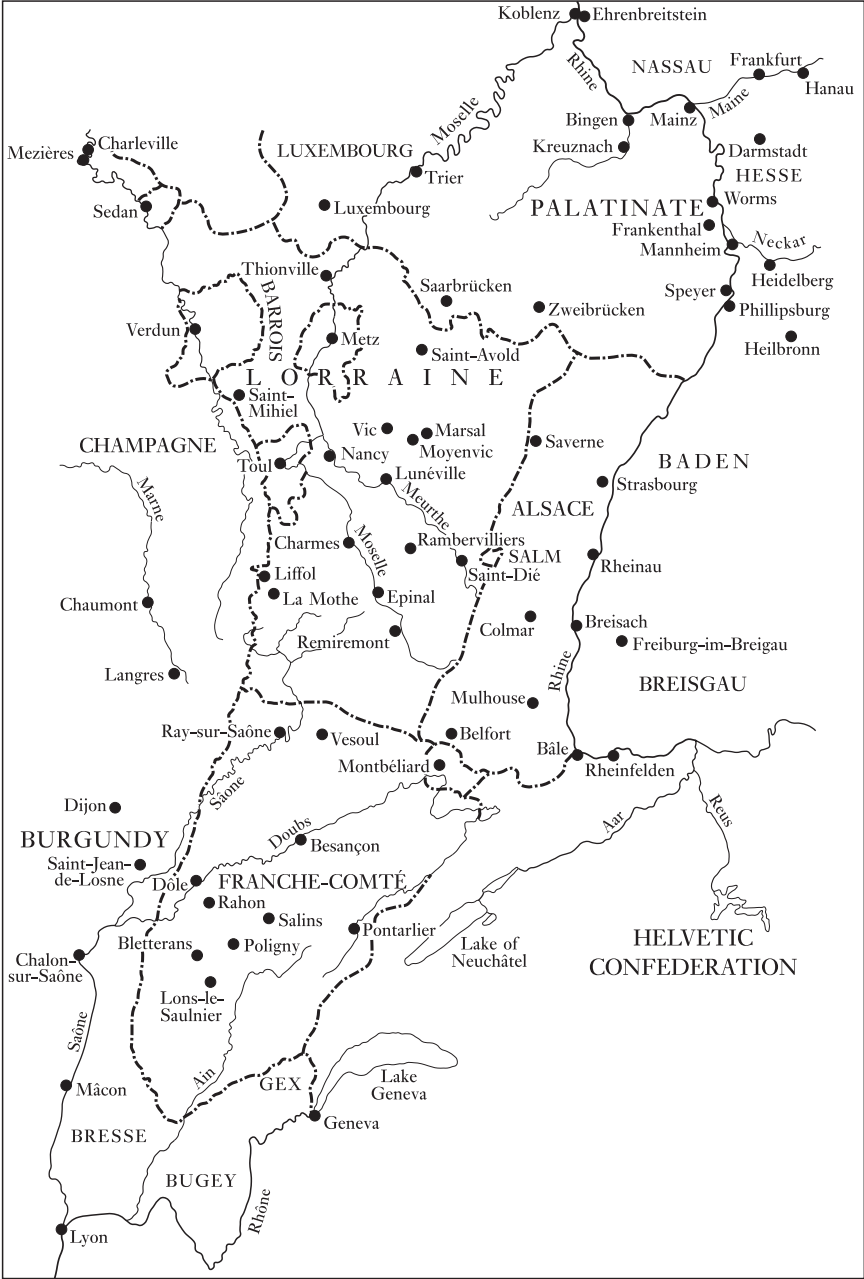
Pinard, <i>Chronologie</i>	M. Pinard, <i>Chronologie historique militaire</i> (7 vols.; Paris, 1760–4)
Richelieu, <i>Mémoires</i>	Richelieu, <i>Mémoires</i> , in Petitot and Monmerqué, xxii–xxx (numbered as i–ix in text)
SHAT	Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre (Archives de la Guerre, Vincennes)



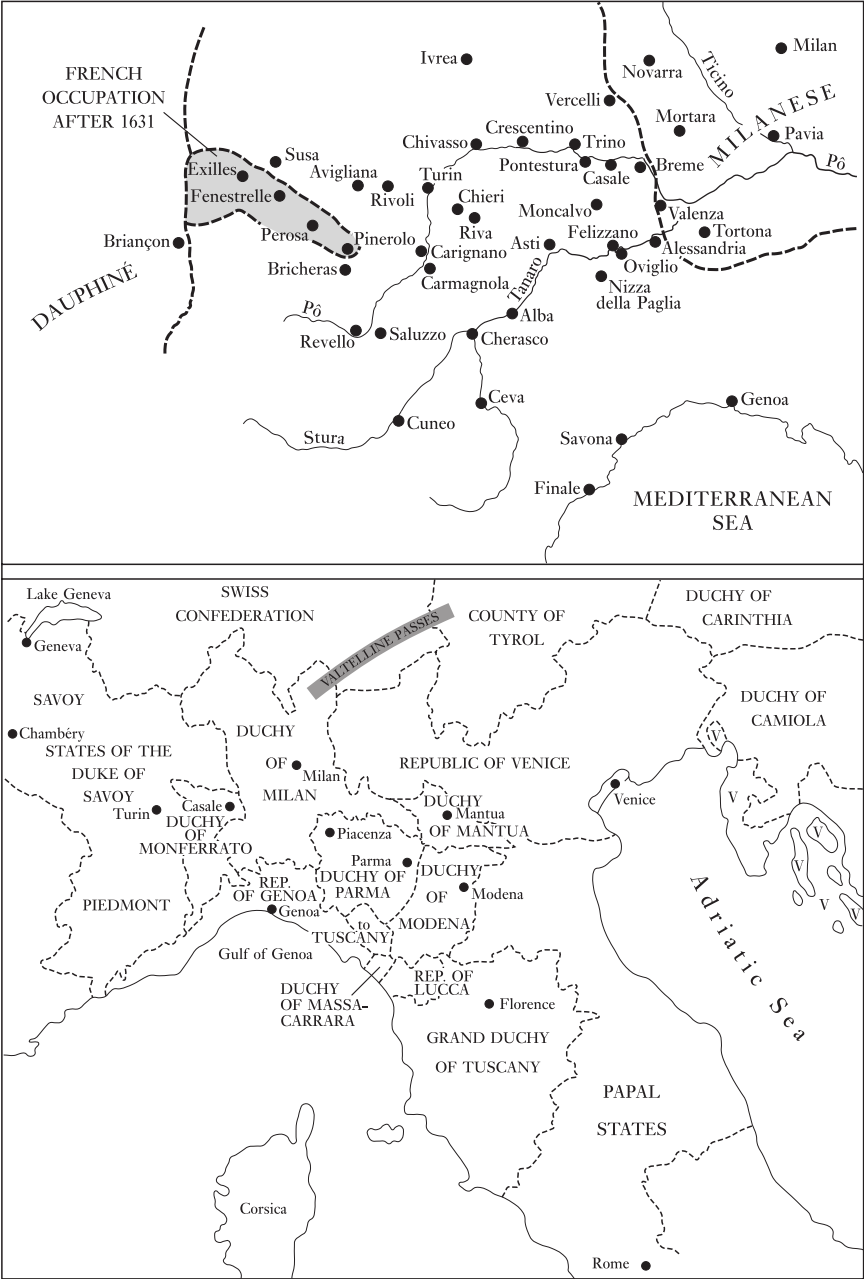
MAP 1 North-east France, 1635–1642



MAP 2 Eastern France, 1629-1642



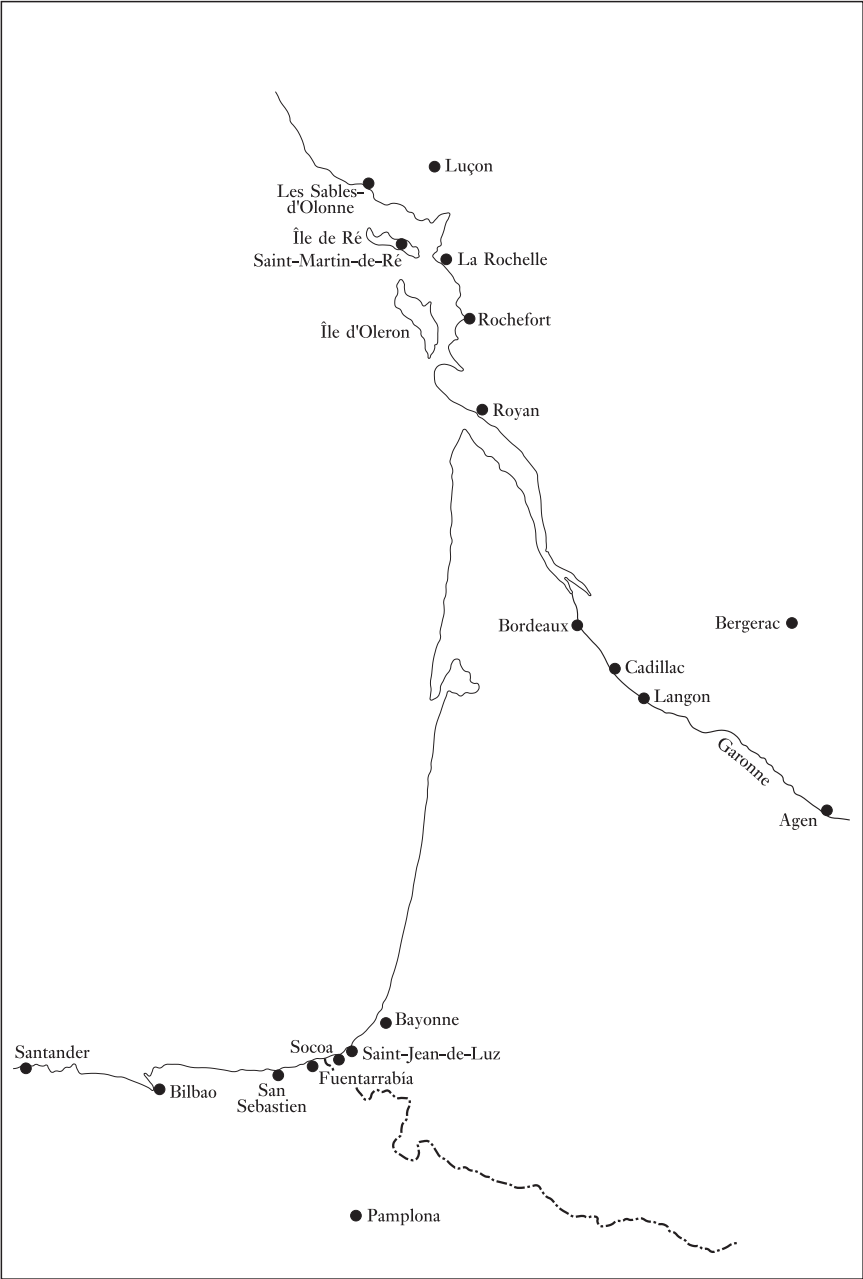
MAP 3 Alsace, Lorraine and Franche-Comté



MAP 4 North Italy, 1626-1642



MAP 5 Languedoc, Roussillon and Catalonia, 1637–1642



MAP 6 Atlantic France and the Pyrenean frontier, 1627–1638