

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

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Supplementary Figures

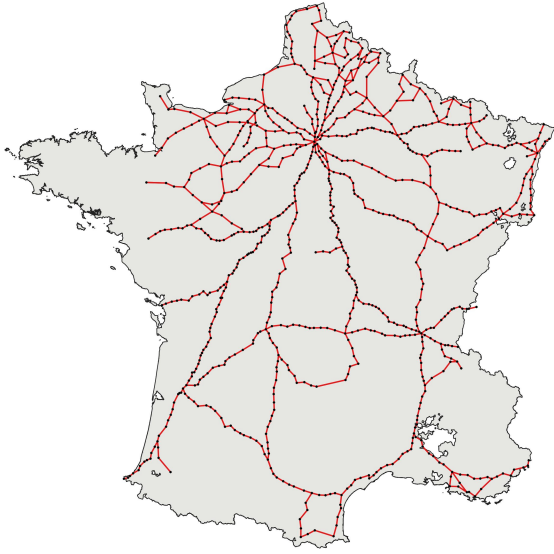
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ROUTE DE LYON A MARSEILLE
Par Vienne, Valence, Pont St'Esprit et Aix
39 Postes

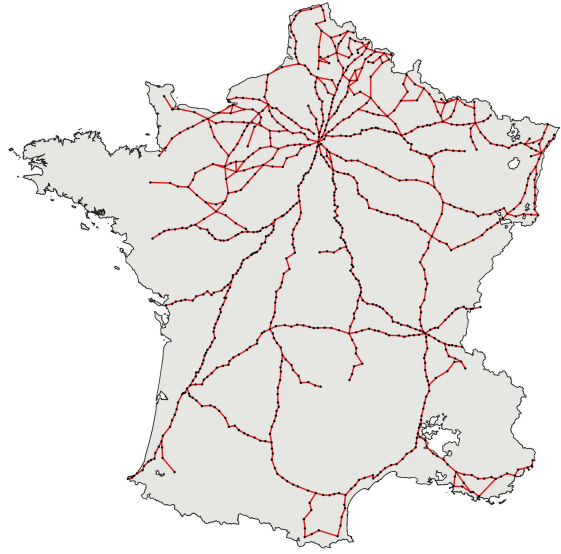
de LYON à St'Fons.....	Poste Royale
de St'Fons à St'Saphorin d'Ozon	Poste
de St'Saphorin à VIENNE	Poste et demie
de Vienne à Auberive.....	Poste et demie
d'Auberive au Peage de Roussillon ..	Poste
du Peage à St'Rambert.....	Poste et demie
de St'Rambert à St'Vallier.....	Poste et demie
de St'Vallier à Tein	Poste et demie
de Tein à Sillart. *	Poste
de Sillart à Valence.....	Poste
de Valence à la Puillasse.....	Poste
de la Puillasse à Lorient	Poste et demie
de Lorient à Laine.....	Poste et demie
de Laine à Montelimart.....	Poste et demie
de Montelimart à Donzere.....	Poste et demie
de Donzere à Pierre latte.....	Poste
de Pierre latte à la Palu	Poste
de la Palu au Pont St'Esprit.....	Poste
du Pont St'Esprit à Baymols	Poste
de Baymols à la Begude St'Laurent *	Poste et demie
de la Begude à Puycau *	Poste
de Puycau à AVIGNON	Poste
d'Avignon à St'Andiol.....	Deux Postes
de St'Andiol à Orçen	Poste
d'Orçen au Pont Royal	Deux Postes
de Pont Royal à St'Canat.....	Poste et demie
de St'Canat à AIX.....	Deux Postes
d'Aix au Pin	Deux Postes
du Pin à MARSEILLE	Poste et demie

Figure A1. List of Horse-Post Relays between Lyon and Marseille in 1751

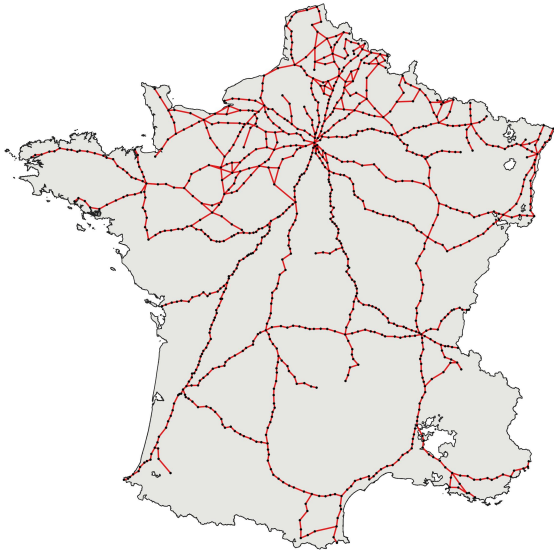
Notes. This figure provides an excerpt from the 1751 edition of the *Liste générale des postes de France* held by the Bibliothèque historique des postes et des télécommunications. It depicts the distribution of the 29 horse-post relays along the 39-post route from Lyon to Marseille (about 312 kilometers).



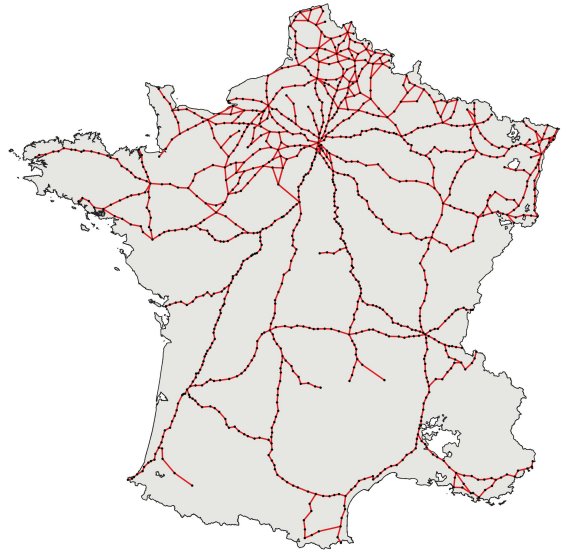
(a) 1721



(b) 1731

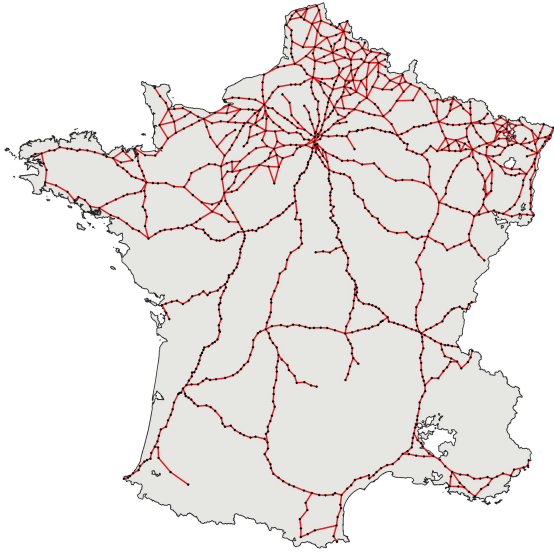


(c) 1741

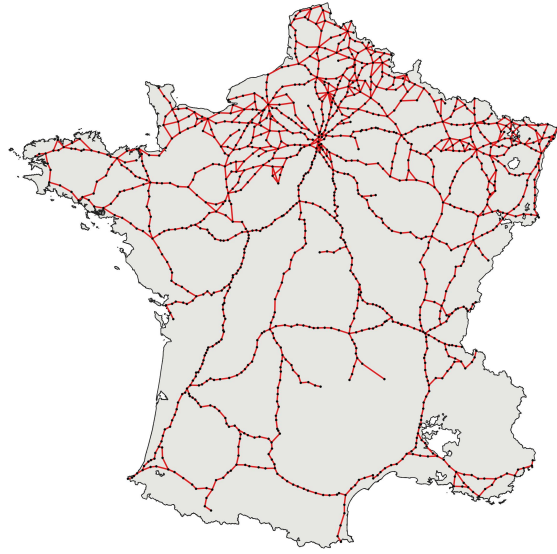


(d) 1751

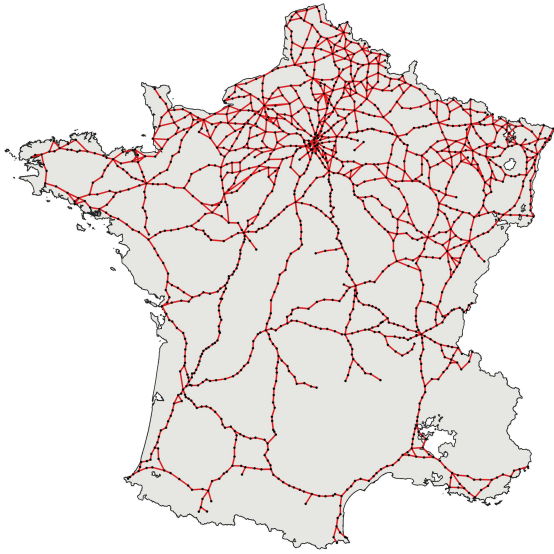
Figure A2. The Horse-Post Network (1721–51)



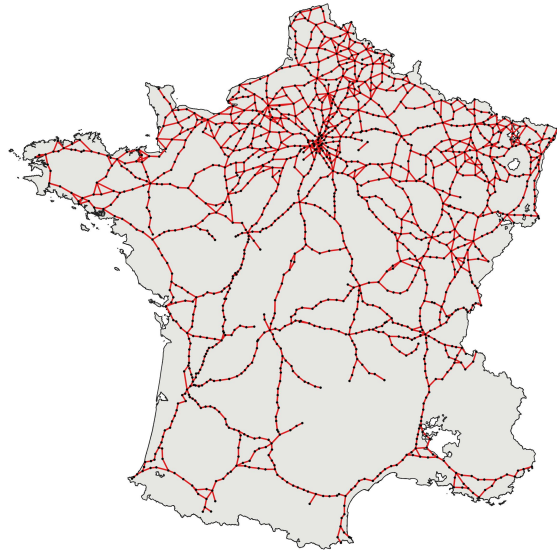
(a) 1762



(b) 1770



(c) 1780



(d) 1790

Figure A3. The Horse-Post Network (1762–90)

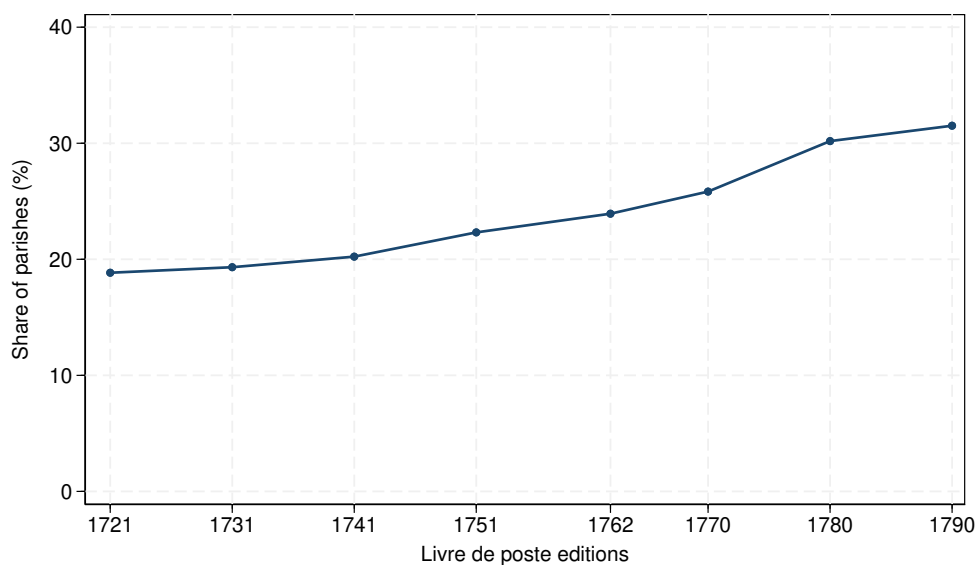


Figure A4. Share of Parishes with a Nearby Horse-Post Relay (1721–90)

Notes. This figure shows the share parishes – among 35 thousand – with a nearby postal relay, i.e., a postal relay in their (1793) canton between 1721 and 1790.

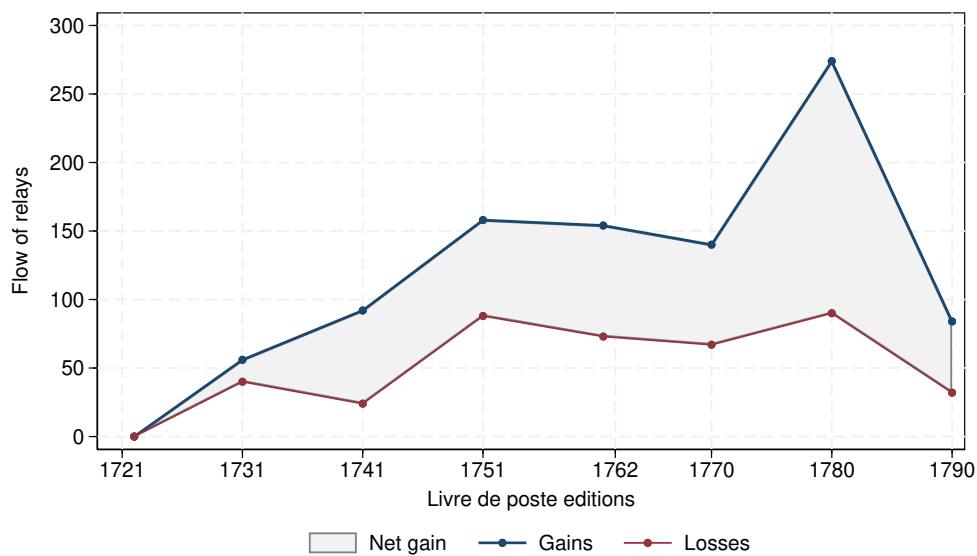
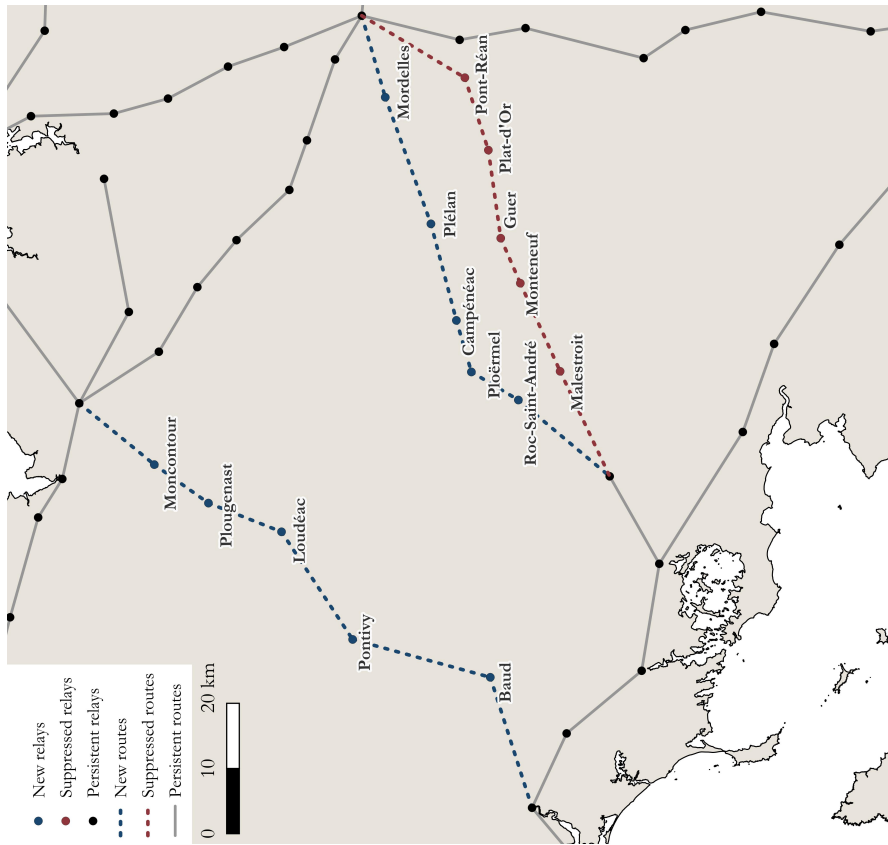
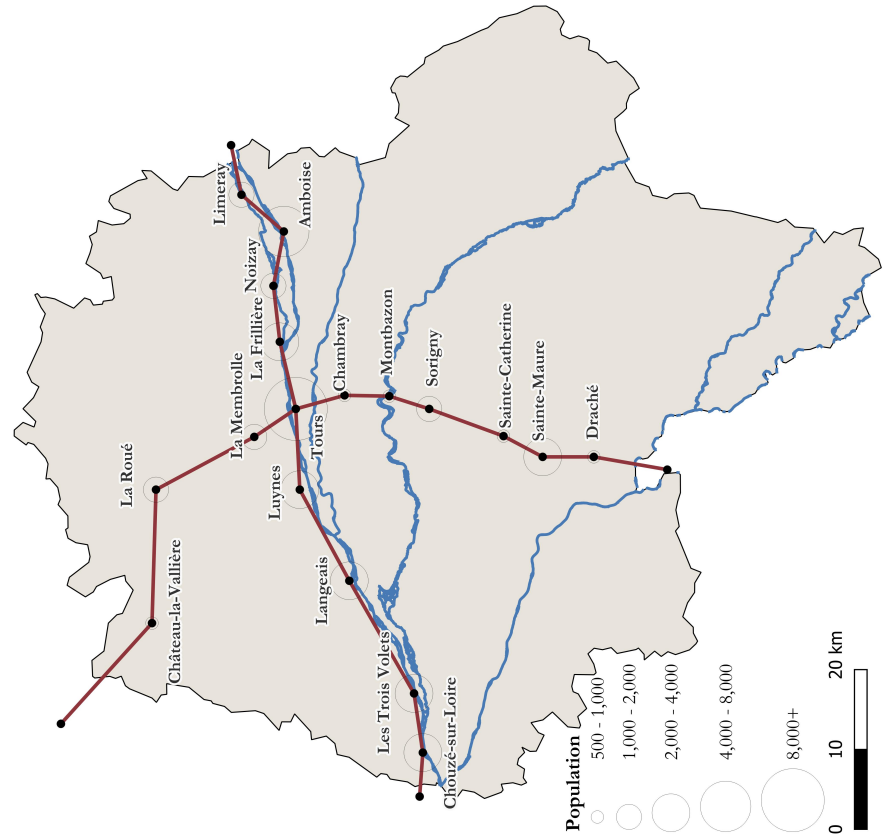


Figure A5. Flow of Horse-Post Relays (1721–90)

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.



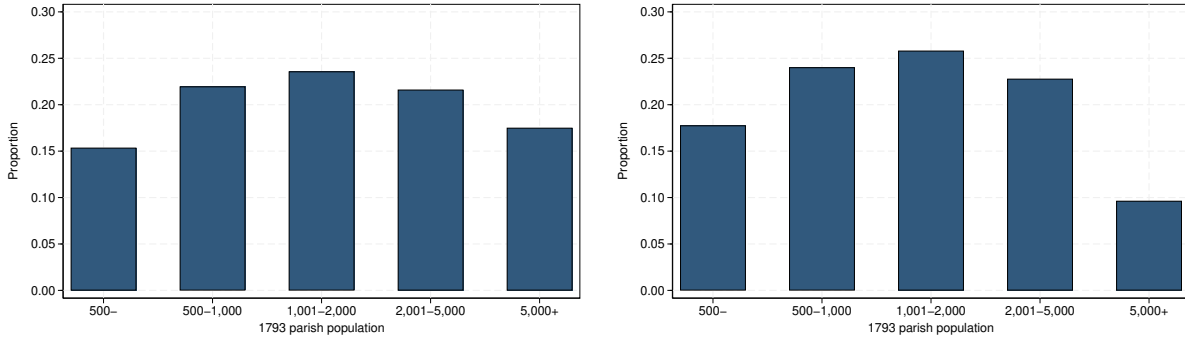
(a) New and Retired Horse-Post Relays and Routes (1760–70)



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

Figure A6. 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 A7. Population of Parishes with a Horse-Post Relay (1721–89)

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.

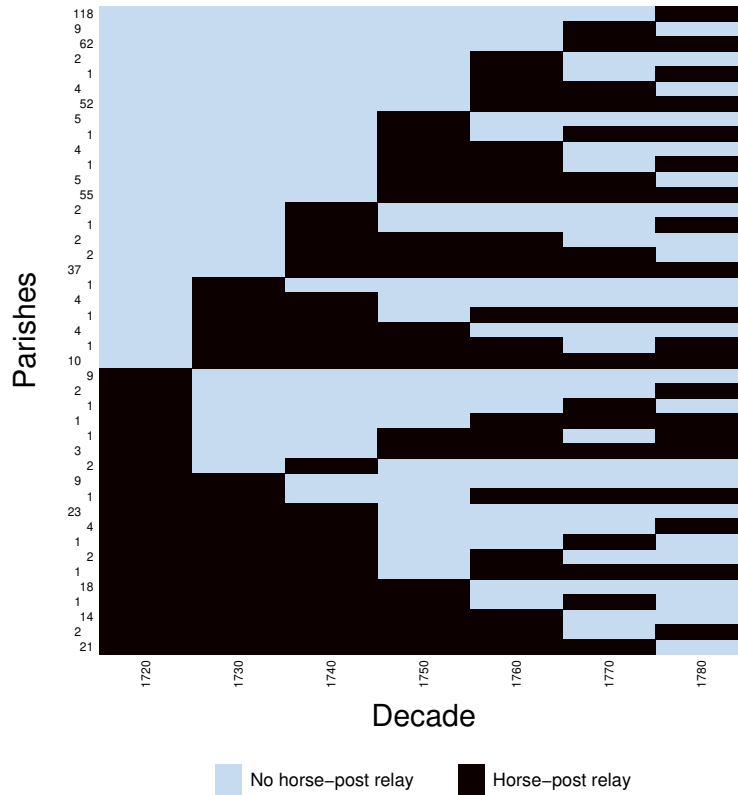


Figure A8. Collapsed 43 Treatment Histories among Parishes (1721–90)

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 Mou and Xu's (2023 [2022]) `panelview` Stata command.

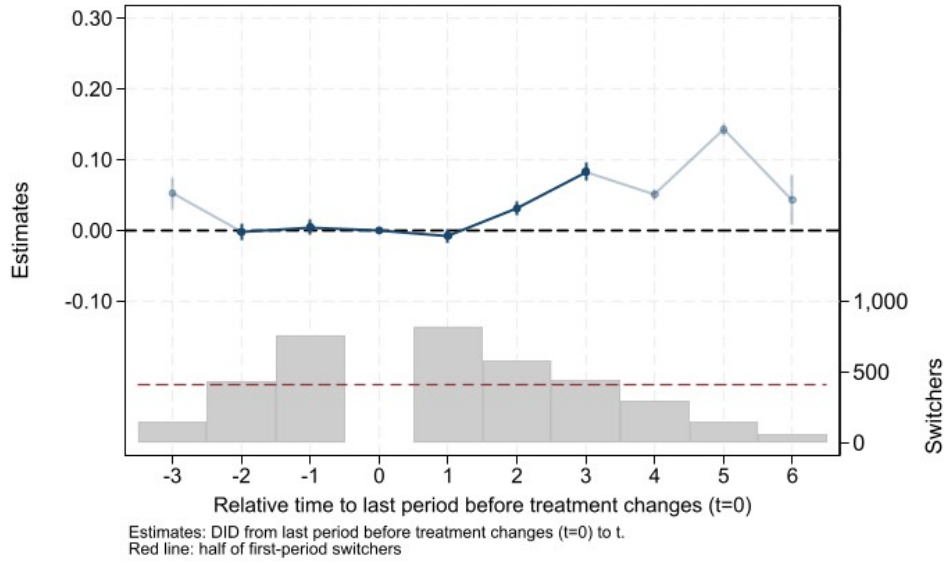


Figure A9. Event-Study Effects of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions

Notes. The top half of this figure reports event-study effects δ_ℓ estimated through Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals. Estimates are calculated using de Chaisemartin et al.'s (2024 [2023]) `did_multiplengt_dyn` Stata command. The specifications correspond to Column (7) in Table 2. Dark blue estimates correspond to restricting the estimation to two leads and three lags, while light blue estimates use the full 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 dashed line denotes half of first-period switchers.

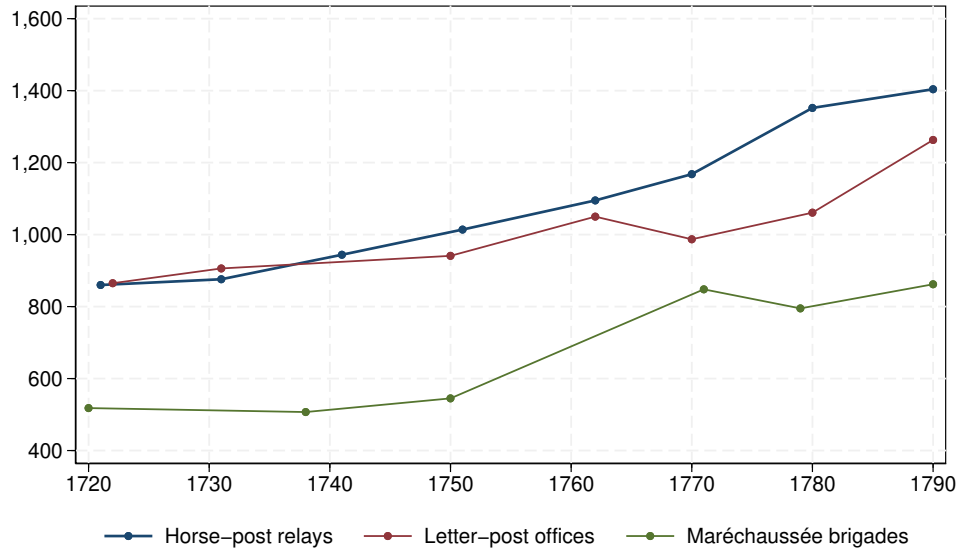


Figure A10. Horse-Post Relays, Letter-Post Offices, and Maréchaussée brigades (1720–90)

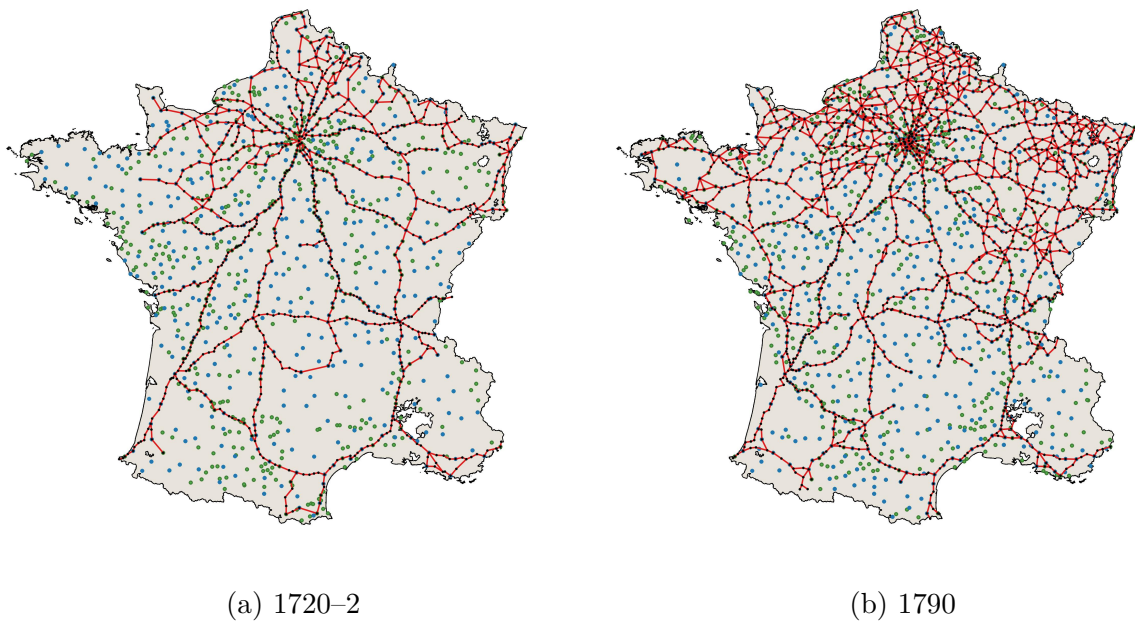
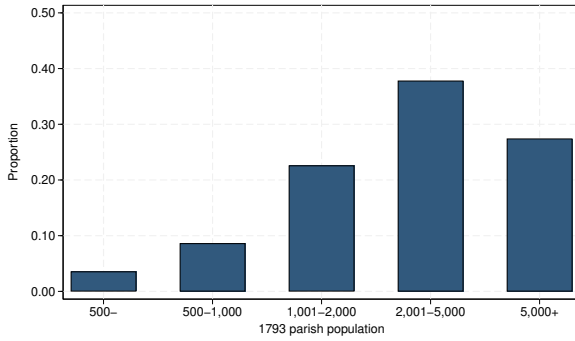
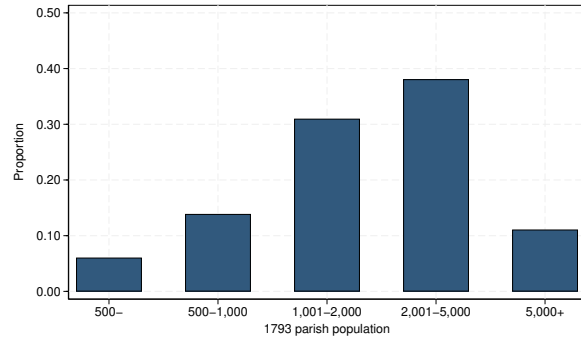


Figure A11. The Horse-Post Network, Letter-Post Offices, and Maréchaussée Brigades

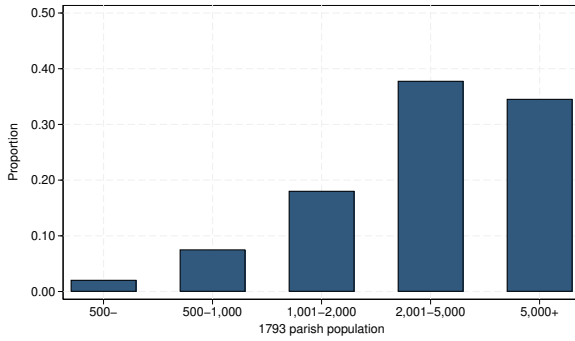
Notes. This figure displays distribution of horse-post relays (black dots) based on the 1721 and 1790 editions of the *Liste générale des postes de France* together with the distribution of letter-post offices (green dots) based on the 1722 and 1790 editions of the *Almanach royal* and of maréchaussée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



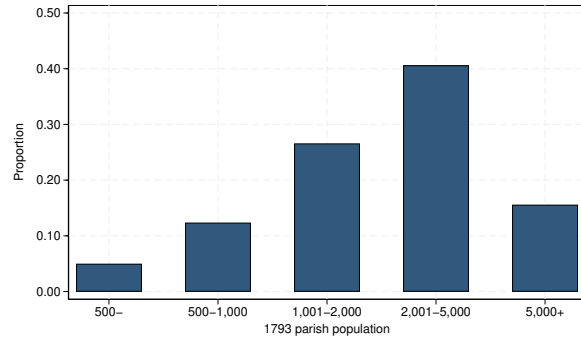
(a) All Letter-Post Offices



(b) New Letter-Post Offices



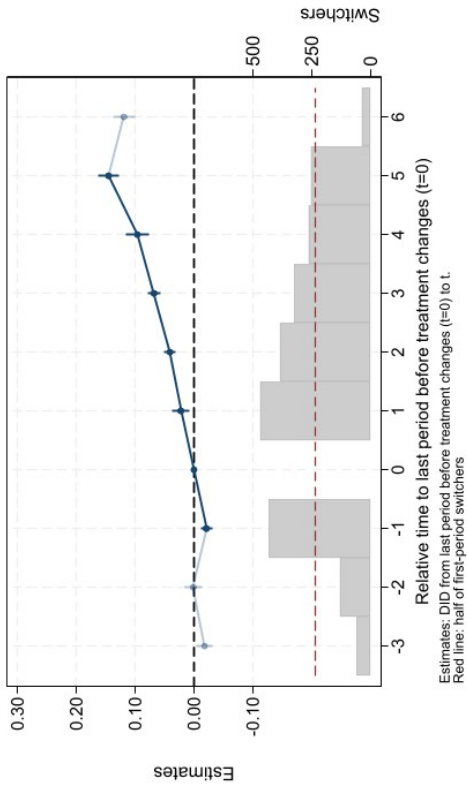
(c) All Maréchaussée Brigades



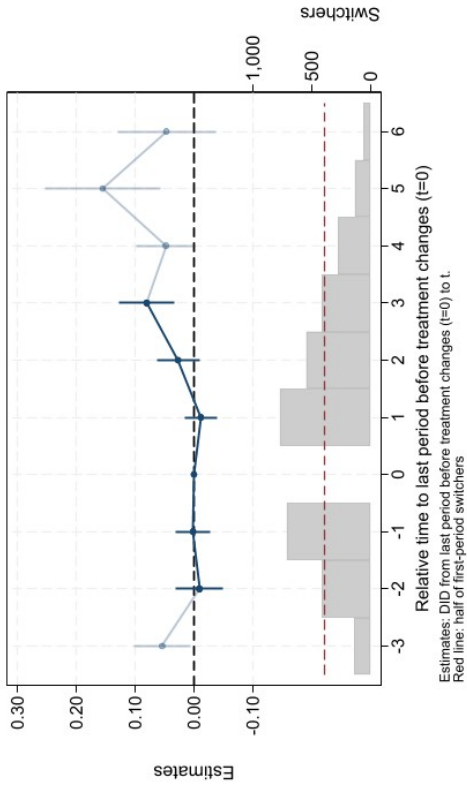
(d) New Maréchaussée Brigades

Figure A12. 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 A13. 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 δ_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 de Chaisemartin, D'Haultfoeuille and Guyonvarch's (2024 [2019]) `did_multiplegt` Stata command. Panel (b): the top-half of this figure reports event-study effects δ_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 de Chaisemartin et al.'s (2024 [2023]) `did_multiplegt_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.

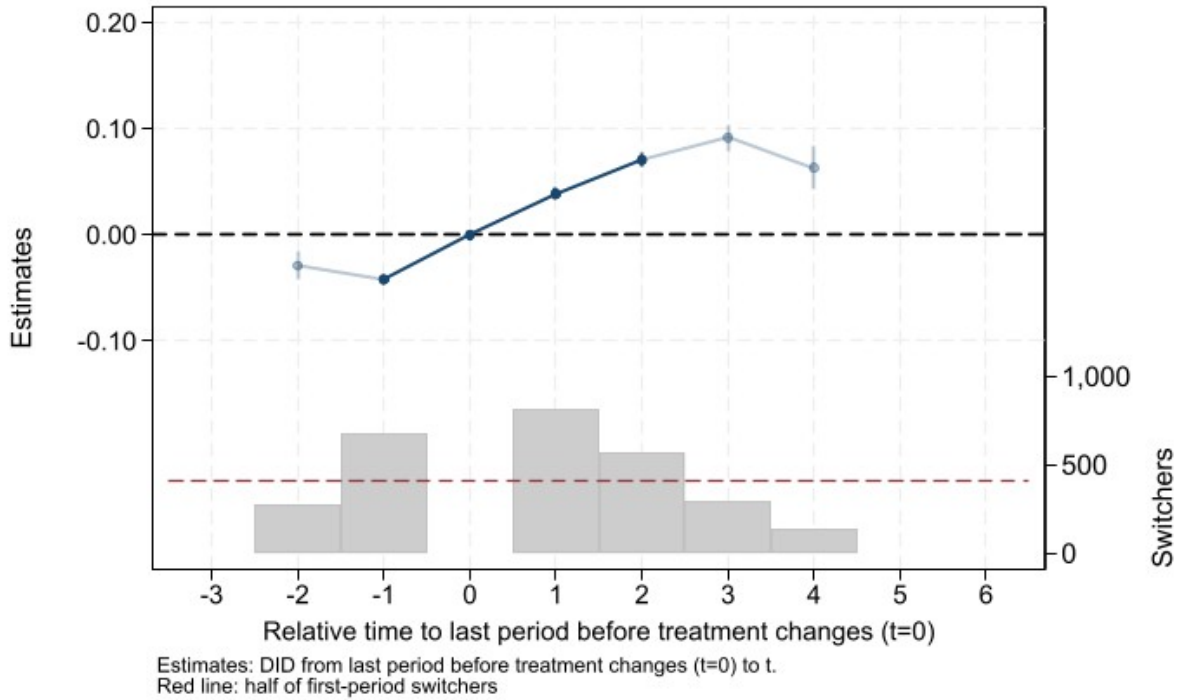
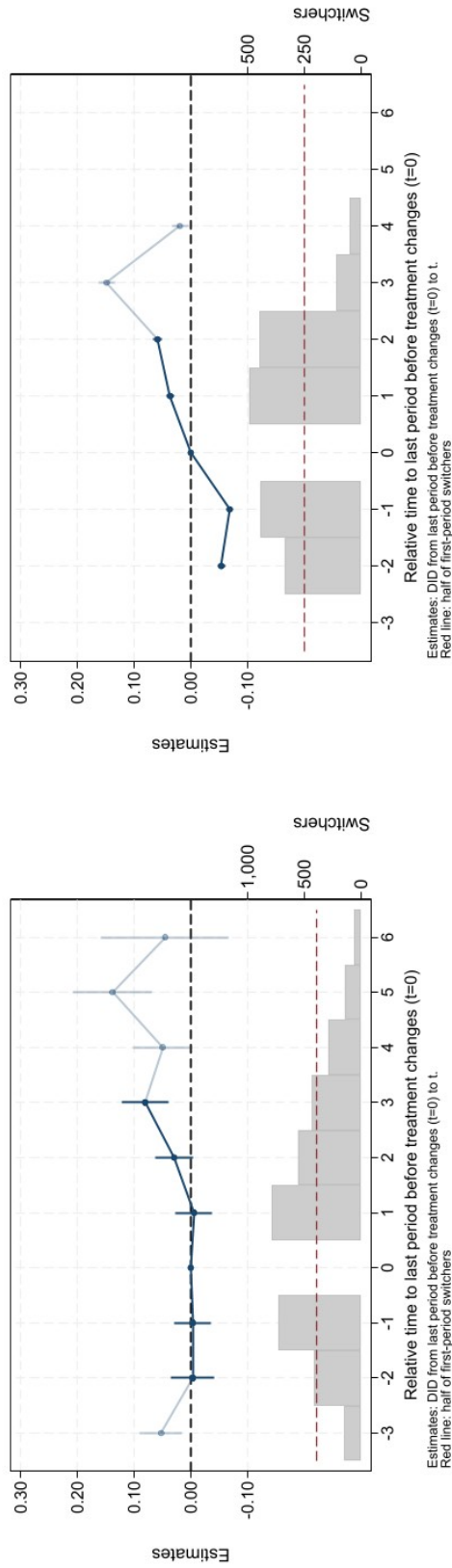


Figure A14. Event-Study Effects of New Horse-Post Relays on Maréchaussée Brigades

Notes. The top-half of this figure reports event-study effects δ_ℓ estimated through Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals. The unit of observation is a parish-decade from the 1720s to the 1780s. The outcome is an indicator variable that equals to one if a parish-decade hosts a maréchaussée brigade. 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 de Chaisemartin et al.'s (2024 [2023]) `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 A15. 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 δ_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 de Chaisemartin, D'Haultfoeuille and Guyonvarch's (2024 [2019]) `did_multipligt` Stata command. Panel (b): the top-half of this figure reports event-study effects δ_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 de Chaisemartin et al.'s (2024 [2023]) `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. Effect of the Horse Post on Tax Revenues in Languedoc

Outcome:	Change in tax revenues per capita				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Horse-post relay	-0.189 [0.557]	0.256 [0.570]	0.685 [0.527]	-0.797 [0.650]	-2.571 [1.726]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3 généralité FE	No	No	Yes	No	No
28 subdélégation FE	No	No	No	Yes	No
361 canton FE	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	2,336	2,336	2,336	2,336	2,336
(Within) R-squared	0.000	0.025	0.033	0.010	0.016

Notes. This table reports OLS coefficients from regressing the change in tax revenues from the *taille* in 1773 and the *taillon* in 1704 in *livres* per capita on an indicator variable that equals one if a parish ever hosted a horse-post relay during the eighteenth century. We use population data from the census of 1793. Tax income data is from Pélaquier's (2009) *Atlas historique du Languedoc*. The unit of observation is a parish in the Languedoc province. *Controls* include a set of indicator variables that equal one if the parish was the seat of an administrative center (évêché, recette de finances, subdélégation, bailliage, district, or département), an indicator variable that equals one if the parish hosted a political society during the Revolution, the change in the price of wheat between 1720 and 1780, and the log distance to the closest paved road. Estimates are calculated using Correia's (2023 [2014]) `reghdfe` State command. Robust standard errors are reported in brackets.

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

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	0.028*** [0.004]	0.030*** [0.004]	0.020*** [0.005]	0.030*** [0.007]	0.023** [0.009]
Panel	1720–80	1730–80	1740–80	1750–80	1760–80
Observations	15,208	13,970	9,838	7,175	4,778
Switchers (overall)	1,840	1,707	1,151	866	567
Switchers (at least once)	820	778	697	561	417
Outcome mean	0.023	0.025	0.027	0.030	0.032
Outcome residual s.d.	0.132	0.133	0.136	0.139	0.137
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 δ_ℓ estimated through Equation 1. The sample of parish decades is indicated in the *Panel* row. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects, as well as wheat prices and decade-by-canton fixed effects. *Observations* denotes the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* denotes the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* denotes the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome residual s.d.* denotes the outcome standard deviation once decade, parish fixed effects, and other controls are accounted for. *Periods $(-t; +T)$* denotes the number of event-study effects and placebos estimated. Estimates are calculated using de Chaisemartin et al.'s (2024 [2023]) `did_multipligt_dyn` Stata command. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets.

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

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	0.028*** [0.004]	0.011*** [0.002]	0.007** [0.003]	0.009*** [0.001]
Observations	15,208	15,208	15,208	15,208
Switchers (overall)	1,840	1,840	1,840	1,840
Switchers (at least once)	820	820	820	820
Intensity	Any	Weak	Moderate	Strong
Outcome mean	0.023	0.008	0.010	0.005
Outcome residual s.d.	0.132	0.073	0.083	0.056
Periods $(-t; +T)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$

Notes. This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects δ_ℓ estimated through Equation 1. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects, as well as wheat prices and decade-by-canton fixed effects. *Observations* denotes the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* denotes the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* denotes the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome residual s.d.* denotes the outcome standard deviation once decade, parish fixed effects, and other controls are accounted for. *Periods $(-t; +T)$* denotes the number of event-study effects and placebos estimated. Estimates are calculated using de Chaisemartin et al.'s (2024 [2023]) `did_multipligt_dyn` Stata command. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets.

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

Table A.4. 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	0.028*** [0.004]	0.011 [0.009]	-0.045*** [0.004]	0.029*** [0.010]	0.115*** [0.023]	0.129*** [0.013]	0.020** [0.009]	0.039*** [0.005]	0.065*** [0.009]
Region	France	Paris	Normandy	Brittany	S. West	Languedoc	S. East	East	North
Observations	15,208	5,042	2,183	872	767	1,120	142	4,130	743
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	0.033	0.011	0.043	0.018	0.020	0.024	0.011	0.014
Outcome residual s.d.	0.132	0.151	0.096	0.150	0.168	0.130	0.115	0.095	0.102
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 δ_t estimated through Equation 1. 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-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, Chalons, 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* denotes the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* denotes the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* denotes the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome residual s.d.* denotes the outcome standard deviation once decade, parish, and canton fixed effects, as well as wheat prices are accounted for. *Periods (-t; +T)* denotes the number of event-study effects and placebo estimated. Estimates are calculated using de Chaisemartin et al.'s (2024 [2023]) `did_multiply_dyn` Stata command. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets. *** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table A5. Average Total Effect of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions by Timing

Outcome:	Number of rebellions					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Horse-post relay	0.031*** [0.010]	0.028*** [0.004]	0.029*** [0.009]	0.028*** [0.004]	0.075*** [0.014]	0.067*** [0.005]
Wheat prices	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Decade \times canton FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Specification	Baseline		After post		Next decade	
Observations	211,003	15,208	211,003	15,208	176,137	10,903
Switchers (overall)	2,455	1,840	2,455	1,840	1,811	1,319
Switchers (at least once)	1,065	820	1,065	820	779	580
Outcome mean	0.023	0.023	0.021	0.021	0.025	0.025
Outcome residual s.d.	0.231	0.132	0.225	0.126	0.237	0.133
Periods $(-t; +T)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$

Notes. This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects δ_t estimated through Equation 1. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects. *After post* denotes specifications where rebellions that occurred in the year the *Liste générale des postes* was published are omitted. *Next decade* denotes specifications where rebellions of the next decade are assigned. For instance, rebellions that occurred in 1730–9 are assigned to the 1721 edition of the *Liste générale des postes*. *Observations* denotes the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* denotes the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* denotes the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome residual s.d.* denotes the outcome standard deviation once decade, parish fixed effects, and other controls are accounted for. *Periods $(-t; +T)$* denotes the number of event-study effects and placebos estimated. Estimates are calculated using de Chaisemartin et al.'s (2024 [2023]) `did_multipligt_dyn` Stata command. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets.

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

Table A6. Sources of Rebellious Events

	Type of sources	Rebellions	Base rates
All		5,692	
Archives		5,068	90% of all rebellions
Secondary sources		914	16% of all rebellions
National archives		2,257	45% of rebellions with archival sources
Series E	Minutes of government council	202	9% of rebellions with national archival sources
Series Z1A	Financial administration (cours des aides)	1,109	49% of rebellions with national archival sources
Series Z1C	Maréchaussée jurisdiction	438	19% of rebellions with national archival sources
Départemental archives		2,257	45% of rebellions with archival sources
Series B	Courts and justices	1,253	56% of rebellions with départemental archival sources
Series C	Provincial administration	912	40% of rebellions with départemental archival sources

Notes. This table reports the sources of the rebellions from Nicolas's (2002) survey that occurred between 1721 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 A7. 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	0.028*** [0.004]	0.025*** [0.003]	0.013*** [0.002]	0.029*** [0.004]	0.024*** [0.004]	0.019*** [0.004]	0.028*** [0.004]	0.017*** [0.004]
Sources	All	Archives	National archives	No series Natl. E	No series Natl. Z1A	No series Natl. Z1C	No series Dept. B	No series Dept. C
Observations	15,208	15,208	15,208	15,208	15,208	15,208	15,208	15,208
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
Outcome mean	0.023	0.021	0.009	0.022	0.018	0.021	0.018	0.019
Outcome residual s.d.	0.132	0.122	0.078	0.129	0.115	0.125	0.111	0.118
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 $\hat{\delta}_t$ estimated through Equation 1. 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 A6. *Observations* denotes the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* denotes the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* denotes the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome residual s.d.* denotes the outcome standard deviation once decade, parish, and canton fixed effects, as well as wheat prices are accounted for. *Periods $(-t; +T)$* denotes the number of event-study effects and placebo estimated. Estimates are calculated using de Chaisemartin et al.'s (2024 [2023]) `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets.

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

Table A8. 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 A9. Average Total Effect of New Horse-Post Relays on Rebellions

Outcome:	Number of rebellions			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Horse-post relay	0.028*** [0.004]	0.014*** [0.004]	0.014*** [0.003]	0.010*** [0.004]
Parish ever hosted				
A letter-post office	Yes or no	No	Yes or no	No
A maréchaussée brigade	Yes or no	Yes or no	No	No
Observations	15,208	10,001	10,929	8,954
Switchers (overall)	1,840	1,203	1,314	1,080
Switchers (at least once)	820	532	589	480
Outcome mean	0.023	0.015	0.014	0.013
Outcome residual s.d.	0.132	0.103	0.108	0.102
Periods $(-t; +T)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$

Notes. This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects δ_ℓ estimated through Equation 1. All regressions include parish and decade fixed effects, as well as wheat prices and canton-by-decade fixed effects. *Observations* denotes the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* denotes the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* denotes the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome residual s.d.* denotes the outcome standard deviation once decade, parish fixed effects, and other controls are accounted for. *Periods $(-t; +T)$* denotes the number of event-study effects and placebos estimated. Estimates are calculated using de Chaisemartin et al.’s (2024 [2023]) `did_multipligt_dyn` Stata command. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets.

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

Given the concurrent development of the letter-post system and maréchaussée brigades, we provide estimates of the development of the horse-post network on rebellion across four different types of parishes: all parishes – our baseline, in Column (1) – those that never hosted a letter-post office in Column (2), those that never hosted a maréchaussée brigade in Column (3), and those that never hosted neither a letter-post office nor a maréchaussée brigade in Column (4). 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 base statistics.

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 A10. The estimate of 0.011 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 0.011 is again roughly half the size of the baseline estimate, 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 identical to the baseline, suggesting little heterogeneity along connectivity.

Table A10. 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	0.028*** [0.004]	0.011*** [0.004]	0.017*** [0.003]	0.030*** [0.004]	0.028*** [0.005]	0.024*** [0.003]	0.011*** [0.003]	0.014*** [0.003]	0.026*** [0.003]	0.028*** [0.004]
7 decade \times groups FE		Population	Seats	Gabelles	Roads		Population	Seats	Gabelles	Roads
Observations	15,208	5,437	12,383	14,866	5,822	15,208	5,437	12,383	14,866	5,822
Switchers (overall)	1,840	1,238	1,505	1,832	1,408	1,840	1,238	1,505	1,832	1,408
Switchers (at least once)	820	548	669	816	634	820	548	669	816	634
Outcome mean	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.016	0.016	0.016	0.016	0.016
Outcome residual s.d.	0.132	0.131	0.131	0.132	0.132	0.099	0.098	0.098	0.099	0.098
Periods $(-t; +T)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-1; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-2; +3)$	$(-1; +3)$

Notes. This table reports the average total effect of non-normalized event-study effects δ_t estimated through Equation 1. 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* denotes the number of parish-decade observations effectively used in the estimation. *Switchers (overall)* denotes the total number of parish-decade observations that switched treatment over the period, while *Switchers (at least once)* denotes the number of parishes that switched at least once. *Outcome residual s.d.* denotes the outcome standard deviation once decade, parish, and canton fixed effects, as well as wheat prices are accounted for. *Periods $(-t; +T)$* denotes the number of event-study effects and placebo estimated. Estimates are calculated using de Chaisemartin et al.’s (2024 [2023]) `did_multiplegt_dyn` Stata command. Standard errors are clustered at the parish level and reported in brackets.

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

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, γ_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 A11. 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 A11. The Horse Post, Rebellions, and Political Societies

	Political societies			
	All		Jacobin	
	OLS. Outcome: political societies			
log rebellions	0.340*** [0.010]	0.118*** [0.010]	0.174*** [0.008]	0.062*** [0.006]
	First stage. Outcome: log rebellions			
Horse-post relay	0.239*** [0.014]	0.088*** [0.011]	0.239*** [0.014]	0.088*** [0.011]
Cluster-adj. F-stat	292.799	252.193	292.799	252.193
	Reduced form. Outcome: political societies			
Horse-post relay	0.378*** [0.013]	0.147*** [0.011]	0.180*** [0.010]	0.058*** [0.007]
	2SLS. Outcome: political societies			
Horse-post relay	1.587*** [0.090]	1.671*** [0.235]	0.756*** [0.045]	0.662*** [0.109]
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	35,087	35,087	35,087	35,087

Statistics. All political societies: 0.145 (mean); 0.300 (residual s.d.). Jacobin societies: 0.022 (mean); 0.127 (residual s.d.). log rebellions: 0.077 (mean); 0.226 (residual s.d.).

Notes. This table reports the coefficients from estimating Equation A.1. The unit of observation is a parish. All regressions include canton fixed effects. Controls include the log distance to Paris, the log 1793 population, an indicator variable that equals one if the parish was the seat of an administration, and an indicator variable that equals one if the parish ever had a letter-post office during the eighteenth century. Estimates are calculated using Correia's (2023 [2014]) `reghdfe` and `ivreghdfe` Stata commands. Standard errors are clustered at the canton level and reported in brackets.

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

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.¹ The base shapefile of the extent of France in 1789 we use in Figures 2, 5, A2, A3, A6, and A11 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 2, A2, A3, A6, and A11, we digitized the 1721, 1731, 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.² 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.³ 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*.⁴

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,

¹Other 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.

²The 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).

³Specifically, 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).

⁴Contemporary 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).

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.

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.⁵ 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 135×146 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.⁶

Connectivity We assess the connectivity of parishes to the network of paved roads according to Cassini’s maps published in 1756–90 through Perret, Gribaudi 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*,

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

⁶This threshold has been used by French statisticians throughout the nineteenth century to classify towns as rural or urban (Le Mée, 1972; Roncayolo, 1987).

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.

Historical GIS of letter-post offices To create the historical GIS of letter-post offices displayed in Figure A11, 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 A11 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 A8, 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–A5, A7, and A9–A10 and in Figures 6, A9, A14, and Panels (b) of Figures A13 and A15, we use de Chaisemartin et al.’s (2024 [2023]) `did_multipltgt_dyn` Stata command, which is an extension of de Chaisemartin, D’Haultfoeuille and Guyonvarch’s (2024 [2019]) `did_multipltgt` command. Note that the Stata version of `did_multipltgt_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 Panels (a) of Figures A13 and A15, we use de Chaisemartin, D’Haultfoeuille and Guyonvarch’s (2024 [2019]) `did_multipltgt_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 horse-post relays, rebellions, and political societies in Table A11, we use Correia’s (2023 [2014]) `reghdfe` Stata command in the OLS and reduced-form panels – which we also use in Table A1 – and Correia’s (2023 [2014]) `ivreghdfe` Stata command in the first-stage and 2SLS panels.

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