

# The Road to Rebellion: State-Building and Rural Uprisings in the Run-Up to the French Revolution

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## Supplementary Figures



(a) A Horse-Post Relay



(b) A Horse-Post Postillon

Figure A1. Depictions of the Horse-Post

*Notes.* This figure displays contemporary depictions of an eighteenth-century horse-post relay in Panel (a), and of a postillon galloping two horses back to a horse-post relay in Panel (b). Sources: in Panel (a), lithography by Victor-Jean Adam and Louis-Philippe-Alphonse Bichebois, based on a painting of Jean-Antoine Duclaux, *La malle au relai*, 1817, Musée de La Poste; in Panel (b), painting of the French School, *Postillon en livrée ramenant deux chevaux au galop*, mid-nineteenth century, Musée de La Poste.

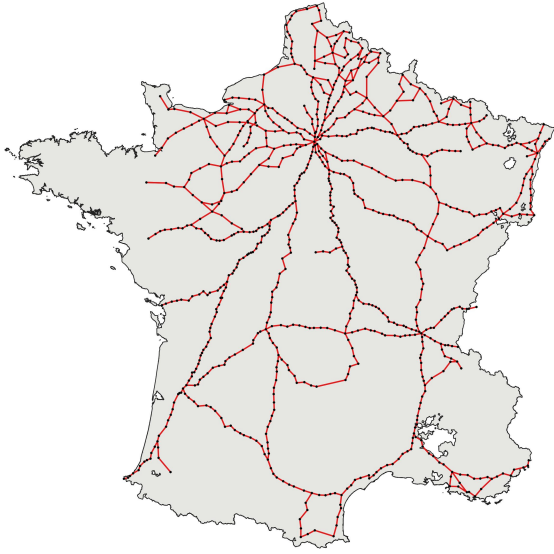
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**ROUTE DE LYON A MARSEILLE**  
*Par Vienne, Valence, Pont S<sup>t</sup> Esprit et Aix*  
**39 Postes**

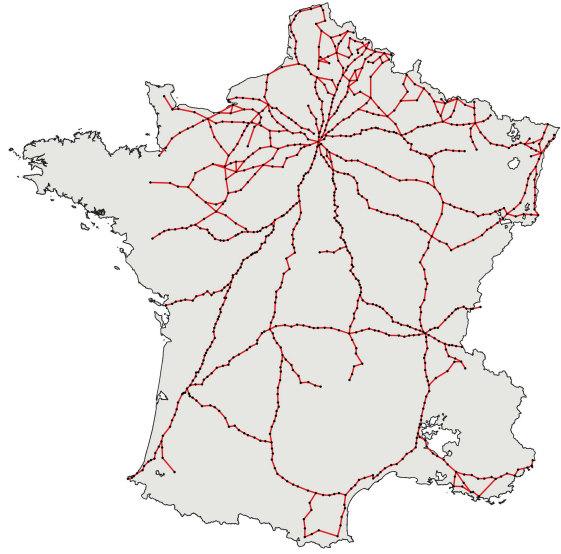
<i>de LYON à S<sup>t</sup> Fons.....</i>	<i>Poste Royale</i>
<i>de S<sup>t</sup> Fons à S<sup>t</sup> Saphorin d'Ozon ....</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>de S<sup>t</sup> Saphorin à VIENNE .....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de Vienne à Auberive.....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>d'Auberive au Peage de Roussillon..</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>du Peage à S<sup>t</sup> Rambert.....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de S<sup>t</sup> Rambert à S<sup>t</sup> Vallier.....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de S<sup>t</sup> Vallier à Tein .....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de Tein à Sillart. *</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>de Sillart à Valence.....</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>de Valence à la Paillasse .....</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>de la Paillasse à Leriol .....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de Leriol à Laine.....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de Laine à Montelimart.....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de Montelimart à Donzere.....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de Donzere à Pierrelatte.....</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>de Pierrelatte à la Palu .....</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>de la Palu au Pont S<sup>t</sup> Esprit.....</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>du Pont S<sup>t</sup> Esprit à Baymols .....</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>de Baymols à la Begude S<sup>t</sup> Laurent *</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de la Begude à Pujéau *</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>de Pujéau à AVIGNON .....</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>d'Avignon à S<sup>t</sup> Andiel.....</i>	<i>Deux Postes</i>
<i>de S<sup>t</sup> Andiel à Orjen .....</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>d'Orjen au Pont Royal .....</i>	<i>Deux Postes</i>
<i>de Pont Royal à S<sup>t</sup> Canat.....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>
<i>de S<sup>t</sup> Canat à AIX.....</i>	<i>Deux Postes</i>
<i>d'Aix au Pin .....</i>	<i>Deux Postes</i>
<i>du Pin à MARSEILLE .....</i>	<i>Poste et demie</i>

Figure A2. List of Horse-Post Relays between Lyon and Marseille in 1751

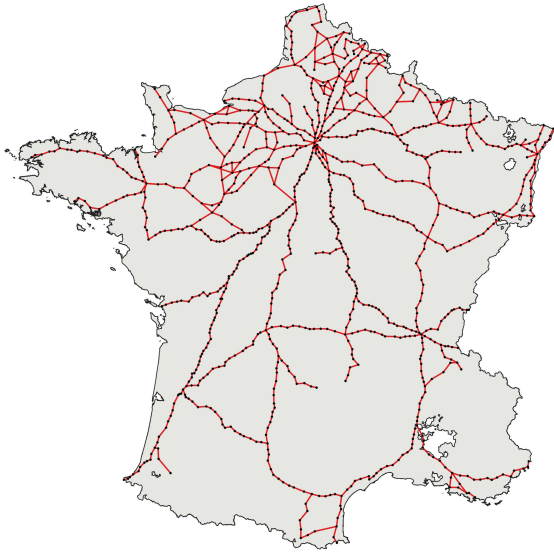
*Notes.* This figure provides an excerpt from the 1751 edition of the *Liste générale des postes de France* held by the Bibliothèque historique des postes et des télécommunications. It depicts the distribution of the 29 horse-post relays along the 39-post route from Lyon to Marseille (about 312 kilometers).



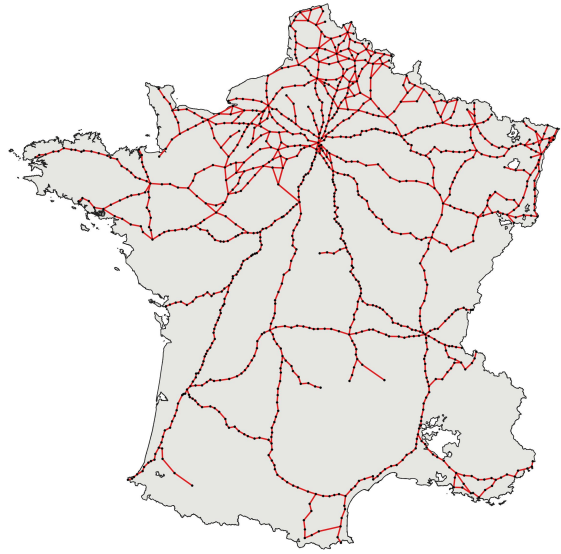
(a) 1721



(b) 1731

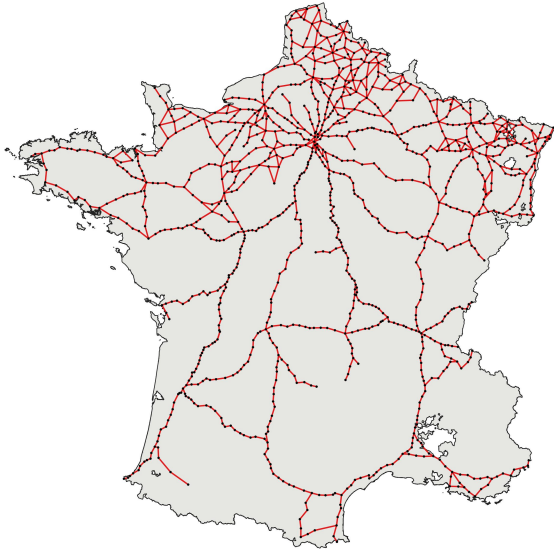


(c) 1741

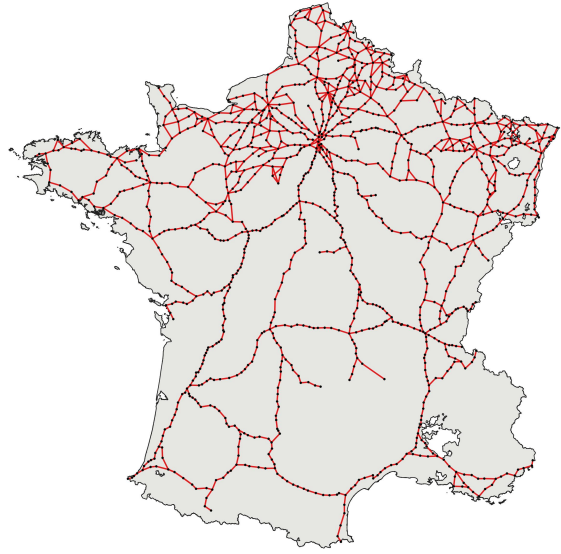


(d) 1751

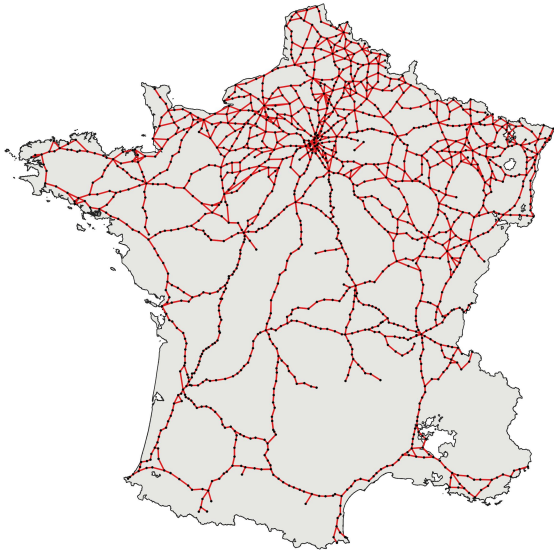
Figure A3. The Horse-Post Network (1721–51)



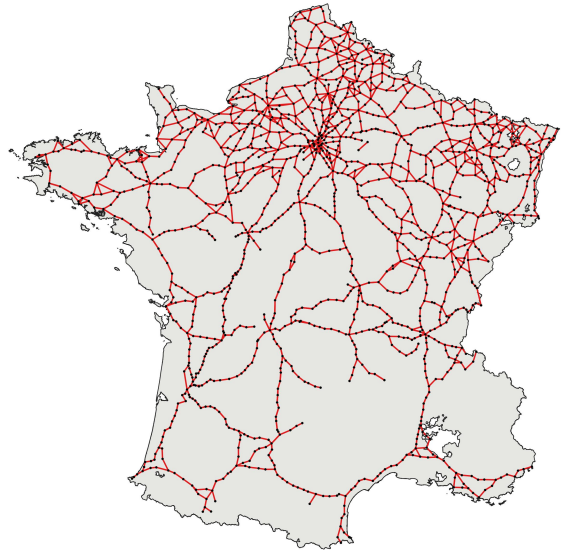
(a) 1762



(b) 1770



(c) 1780



(d) 1790

Figure A4. The Horse-Post Network (1762–90)



Figure A5. Share of Parishes with a Nearby Horse-Post Relay (1721–90)

*Notes.* This figure shows the share parishes – among 35 thousand – with a nearby postal relay, i.e., a postal relay in their canton between 1721 and 1790.

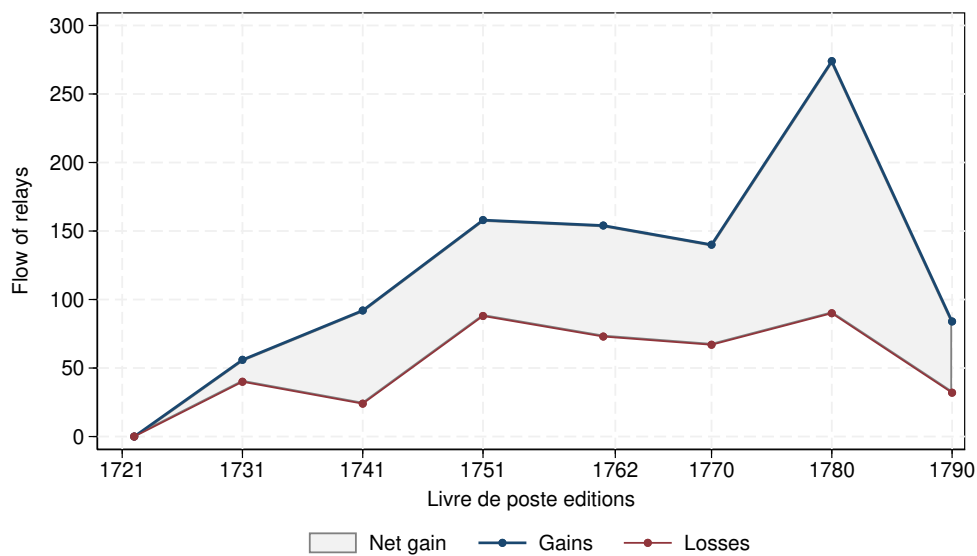
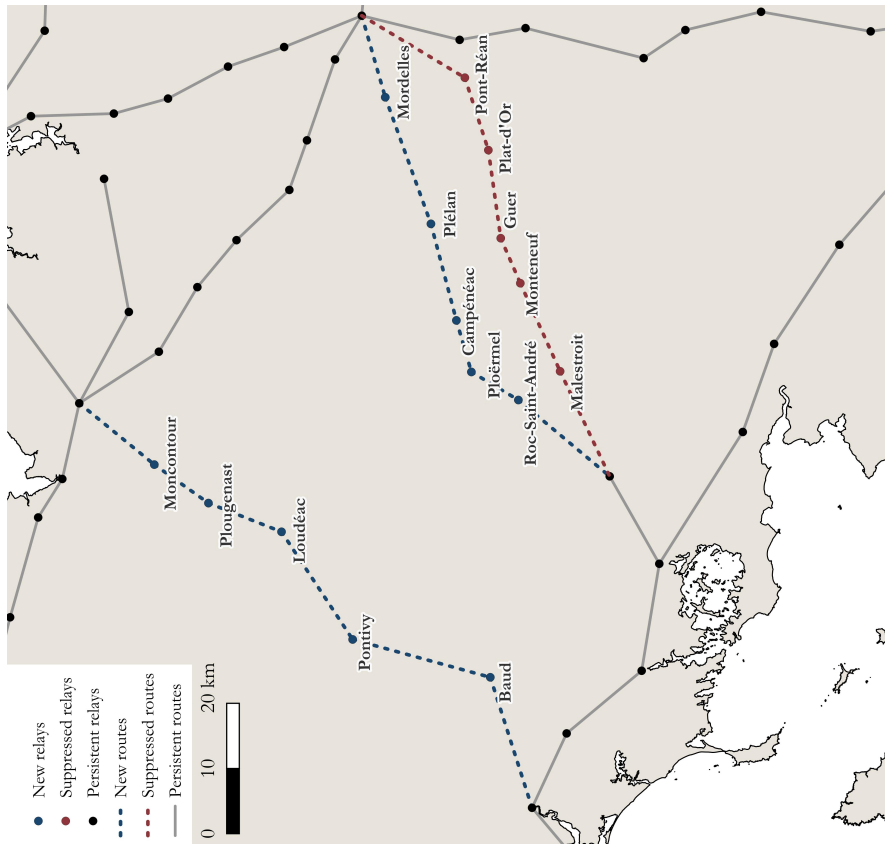


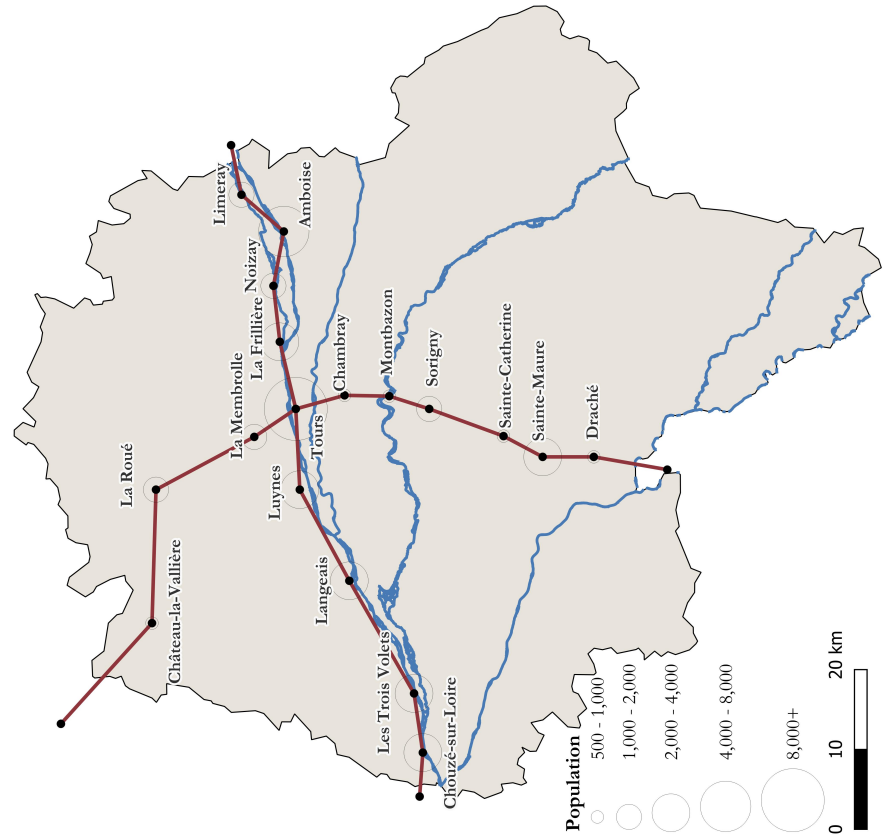
Figure A6. Flow of Horse-Post Relays (1721–90)

*Notes.* This figure shows the flow of horse-post relays between 1721 and 1790. *Gains* stands for newly created relays in the preceding decade, while *Losses* stands for retired relays in the preceding decade.





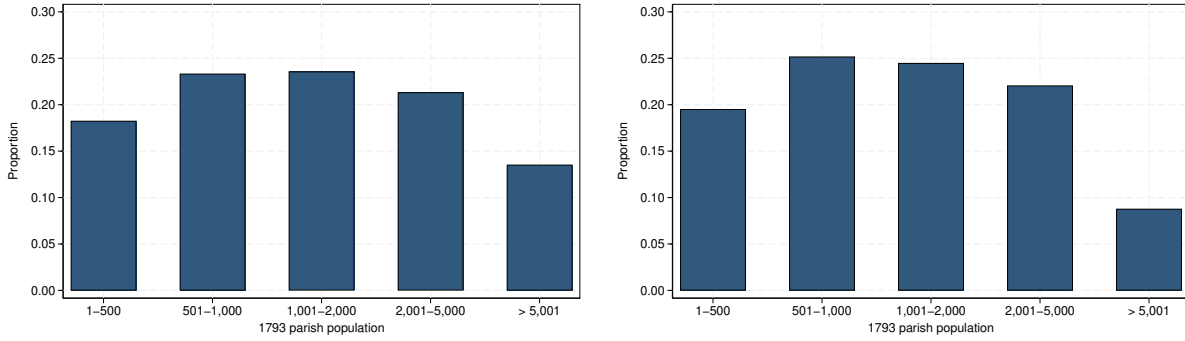
(a) New and Retired Horse-Post Relays and Routes (1760–70)



(b) Horse-Post Network in Touraine (1770)

Figure A7. Local Spatial Distribution of the Horse-Post Network in the 1760s and 1770s

*Notes.* This figure displays two instances of the local spatial distribution of the horse-post network in the 1760s and 1770s. Panel (a) focuses on the newly created and retired horse-post relays and routes in the region of Brittany between 1760 and 1770. *Persistent* relays and routes correspond to relays and routes that were present in both 1760 and 1770. Panel (b) focuses on the region of Touraine in 1770 – more precisely, in the post-Revolution département of Indre-et-Loire – along with its hydrographic network. In Panel (b), horse-post relays are displayed in black, horse-post roads, in red, and rivers, in blue. Population data are from the 1793 census.



(a) All Horse-Post Relays

(b) New Horse-Post Relays

Figure A8. Population of Parishes with a Horse-Post Relay (1721–90)

*Notes.* This figure displays the distribution of the 1793 population among the parishes that had a horse-post relay during the eighteenth century. Panel (a) contains all 1,693 parishes that ever had a relay between 1721 and 1790. Panel (b) contains the 866 parishes that did not initially have a relay in 1721 but later had one between 1731 and 1790.

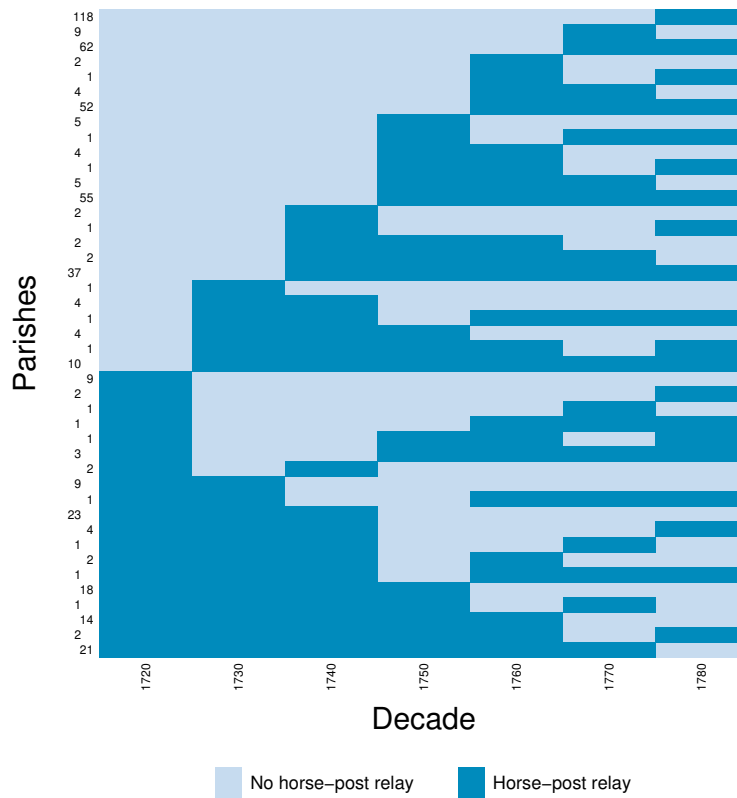


Figure A9. Collapsed 43 Treatment Histories among Parishes (1721–90)

*Notes.* This figure displays the 43 treatment histories among parishes that switched treatment at least once between 1721 and 1790. Numbers on the y-axis indicate the number of parishes with each treatment history. Figure produced with the `panelview` Stata command.



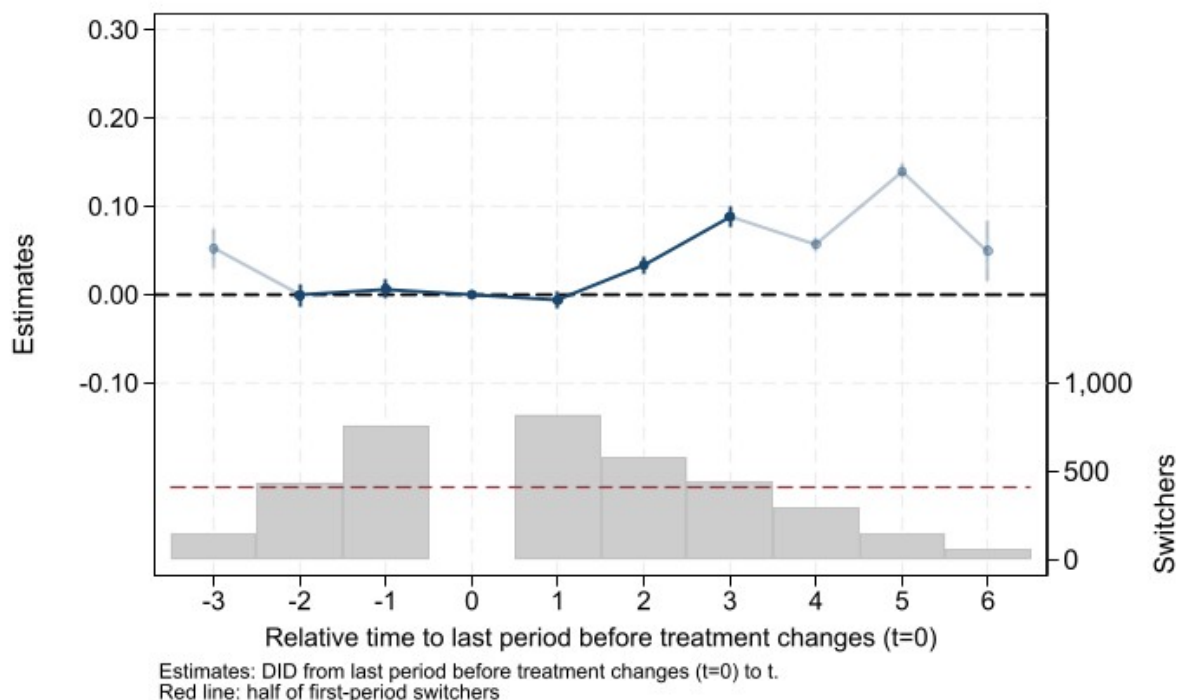


Figure A10. Event-Study Effects of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions

*Notes.* The top-half of this figure reports event-study effects  $\delta_\ell$  estimated through Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals. The unit of observation is a parish-decade from the 1720s to the 1780s. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as canton-by-decade fixed effects and parish-decade average wheat prices. This specification corresponds to Column (7) in Table 2. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multipligt_dyn` Stata command. Dark blue estimates correspond to restricting the estimation to two leads and three lags, while light blue estimates do not impose this restriction and uses three leads and six lags in the estimation. The bottom-half of this figure reports the number of switchers used for identification of each event-study effect. The red dotted line denotes half of first-period switchers.

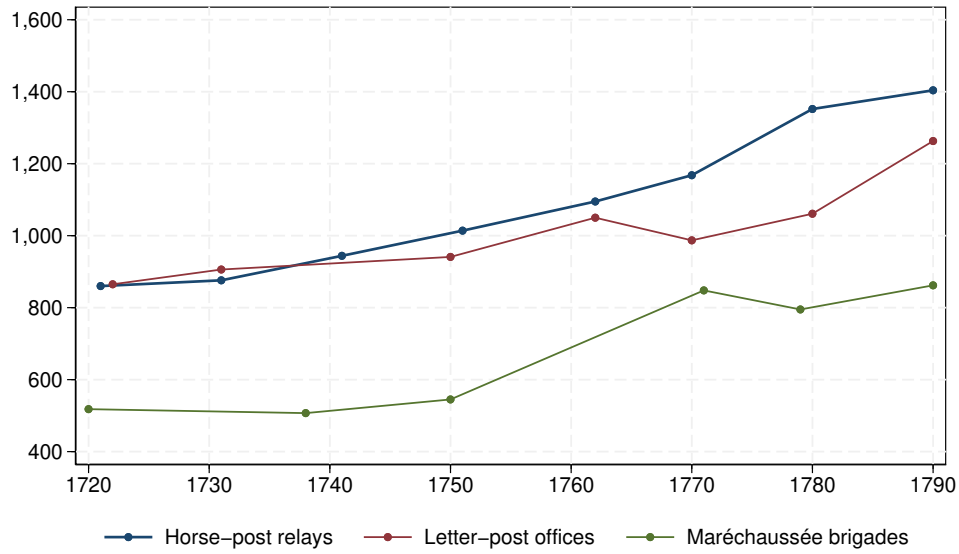


Figure A11. Horse-Post Relays, Letter-Post Offices, and Maréchaussée brigades (1720–90)

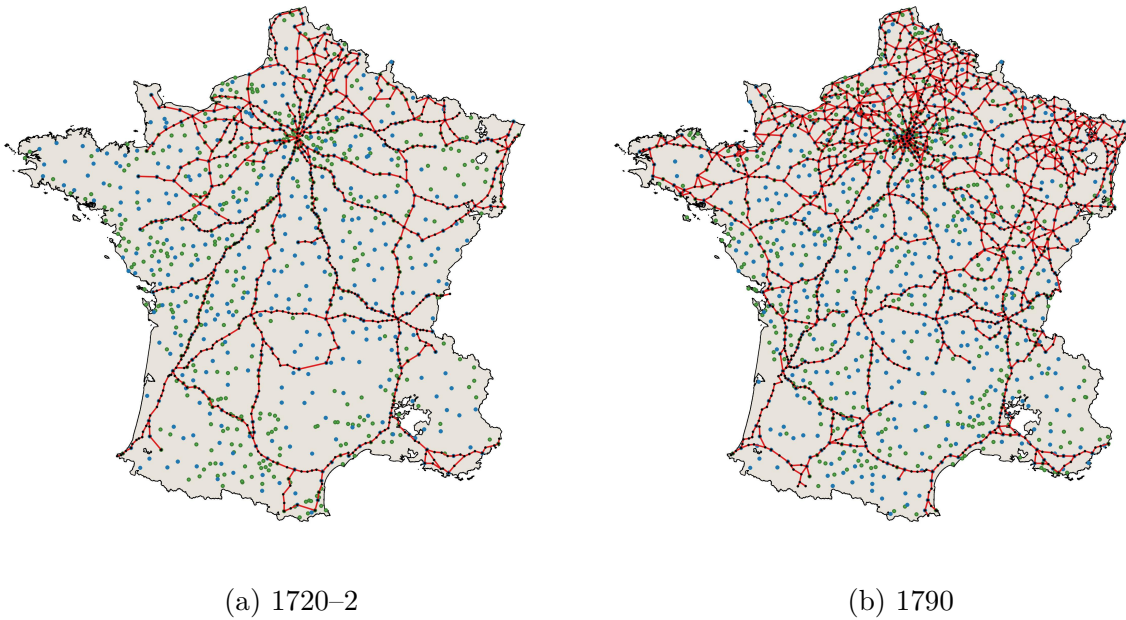
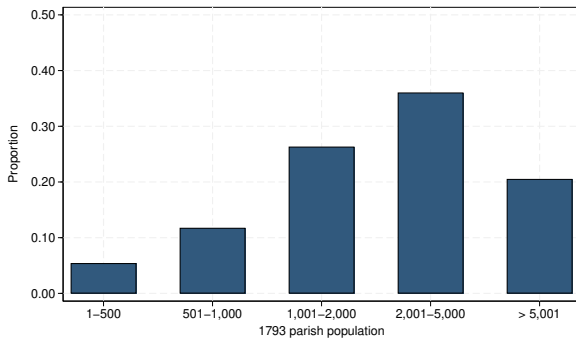
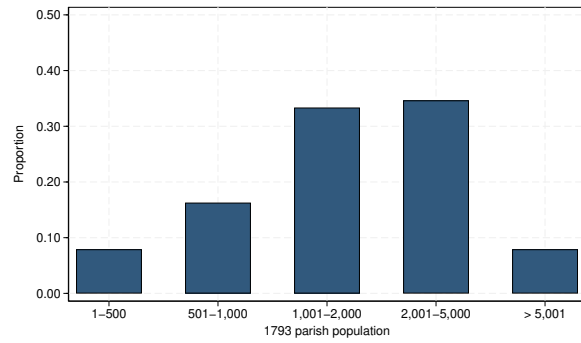


Figure A12. The Horse-Post Network, Letter-Post Offices, and Maréchaussée Brigades

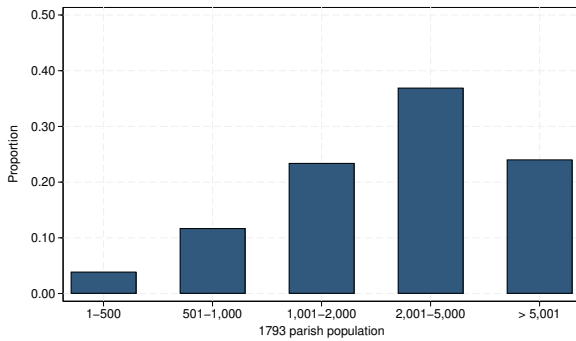
*Notes.* This figure displays distribution of horse-post relays (black dots) based on the 1721 and 1790 editions of the *Liste générale des postes de France* together with the distribution of letter-post offices (green dots) based on the 1722 and 1790 editions of the *Almanach royal* and of maréchaussée brigades (blue dots) based on the Fressin's (2021) *Atlas historique de la gendarmerie*.



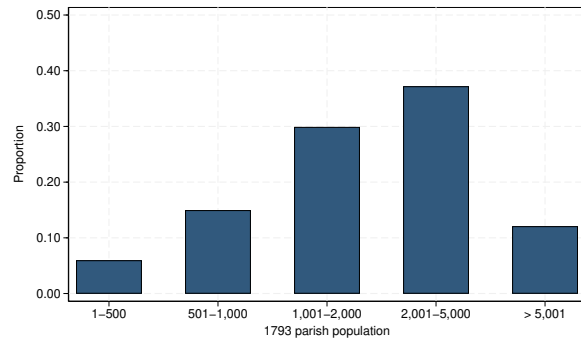
(a) All Letter-Post Offices



(b) New Letter-Post Offices



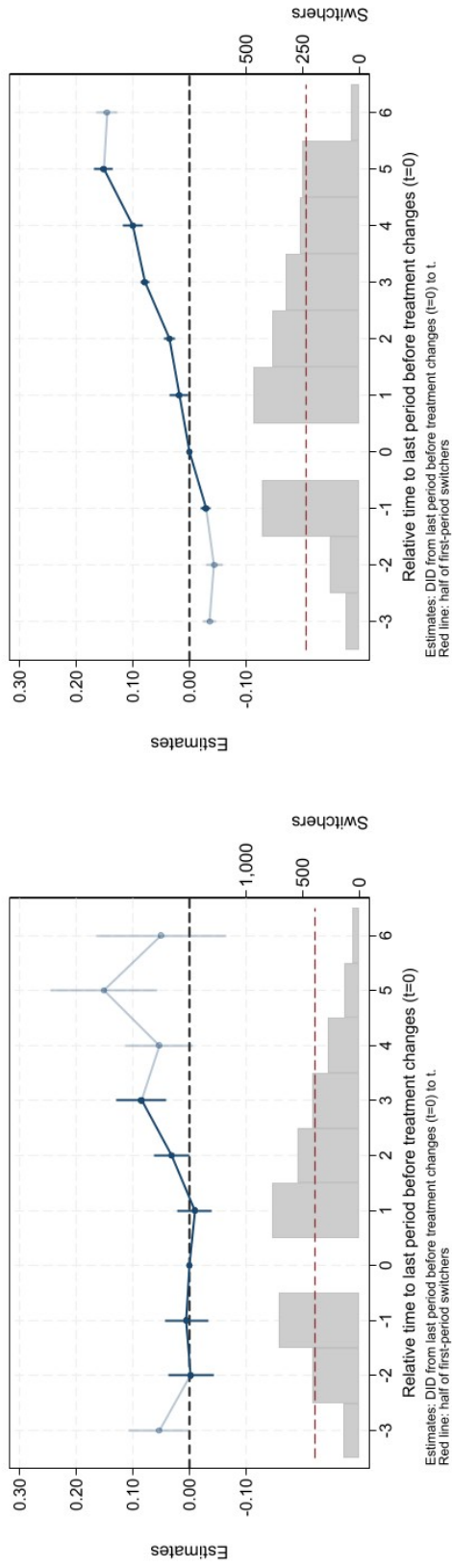
(c) All Maréchaussée Brigades



(d) New Maréchaussée Brigades

Figure A13. Population of Parishes with a Letter-Post Office or a Maréchaussée Brigade (1721–90)

*Notes.* This figure displays the distribution of the 1793 population among the parishes with a letter-post office or a maréchaussée brigade during the eighteenth century. Panel (a) contains all 1,482 parishes that ever had a letter-post office between 1721 and 1790. Panel (b) contains the 621 parishes that did not initially have a letter-post office in 1721 but later had one between 1731 and 1790. Panel (c) contains all 1,102 parishes that ever had a maréchaussée brigade between 1721 and 1790. Panel (d) contains the 589 parishes that did not initially have a maréchaussée brigade in 1721 but later had one between 1731 and 1790.



(a) Horse-Post Relays, Accounting for Letter-Post Offices

(b) Letter-Post Offices

Figure A14. Event-Study Effects of New Horse-Post Relays and Letter-Post Offices on Rebellion

*Notes.* Panel (a): the top-half of this figure reports event-study effects  $\delta_t$  estimated through Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals extended to include letter-post offices as an additional treatment variable. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multiplt` Stata command. Panel (b): the top-half of this figure reports event-study effects  $\delta_t$  estimated through Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals where the treatment variable is the presence of letter-post offices. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multiplt_dyn` Stata command. Both panels: the unit of observation is a parish-decade from the 1720s to the 1780s. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as canton-by-decade fixed effects and parish-decade average wheat prices. Dark blue estimates correspond to restricting the estimation to two leads and three lags, while light blue estimates do not impose this restriction and uses three leads and six lags in the estimation. The bottom-half of these figures report the number of switchers used for identification of each event-study effect. The red dotted lines denote half of first-period switchers.

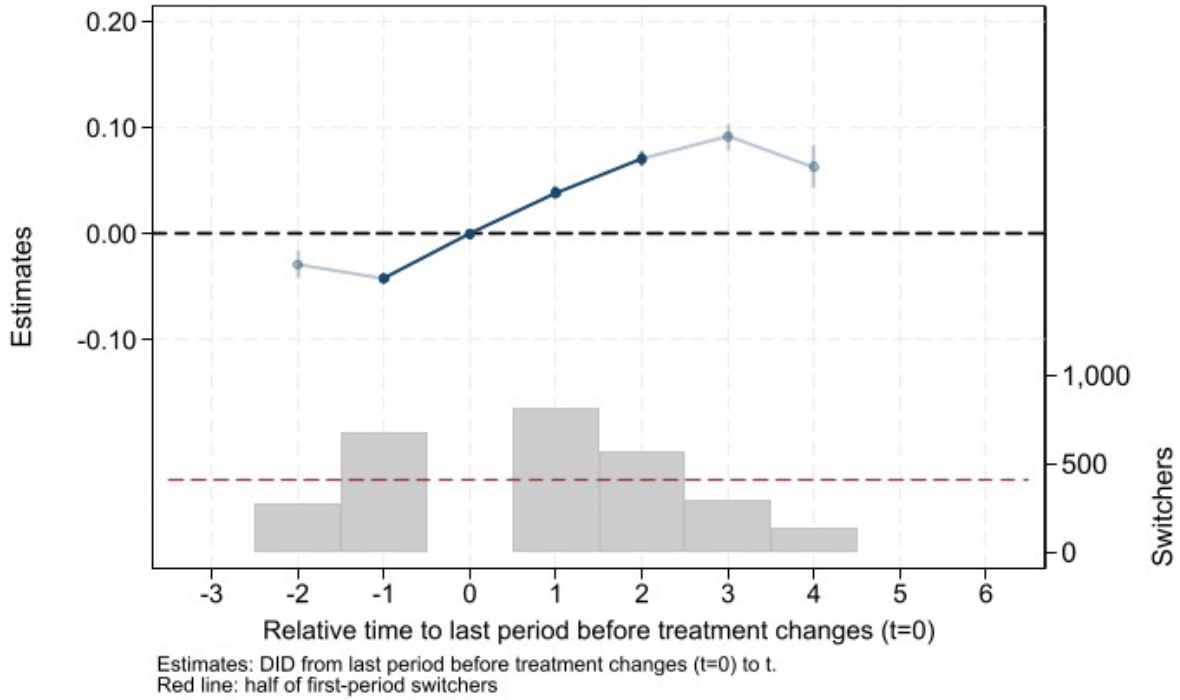
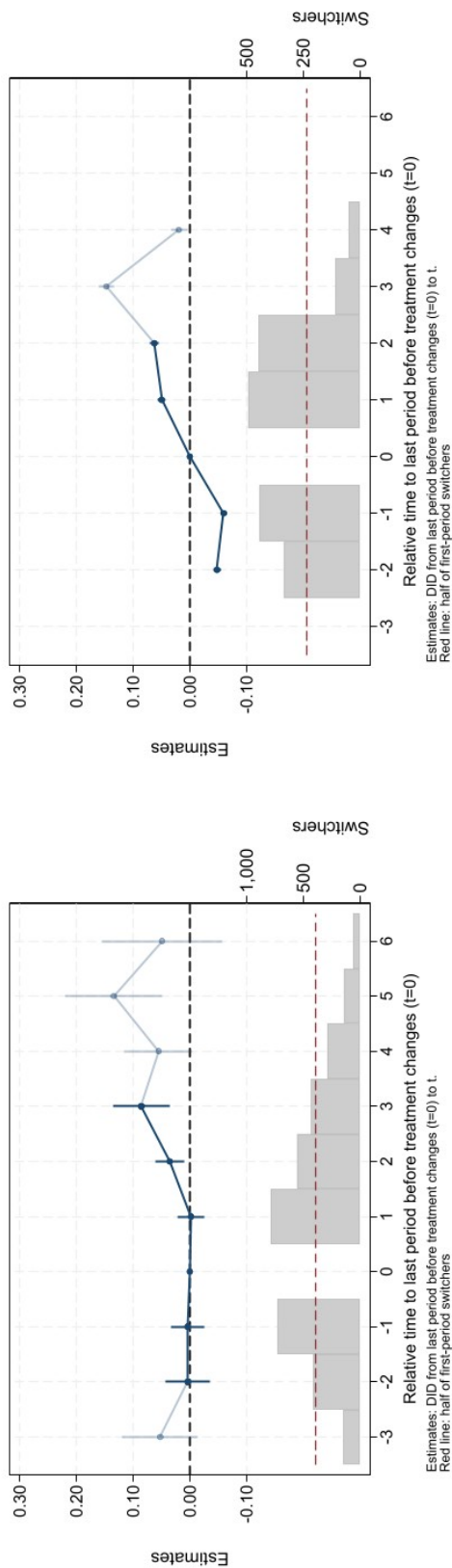


Figure A15. Event-Study Effects of New Horse-Post Relays on Maréchaussée Brigades

*Notes.* The top-half of this figure reports event-study effects  $\delta_\ell$  estimated through Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals. The unit of observation is a parish-decade from the 1720s to the 1780s. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as canton-by-decade fixed effects and parish-decade average wheat prices. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command. Dark blue estimates correspond to restricting the estimation to one leads and two lags, while light blue estimates do not impose this restriction and uses two leads and four lags in the estimation. The bottom-half of this figure reports the number of switchers used for identification of each event-study effect. The red dotted line denotes half of first-period switchers. This regression excludes decades 1730 and 1760 as data on maréchaussée brigades are missing for these periods.



(a) Horse-Post Relays, Accounting for Maréchaussée Brigades

(b) Maréchaussée Brigades

Figure A16. Event-Study Effects of New Horse-Post Relays and Maréchaussée Brigades on Rebellion

Notes. Panel (a): the top-half of this figure reports event-study effects  $\delta_t$  estimated through Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals extended to include letter-post offices as an additional treatment variable. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multipligt` Stata command. Panel (b): the top-half of this figure reports event-study effects  $\delta_t$  estimated through Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals where the treatment variable is the presence of letter-post offices. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multipligt_dyn` Stata command. Both panels: the unit of observation is a parish-decade from the 1720s to the 1780s. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as canton-by-decade fixed effects and parish-decade average wheat prices. Dark blue estimates correspond to restricting the estimation to two leads and three lags in Panel (a) and one lead and two lags in Panel (b), while light blue estimates do not impose this restriction and uses three leads and six lags in the estimation in Panel (a) and two leads and four lags in Panel (b). The bottom-half of these figures report the number of switchers used for identification of each event-study effect. The red dotted lines denote half of first-period switchers. The regression in Panel (b) excludes decades 1730 and 1760 as data on maréchaussée brigades are missing for these periods. We assume constant spatial distribution for these years in Panel (a).

Table A1. Distribution of Rebellions by Decade

	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760	1770s	1780s	1720s–80s
% Weak rebellions (4–10)	33.0	29.8	32.3	35.9	38.2	33.0	32.2	33.6
% Moderate rebellions (11–50)	47.8	47.3	51.9	45.0	42.2	44.0	43.3	45.1
% Strong rebellions (> 50)	19.1	22.7	15.3	18.1	19.5	22.2	23.8	20.7
% Rebellions against state authorities	29.8	21.4	21.4	25.6	15.8	14.4	12.6	18.1
% Rebellions with attacks on state buildings	14.6	12.3	10.0	14.1	15.4	16.2	12.7	13.9
% Rebellions against taxation	41.8	38.1	42.4	40.4	33.6	33.2	33.2	36.2
% Rebellions against nobility	10.5	12.3	7.4	8.7	11.2	7.6	11.2	9.7
% Rebellions against clergy	1.5	1.6	1.7	0.8	1.4	0.6	0.6	0.99
# Rebellions	467	383	632	735	798	1,271	1,451	5,737

**Notes:** This table reports the distribution of rebellions between the 1720s and 1780s across various characteristics. *Weak, Moderate,* and *Strong* refers to the intensity of rebellions, classified by number of participants. *State authorities* refers to rebellions against state authorities, including the judiciary, the military, the police, and state reforms initiatives. *State buildings* refers to rebellions during which a building belonging to state authorities was attacked. *Taxation* refers to rebellions against taxation.



Table A2. Average Total Effect of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions: Shorter Panels

Outcome:	Number of rebellions				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Horse-post relay	0.031*** [0.004]	0.036*** [0.004]	0.025*** [0.005]	0.030*** [0.007]	0.021** [0.009]
Observations	15,143	13,913	9,800	7,151	4,766
Switchers (overall)	1,840	1,707	1,151	866	567
Switchers (at least once)	820	778	697	561	417
Panel	1720–80	1730–80	1740–80	1750–80	1760–80
Outcome mean	0.023	0.025	0.028	0.030	0.033
Outcome within s.d.	0.230	0.237	0.220	0.228	0.243
Periods ( $-t; +T$ )	( $-2; +3$ )	( $-1; +3$ )	( $-1; +2$ )	( $-1; +2$ )	( $-1; +2$ )

**Notes:** This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects  $\delta_\ell$  estimated through Equation 1. The unit of observation is a parish-decade in the decades indicated in the *Panel* row. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as wheat prices and decade-by-canton fixed effects. The outcome is the number of rebellions in a given parish and decade. *Observations* represent to the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* represent to the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* represent the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome within s.d.* represent the standard deviation once decade and parish fixed effects are accounted for. *Periods ( $-t; +T$ )* represent the number of event-study effects and placebos estimated. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command.

\*\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ . \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ . \*  $p \leq 0.10$ .

Table A3. Average Total Effect of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions by Intensity

Outcome:	Number of rebellions			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Horse-post relay	0.031*** [0.004]	0.012*** [0.002]	0.010** [0.003]	0.007*** [0.001]
Observations	15,143	15,143	15,143	15,143
Switchers (overall)	1,840	1,840	1,840	1,840
Switchers (at least once)	820	820	820	820
Intensity	All	Weak	Moderate	Strong
Outcome mean	0.023	0.008	0.010	0.005
Outcome within s.d.	0.230	0.096	0.133	0.081
Periods ( $-l; +L$ )	( $-2; +3$ )	( $-2; +3$ )	( $-2; +3$ )	( $-2; +3$ )

**Notes:** This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects  $\delta_\ell$  estimated through Equation 1. The unit of observation is a parish-decade in the decades indicated in the *Panel* row. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as wheat prices and decade-by-canton fixed effects. The outcome is the number of rebellions in a given parish and decade by intensity, where *Weak* denotes rebellions with 4–10 participants, *Moderate*, rebellions with 11–50 participants, and *Strong*, rebellions with 50+ participants. *Observations* represent to the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* represent to the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* represent the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome within s.d.* represent the standard deviation once decade and parish fixed effects are accounted for. *Periods ( $-t; +T$ )* represent the number of event-study effects and placebos estimated. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command.

\*\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ . \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ . \*  $p \leq 0.10$ .

Table A4. Average Total Effect of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions by Region

Outcome:	Number of rebellions								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Horse-post relay	0.031*** [0.004]	0.024*** [0.009]	-0.045*** [0.004]	0.013 [0.010]	0.140*** [0.023]	0.118*** [0.015]	0.020** [0.009]	0.034*** [0.004]	0.064*** [0.009]
Region	France	Paris	Normandy	Brittany	South West	Languedoc	South East	East	North
Observations	15,143	5,042	2,170	869	764	1,119	142	4,096	732
Switchers (overall)	1,840	653	205	209	113	115	36	439	64
Switchers (at least once)	820	320	89	80	53	51	15	187	23
Outcome mean	0.023	0.034	0.011	0.044	0.018	0.020	0.024	0.011	0.015
Outcome within s.d.	0.230	0.325	0.132	0.268	0.181	0.150	0.180	0.106	0.121
Periods $(-t; +T)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-1; +3)$	$(-1; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$

**Notes:** This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects  $\delta_t$  estimated through Equation 1. The unit of observation is a parish-decade from the 1720s to the 1780s. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as wheat prices and decade-by-canton fixed effects. The outcome is the number of rebellions in a given parish and decade. Columns (2)–(9) provide estimates based on the following regional samples: Column (2) includes the parishes of the Parliament of Paris, which includes the généralités of Amiens, Bourges, Châlons, Limoges, Lyon, Moulins, Orléans, Paris, Poitiers, Riom, Soissons, and Tours; Column (3) includes the parishes of Normandy, which includes the généralités of Caen, Rouen, and Alençon; Column (4) includes the parishes of Brittany, which includes the généralité of Rennes; Column (5) includes the parishes of the South West, which includes the généralités of Bordeaux and La Rochelle; Column (6) includes the parishes of Languedoc, which includes the généralités of Auch, Montauban, Montpellier, Perpignan, and Toulouse; Column (7) includes the parishes of the South East, which includes the généralités of Grenoble and Aix; Column (8) includes the parishes of the East, which includes the généralités of Dijon, Nancy, Strasbourg, Besançon, and Metz; Column (9) includes the parishes of the North, which includes the généralités of Lille and Valenciennes. *Observations* represent to the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* represent to the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* represent the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome within s.d.* represent the standard deviation once decade and parish fixed effects are accounted for. *Periods  $(-t; +T)$*  represent the number of event-study effects and placebo estimated. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command.

\*\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ . \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ . \*  $p \leq 0.10$ .

Table A5. Sources of Rebellious Events

Type of sources	Rebellions	Base rates
All	5,737	
Archives	5,098	89% of all rebellions
Secondary sources	993	17% of all rebellions
National archives	2,280	45% of rebellions with archival sources
Series E	205	9% of rebellions with national archival sources
Series Z1A	1,109	49% of rebellions with national archival sources
Series Z1C	438	19% of rebellions with national archival sources
Départemental archives	2,270	45% of rebellions with archival sources
Series B	1,260	56% of rebellions with départemental sources
Series C	917	40% of rebellions with départemental sources
Other archives	629	12% of rebellions with archival sources

**Notes:** This table reports the sources of the rebellions from Nicolas's (2002) survey that occurred between 1720 and 1789 on the territory of the kingdom of France. Each event may have multiple sources, so that base rates do not sum to one.

Table A6. Average Total Effect of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions by Type of Sources

Outcome:	Number of rebellions							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Horse-post relay	0.031*** [0.004]	0.028*** [0.003]	0.016*** [0.003]	0.032*** [0.004]	0.024*** [0.004]	0.020*** [0.004]	0.030*** [0.004]	0.022*** [0.004]
Observations	15,143	15,143	15,143	15,143	15,143	15,143	15,143	15,143
Switchers (overall)	1,840	1,840	1,840	1,840	1,840	1,840	1,840	1,840
Switchers (at least once)	820	820	820	820	820	820	820	820
Sources	All	Archives	National archives	No series Natl. E	No series Natl. Z1A	No series Natl. Z1 C	No series Dept. B	No series Dept. C
Outcome mean	0.023	0.021	0.009	0.022	0.018	0.021	0.018	0.019
Outcome within s.d.	0.230	0.205	0.127	0.226	0.217	0.225	0.211	0.217
Periods $(-t; +T)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$

**Notes:** This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects  $\delta_t$  estimated through Equation 1. The unit of observation is a parish-decade from the 1720s to the 1780s. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as wheat prices and decade-by-canton fixed effects. The outcome is the number of rebellions in a given parish and decade depending on the type of sources used. For details about the meaning of the types of sources mentioned in the *Sources* panel, see Table A5. *Observations* represent to the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* represent to the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* represent to the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome within s.d.* represent the standard deviation once decade and parish fixed effects are accounted for. *Periods  $(-t; +T)$*  represent the number of event-study effects and placebobos estimated. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command.

\*\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ . \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ . \*  $p \leq 0.10$ .

Table A7. Examples of Rebellions Used in the Analysis

Year	Parish	Horse post	Summary	Description	Intensity	Social categories	Weapons
1766	Brest	1740	Attack on public building	Three public clerks are mobbed as they try to grab a bottle. The arrival of the judges does not restore calm. Fifty men arrive with the master of the castle, who take the clerks to their offices. The mob continued to protest, then threw stones at the castle, smashed the windows and tore off the containers.	Strong (>50)	No information	Rocks
1771	Chantilly	1730	Attack on public official	A car is transporting 3 people without a permit from the messenger bureau. The inspector of the bureau impounds the car. But other messengers bar the road and armed with batons insult the inspector, who takes refuge in the nearby tavern. They argue that this is illegal on the Prince's land.	Weak (4-10)	Journeyman	Sticks and bars
1775	Xertigny	1770	Resistance to arrest	Two <i>maréchaussée</i> horsemen, in disguise, come to arrest a deserter soldier. The village colludes with the soldier, and even the farm employees.	Medium (11-50)	Artisans, notables	None
1781	Mirande	1770	Resistance to militia draw	On the day of the militia draw, uproar and threats from the crowd in the town of Sauviac, in the presence of the authorities ( <i>subdélégué</i> , <i>notables</i> ...). Those who did not have sticks went to cut some in the woods outside the town. The first consul (a doctor), wearing a <i>chaperon</i> and led by the armed inhabitants of Mirande (craftsmen), tried to calm things down. The agitated people agreed to leave the town and the gates were closed. Two arrests.	Medium (11-50)	Peasants, agricultural workers	Sticks, bars, and knives
1788	Poligny	1770	Resistance to militia draw	A soldier in the English regiment said that he was suddenly attacked by several people from the village of Tourmort, who hit him several times with large sticks they were armed with.	Weak (4-10)	Peasants	Sticks and bars

**Notes:** This table reports examples of cases used in the analysis. Descriptions are provided verbatim from Nicolas's (2002) survey.

Table A8. Average Total Effect of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions

Outcome:	Number of rebellions			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Horse-post relay	0.031*** [0.004]	0.012*** [0.003]	0.020*** [0.003]	0.011*** [0.004]
Observations	15,143	10,756	11,291	9,556
Switchers (overall)	1,840	1,283	1,360	1,148
Switchers (at least once)	820	568	612	511
Parishes ever hosted				
A letter-post office	Yes	No	Yes	No
A maréchaussée brigade	Yes	Yes	No	No
Outcome mean	0.023	0.016	0.015	0.013
Outcome within s.d.	0.230	0.204	0.122	0.115
Periods ( $-l; +L$ )	( $-2; +3$ )	( $-2; +3$ )	( $-2; +3$ )	( $-2; +3$ )

**Notes:** This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects  $\delta_\ell$  estimated through Equation 1. The unit of observation is a parish-decade. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as wheat prices and decade-by-canton fixed effects. The outcome is the number of rebellions in a given parish and decade. *Observations* represent to the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* represent to the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* represent the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome within s.d.* represent the standard deviation once decade and parish fixed effects are accounted for. *Periods ( $-t; +T$ )* represent the number of event-study effects and placebos estimated. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command.

\*\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ . \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ . \*  $p \leq 0.10$ .

Given the concurrent development of the letter post and maréchaussée brigades, we provide estimates of the development of the horse post on rebellion across four different types of parishes: all parishes – our baseline – those that never hosted a letter-post office, those that never hosted a maréchaussée brigade, and those that never hosted neither a letter-post office nor a maréchaussée brigade. Results above suggest that the “uncontaminated” parishes still exhibit a positive causal relationship between the establishment of horse-post relays and rebellion, with comparable magnitude relative to the sample within standard deviation.



## Heterogeneity

Results of the population-weighted regression in Column (6) of Table 3 suggest a stronger rebellions response to exposure to horse-post relays in more populous parishes. We now assess whether this heterogeneity can account for the average total treatment effects we identify.

We capture heterogeneity in population size by dividing parishes along quartiles of 1793 population among those with a relay per the following thresholds: less than 500 inhabitants, 500–999, 1,000–2,999, and more than 3,000. We then expand the full specification by further including population group-by-decade fixed effects to compare changes in rebellious activity across parishes within the same canton and population group. We report the results in Column (2) of Table A9. The estimate of 0.016 is significant at the one-percent level, and roughly half the size of the baseline, consistent with our previous results. To account for the potential relationship between the number of rebellions and population, we also run this specification when the outcome is an indicator variable that equals one if there was at least one rebellion. The estimate in Column (7) of 0.012 is again roughly half the size of the baseline estimate in Column (6), suggesting that while part of the results are linked to the relationship between population and rebellion, half are due to heterogeneity in the response to exposure to the horse post in more populous parishes.

We further assess the nature of this heterogeneity by including parish type-by-decade fixed effects, where we define types according to whether parishes were the seat of an administrative center, where we consider six types of administrative centers: those of *subdélégations*, *bailliages*, *évêchés*, *recettes des finances*, *districts*, and *départements*—with the last two administrative divisions created right after the Revolution. We similarly find lower estimates than the baseline in Columns (3) and (8), but not as low as the previous ones, reinforcing our interpretation.

In addition, we explore whether differential response across taxation zones can explain our results. We classify each parish into a type of *gabelle* (salt) taxation in the 1780s, as there were wide disparities in the level of taxation across these zones: *petites gabelles*, *grandes gabelles*, *gabelles de salines*, *gabelles du réthelois*, *quart bouillon*, *province rédimée*, and *province franche*. We then include taxation zone-by-decade fixed effects. Results in Columns (4) and (9) are nearly identical to baseline estimates.

Finally, we assess whether our results may be driven by the connectivity of parishes to the network of paved roads by including connectivity-by-decade fixed effects, where we divide parishes along quartiles of distance to a paved road: less than 500 meters, 0.5–1 kilometer, 1–3, and over 3 kilometers. Estimates in Columns (5) and (10) are nearly identical to the baseline, suggesting little heterogeneity along connectivity.

Table A9. Average Total Effect of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions Accounting for Heterogeneity across Parish Types

Outcome:	Number of rebellions									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Horse-post relay	0.031*** [0.004]	0.016*** [0.005]	0.018*** [0.003]	0.033*** [0.004]	0.031*** [0.004]	0.022*** [0.003]	0.012*** [0.004]	0.015*** [0.003]	0.024*** [0.003]	0.021*** [0.003]
7 decade $\times$ groups FE	No	Population	Seats	Gabelles	Roads	No	Population	Seats	Gabelles	Roads
Observations	15,143	4,985	12,331	14,801	6,315	15,143	4,985	12,331	14,801	6,315
Switchers (overall)	1,840	1,180	1,505	1,832	1,509	1,840	1,180	1,505	1,832	1,509
Switchers (at least once)	820	523	669	816	672	820	523	669	816	672
Outcome mean	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.016	0.016	0.016	0.016	0.016
Outcome within s.d.	0.230	0.230	0.230	0.230	0.230	0.114	0.114	0.114	0.114	0.114
Periods $(-t; +T)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$

**Notes:** This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects  $\delta_t$  estimated through Equation 1. The unit of observation is a parish-decade from the 1720s to the 1780s. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects as well as wheat prices and decade-by-canton fixed effects. Columns (2) and (7) include population group-by-decade fixed effects, where we define four groups of less than 500, 500–999, 1,000–2,999, and more than 3,000 inhabitants. Columns (3) and (8) include parish type-by-decade fixed effects, where we define types depending on whether parishes are the seat of administrative centers, among which subdélégations, bailliages, évêchés, recettes des finances, districts, and départements. Columns (4) and (9) include gabelle type-by-decade fixed effects, where gabelle taxation may be of the following types: *petites gabelles*, *grandes gabelles*, *gabelles de salines*, *gabelles du réthelois*, *quart bouillon*, *province rédimée*, and *province franche*. Columns (5) and (10) include parish connectivity-by-decade fixed effects, where we define four groups of connectivity depending on the distance of parishes to a paved road: less than 500 meters, 0.5–1 kilometer, 1–3, and above 3. The outcome is the number of rebellions in Columns (1)–(5) and an indicator for the occurrence of at least one rebellion in Columns (6)–(10). *Observations* represent to the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* represent to the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* represent the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome within s.d.* represent the standard deviation once decade and parish fixed effects are accounted for. *Periods  $(-t; +T)$*  represent the number of event-study effects and placeboos estimated. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets. Estimates are calculated using the `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command.

\*\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ . \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ . \*  $p \leq 0.10$ .

## Consequences for Revolution-Era Political Societies

Political societies were clubs created between 1789 and 1793 in which local notables discussed political affairs, social issues, and reforms passed by the National Convention, but also coordinated revolutionary action. Over this period, about six thousand political societies were created. They played a critical role in the diffusion of the ideas of the Revolution (Boutier, Boutry and Bonin, 1992). The most prominent ones were sponsored by the Parisian *club des jacobins*, which was pivotal during the Revolutionary period.

We assess whether the dynamic effects of the expansion of the horse-post network on rebellious activities in the *run-up* to the Revolution played a *during* the Revolution, specifically by fostering local political organization that later emerged under the form of political societies. To do so, we first estimate the direct effect of prior rebellions on the formation of later political societies as follows:

$$(A.1) \quad \mathbf{societies}_{pc} = \alpha + \beta \log \mathbf{rebellions}_{pc} + X_{pc} + \gamma_c + \varepsilon_{pc},$$

where  $\mathbf{societies}_{pc}$  denotes political societies (all or Jacobin societies) created between 1789 and 1793 in parish  $p$  in canton  $c$ , and  $\mathbf{rebellions}_{pc}$ , the number of rebellions that occurred in parish  $p$  throughout the eighteenth century. To account for potential omitted factors, we further control for the log distance to Paris, the log 1793 population, an indicator variable that equals one if the parish was the seat of an administration (subdélégation, bailliage, évêché, recettes des finances, district, département), and an indicator variable that equals one if the parish ever had a letter-post office during the eighteenth century. We also include canton fixed effects,  $\gamma_c$ , and cluster standard errors at the level of cantons.

Next, we turn to a 2SLS approach and analyze whether rebellions induced by the presence of a horse-post relay in a parish fostered the creation of these societies. Specifically, we instrument the number of rebellions by an indicator variable that equals one if the parish ever had a horse-post relay during the eighteenth century.

The results of this analysis are reported in Table A10. The OLS analysis reveals that rebellious activities in the run-up to the Revolution are positively correlated with the creation of political societies. Turning to the 2SLS strategy, we find that, consistent with our analysis, the presence of a horse-post relay is associated with more rebellions (first-stage panel) as well as to the creation of political societies (reduced-form panel). Results in the 2SLS panel suggest that rebellions stemming from a horse-post relay was associated with a substantially higher likelihood of a political society emerging during the Revolution.

Table A10. The Horse-Post, Rebellions, and Political Societies

Societies	All	All	Jacobin	Jacobin
OLS. Outcome: political societies				
log rebellions	0.339** [0.010]	0.082*** [0.009]	0.174*** [0.008]	0.049*** [0.006]
First stage. Outcome: log rebellions.				
Horse-post relay	0.241*** [0.014]	0.047*** [0.011]	0.241*** [0.014]	0.047*** [0.011]
Cluster-adj. F-stat	295.49	19.40	295.49	19.40
Reduced form. Outcome: political societies.				
Horse-post relay	0.378*** [0.013]	0.720*** [0.011]	0.180*** [0.010]	0.025*** [0.007]
2SLS. Outcome: political societies.				
log rebellions	1.573*** [0.088]	1.53*** [0.416]	0.749*** [0.045]	0.538*** [0.186]
Cantons FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	35,087	35,087	35,087	35,087

**Statistics:** All political societies: 0.145 (mean); 0.230 (within s.d.). Jacobin societies: 0.022 (mean); 0.127 (within s.d.). Log rebellions: 0.077 (mean); 0.227 (within s.d.).

**Notes:** This table reports the coefficients of estimating various versions of Equation A.1. The unit of observation is a parish. See the text for the definition of variables and the list of controls. Standard errors are clustered at the canton level and reported in brackets. Estimates are calculated using the `reghdfe` Stata command in the OLS and reduced-form panels, and the `ivreghdfe` Stata command in the first-stage and 2SLS panels.

\*\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ . \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ . \*  $p \leq 0.10$ .

## Data Appendix

**Shapefile of France in 1789** We focus on the territory of the Kingdom of France as of 1789. This is equivalent to the current territory of mainland France, with three main exceptions: the Duchy of Savoy, the County of Nice, and the Comtat Venaissin—these territories represent approximately three percent of France’s current territory.<sup>1</sup> The base shapefile of the extent of France in 1789 we use in Figures 1, 4, A3, A4, A7, and A12 is from Gay, Gobbi and Goñi (2024) based on data in Gay, Gobbi and Goñi (2023).

**Historical GIS of the horse-post network** To create the historical GIS of the horse-post network displayed in Figures 1, A3, A4, A7, and A12, we digitized the 1721, 1731,

<sup>1</sup>Other exceptions include several small municipalities (Montbéliard, Salm), independent cities (Avignon, Mulhouse), counties (Saar-Werden, Sault), and lordships (Montjoie, Mandeuire, Bidache). Furthermore, Corsica is excluded from the analysis as it was not incorporated into France until November 30, 1789.

1741, 1751, 1762, 1770, 1780, and 1790 editions of the *Liste générale des postes de France* available at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and at the Bibliothèque des postes et télécommunications.<sup>2</sup> These practical publications were designed for portability, with a relatively small and sturdy format that enabled them to be carried in a jacket pocket while riding a horse. Because they were printed for practical purposes, they were not systematically preserved. As a result, not all editions are available today, and in particular the 1720, 1730, 1740, 1750, 1760, and 1761 editions (Granderoute, 1991). We subsequently extracted all the segments between horse-post relays within each listed itinerary, along with their start and end points, and matched this set of locations to a GIS of France’s parishes.<sup>3</sup> Finally, we drew straight lines between each node and combined segments to recreate the set of itineraries provided in the various editions of the *Liste générale des postes de France*.<sup>4</sup>

**Rebellions** We gather information on rebellions throughout the eighteenth century based on archival material collected by Jean Nicolas (2002). As is the case with much of the French historiography of popular uprisings in Ancien Régime France (Porchnev, 1963; Mousnier, 1967; Foisil, 1970; Bercé, 1974; Pillorget, 1975), Nicolas (1973; 1974) began systematically collecting archival information on these events in the late 1970s, at a time when this kind of quantitative historical survey was common (Karila-Cohen et al., 2018). While his survey initially focused on the region of the Duchy of Savoy, it expanded in the early 1980s as Jean Nicolas recruited collaborators throughout the country (Nicolas, 1985). This survey was conducted until 1989, during which time a substantial number of coding sheets were produced, amounting to nearly 40 thousand pages. These sheets are currently preserved in the Bibliothèque François Lebrun at the University of Rennes-2. A database of the entire content of these record was then created – independently from the HISCOD project (Chambru and Maneuvrier-Hervieu, 2024) – and will soon be made available.

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<sup>2</sup>The content of these books was updated annually by the horse-post administration and published by royal privilege. This privilege was granted to the Jaillot family from 1708 to 1779, after which it reverted to the postal administration (Fordham, 1922; Granderoute, 1991). In addition to the lists of horse-post relays and itineraries, these books also contained a small map of the horse-post network (Verdier, 2007, pp. 8–10; Verdier, 2009a, pp. 3–4).

<sup>3</sup>Specifically, we match the set of horse-post relays we use IGN’s (2021) ADMIN-EXPRESS 2021 shapefile of communes as our reference GIS in RGF-Lambert93 projection, which we match to the set of parishes that existed before the Revolution using Cristofoli et al.’s (2021) tabular version of the *Histoire administrative des communes* (HAC) database, disseminated on the website `cassini.ehess.fr` (Motte et al., 2003; Motte and Vouloir, 2007).

<sup>4</sup>Contemporary maps of the horse-post network proceeded in the same way, i.e., by linking relays through straight lines (Verdier, 2009b). In fact, these were the first maps of a network produced in France, such as Sanson’s *Carte géographique des postes qui traversent la France* published in 1632 (Arbellot, 1980).

**Administrative and territorial divisions** We assign each parish to a specific *généralité* based on Gay, Gobbi and Goñi (2024), which draws on Brette (1904). For *subdélégations*, we use data from Cristofoli et al. (2021), which draws from Arbellot et al.’s (1986) historical atlas.<sup>5</sup> Finally, we assign each parish to a *canton* based on information in `cassini.ehess.fr` (Motte et al., 2003; Motte and Vouloir, 2007).

**Wheat prices** To construct a parish-level measure of decade-average wheat prices, we first compute decade-average wheat prices in *livre tournois* per *setier* at 132 locations available in Ridolfi’s (2019) 8,616 quotations over the eighteenth century. We then perform an inverse distance-weighted spatial interpolation of these prices over the territory of the Kingdom of France by generating a raster layer of prices through a  $135 \times 146$  matrix. Finally, we compute spatially weighted price averages for each decade and each parish polygon.

**1793 population** We measure the size of each parish by its population in the 1793 census, the first census available in France, based on data in Cristofoli et al. (2021). Moreover, we determine the rural status of a parish if it had less than two thousand inhabitants.<sup>6</sup>

**Connectivity** We assess the connectivity of parishes to the network of paved roads according to Cassini’s maps published in 1756–90 through Perret, Gribaudo and Barthelemy’s (2015) historical GIS.

**Seats of administrative divisions** We determine whether parishes were the seat of an administrative division among six types of administrations: *subdélégations*, *bailliages*, *évêchés*, *recettes des finances*, *districts*, and *départements*—with the last two administrative divisions created right after the Revolution. We collect this information from Nordman and Ozouf-Marignier (1989, pp. 75–81).

**Gabelles** We assign each parish to a type of *gabelle* (salt) taxation in the 1780s, as there were wide disparities in the level of taxation across these zones: *petites gabelles*, *grandes gabelles*, *gabelles de salines*, *gabelles du réthelois*, *quart bouillon*, *province rédimée*, and *province franche*. We collect this information based on the manual vectorization of the *Carte des gabelles* of 1781 available on Gallica under Archival Resource Key (ARK): 12148/btv1b8445425x.

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<sup>5</sup>For details on the reliability of Arbellot et al.’s (1986) atlas, see Vovelle (1986) and Lepetit (1988).

<sup>6</sup>This threshold has been used by French statisticians throughout the nineteenth century to classify towns as rural or urban (Le Mée, 1971; Roncayolo, 1987).

**Historical GIS of letter-post offices** To create the historical GIS of letter-post offices displayed in Figure A12, we digitized the *Ordre général des courriers* available in the annual editions of the *Almanach royal*, the contents of which we cross-validated with the *Cartes des bureaux de postes* of 1741 and with the 1754 and 1782 editions of the *Dictionnaires des postes*. These three later sources are the earliest and only official publications of the postal administration providing the list of letter-post offices for the eighteenth century. The annually updated list of these offices was transmitted by the postal administration to the royal administration, which included it in its annual editions of the *Almanach royal*. The editions of the *Almanach royal* we use are those for 1722 (pp. 270–88), 1731 (pp. 369–86), 1740 (pp. 367–81), 1750 (pp. 382–96), 1762 (pp. 442–58), 1770 (pp. 535–46), 1780 (pp. 609–22), and 1790 (pp. 642–66), which are available on Gallica under the following ARK: 12148/cb34454105m. The 1741 *Cartes des bureaux des postes établis sur les différentes routes du Royaume de France* are available under ARK 12148/btv1b53136438t. The 1754 edition of the *Dictionnaire des postes* is available under ARK 12148/bpt6k6283454r (we digitized the 1782 edition of the *Dictionnaire des postes* ourselves). We subsequently matched this set of locations to a GIS of France’s parishes.

**Historical GIS of the maréchaussée brigades** The historical GIS of maréchaussée brigades displayed in Figure A12 is based on Fressin’s (2021) *Atlas historique de la gendarmerie*. It provides the spatial distribution of brigades for 1720–30 based on the *État général des maréchaussées de France (1720–30)*, for 1738 based on the *Abrégé militaire pour l’année 1738*, for 1750 based on *Les Maréchaussées de France* by Guillotte, for 1771 and 1779 based on the *Registres d’inspection de la maréchaussée* of these years, and for 1790 based on the *État de la maréchaussée pour l’année 1790*.

**Political societies** We collect information on political societies created between 1789 and 1793, together with their affiliation to the Jacobin societies from Boutier, Boutry and Bonin (1992, pp. 77–101).

## Software Appendix

**Treatment histories** To display the 43 treatment histories of the horse-post relays in Figure A9, we use Mou and Xu’s (2023 [2022]) `panelview` Stata command (Mou, Liu and Xu, 2023).

**Estimation of treatment effects** To estimate the treatment effects of the horse-post (and letter post) on rebellion reported in Tables 2, 3, A2–A9, and in Figures 5, 6, A10,



and A14 Panel (b), we use de Chaisemartin et al.’s (2024 [2023]) `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command, which is an extension of de Chaisemartin, D’Haultfoeuille and Guyonvarch’s (2024 [2019]) `did_multiplegt` command. Note that the Stata version of `did_multiplegt_dyn` produces event-study plots that match the standard TWFE output, so that they can be interpreted in the same way (Roth, 2024, footnote 2).

To estimate the treatment effects of the horse-post concurrent with the letter post reported in Figure A14 Panel (a), we use de Chaisemartin, D’Haultfoeuille and Guyonvarch’s (2024 [2019]) `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command, where we follow the guidelines provided in the Stata command’s documentation and de Chaisemartin and D’Haultfoeuille’s (2023, appendix pp. 5–11).

**Estimation of consequences for political societies** To estimate the correlation between horst-post relays, rebellions, and political societies in Table A10, we use Correia’s (2023 [2014]) `reghdfe` Stata command in the OLS and reduced-form panels, and Correia’s (2023 [2014]) `ivreghdfe` Stata command in the first-stage and 2SLS panels.

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