Online Appendix

Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A  Qualitative missionary accounts</td>
<td>A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B  Regression specification description</td>
<td>A8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C  Sensitivity analysis</td>
<td>A9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D  Descriptive statistics</td>
<td>A11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E  Full regression tables for main results</td>
<td>A12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  Alternative measures and specifications</td>
<td>A16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Qualitative missionary accounts

Our quantitative research design draws on qualitative research into missionary activity in 19th century China. Our basic argument is that missionaries had limited knowledge about local conditions in the early years of entry into China, and even this data was itself often wrong or incomplete. Missionary’s behavior was strategic, but their incentives were shaped by donors and family members back home who wanted to see them evangelize new regions, regardless of local conditions, which pushed them to open mission stations in a relatively haphazard manner.

Table A1 shows estimates from the popular missionary tract by James Hudson Taylor for population sizes and the area of different regions. Hudson’s reckoning for the population of provinces was generally an overestimate (by as much as a factor of 2.5) but sometimes an underestimate. His reckonings for the size of provinces was also consistently wrong.

The fact that missionaries had such difficulty collecting information about local conditions is little wonder if we consider how unwelcoming many locals were when missionaries entered their districts. Consider the following account:

Out-stations were opened with difficulty and always under a fire of opposition. — The officials and the gentry watched us like hawks, I can recall at least a dozen mobbings at the instigation of some of them. We were mobbed in the [prefectural] city, mobbed in the district cities, mobbed in the large towns. We got so used to being pelted with mud and gravel and bits of broken pottery that things seemed strange if we escaped the regular dose. We were cursed out of towns and villages — and cursed along the high ways — cursed when walking on shore — and cursed when in our boats; we
were cursed from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet. Our ancestors were
cursed for a dozen generations back and our children were cursed for at least ten
generations ahead.... It went badly with our chapels that we rented. They were often
assailed; roofs were broken up, doors were battered in and furniture was carried off.
There was nothing else to do but keep at it.\footnote{W.M. Ashmore, \textit{The Chinese Recorder}, September 1897, p. 419.}

Missionaries often described their attempts to open new stations as chaotic, and found
it difficult even to coordinate with other like-minded evangelists:

China is an enormous field for evangelistic labours. Yet after so many years and a
large staff are we in the best place to reach these masses of humanity?... In some
cases the workers have reached out in all directions, and we find it not an uncommon
thing when they are going to visit their stations, to meet quite a number of others with
a like purpose going over the same ground.\footnote{Anonymous, \textit{The Chinese Recorder}, October 1903, p. 494.}

The wide variety of local dialects also made it hard for missionaries to proselytize and
understand local conditions, leading to a great deal of frustration.

Work was begun at once, but a good many difficulties, some foreseen, others unex-
pected, were experienced. The prefecture is even more mountainous than the older
region, and the great variety of dialects into which the district is broken up made
progress very slow during the first few years. Some of the evangelists proved unable
to stand the physical hardships of mountainous travelling; others were unable to learn
the new dialects, and the amount of serious opposition encountered, made it exceed-
ingly difficult to rent places where preaching could be carried on successfully.\footnote{F.P. Joseland, \textit{The Chinese Recorder}, October 1908, p. 556}
As a result of these communication issues, missionaries frequently found themselves “baffled” by the reaction of locals:

During the first few years it was found that our original scheme was too ambitious. There are nine counties in the prefecture, with a population estimated at three millions. Our first endeavour was to open preaching halls in four or five of these county towns, but in every instance we were baffled by the refusal of the authorities to allow us to rent a house. In the prefectural city itself, directly the Fu magistrate heard that we were trying to rent a small house for preaching purposes, he forbade the landlord to rent it to us, and actually sent a “posse” of soldiers to the inn where the Chinese pastor in charge was staying and commanded him to leave at once, the soldiers escorting him for some miles on his way.

The confusion and ignorance of missionaries in China was so great that there was evidently a need to encourage them to learn even the most basic features of life in China. One article in *The Chinese Recorder* exhorted readers to learn even simple facts about Chinese geography:

We may know all the provinces of dead Rome because we had to learn them for examination; could any missionary in China taking a right view of his life’s work fail to know the eighteen provinces of China? [C]an we afford to be considered stupid?

As another missionary wrote:

The mode differs as the places in China differ, but travel we can and travel we must.

We need to know our territory; the maps may be poor; we must make better ones. We

---

34 F.P. Joseland, *The Chinese Recorder*, October 1908, p. 556
cannot wait for steam and electricity; they should come after, not before us.\textsuperscript{36}

Instead of entering regions based on local conditions, missionaries were often driven by a desire to show donors and family back home that they have proselytized new areas, while giving little regard to local conditions. Calls for new mission stations to be opened were based largely on the simple fact that missionaries had not been there before, and it is clear from accounts that missionaries knew little about these regions:

This triangular district is unoccupied by any missionary society, and to a large extent has no evangelizing agency... A missionary settlement in Si-nan would reach a hitherto unoccupied and unworked country and would be well worth the consideration of societies seeking a new field. We feel it a sad fact that this part of Hupeh should like so long fallow.\textsuperscript{37}

In some tracts, these un-evangelized regions seem to blur together into “villages without number”:

From Suk-uk we crossed the country for two days, came to another small river, and one day’s journey took us out to the main west river below ‘Nam-ning-fu.” The whole journey from Pak-hoi by Yam-chow to the ester river in Kwong-sai can be made in six or seven days. When we arrived at the west river we turned towards Canton, and as we came down the river we passed city after city, market after market and villages without number, and little was being done for the spiritual welfare of the people. Much circulation of the Scriptures had been done; preachers had visited some parts, and there were four or five Christians in the province, but there was no

\textsuperscript{36}W.H. Hudson, \textit{The Chinese Recorder}, March 1901, pp. 118
\textsuperscript{37}W. M. Deans, \textit{The Chinese Recorder}, March 1904, pp. 110.
Protestant chapel in the whole of the province and no regular resident preacher, native or foreign.\footnote{Anonymous, \textit{The Chinese Recorder}, January 1895.}

A missionary named Albert Lutley recognized this as a problem:

Is it not possible that we have been far too much taken up with the plant and machinery of missions and have unconsciously adapted our plans and methods with a view to securing results which could be shown in statistics such as stations and out-stations opened, hospitals and schools established and converts and enquirers gathered? Most missionaries of experience who are acquainted with the facts will, I think, agree that this desire to tabulate results has proved a great hindrance and positive danger to the work, and has, in some cases, threatened the very life and existence of the church. How often it has led to the opening of outstations where no adequate oversight could be given and under circumstances in which there was little or no reasonable ground for believing there would be a true and faithful presentation of the Gospel to the people.\footnote{Albert Lutley, \textit{The Chinese Recorder}, June 1910, pp. 410-411}
Table A1: China Inland Mission estimates by James Hudson Taylor of population and area (1884) compared with more reliable population and area data from Qing sources (1880). “Error” refers to the factor by which an error is wrong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>9 million</td>
<td>21 million</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>54002 sq. m</td>
<td>55396 sq. m</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>45753</td>
<td>47219</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>166000</td>
<td>204748</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>17.5</td>
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<td>1.51</td>
<td>90230</td>
<td>86941</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>77856</td>
<td>85309</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>66758</td>
<td>68372</td>
<td>1.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>64773</td>
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<td>70834</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>39733</td>
<td>0.99</td>
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<td>Jiangxi</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>61580</td>
<td>63848</td>
<td>1.04</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>81215</td>
<td>72622</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>53768</td>
<td>58513</td>
<td>1.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>65950</td>
<td>67736</td>
<td>1.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>236103</td>
<td>1.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>122461</td>
<td>158350</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>35654</td>
<td>38793</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>67276</td>
<td>60879</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B Regression specification description

In Table 1 and Table 2, we estimate regressions of the form:

\[ Y_i = \alpha + \beta x_i + \gamma W_i + \delta_j + \epsilon_e \]

Where the outcome \( Y_i \) for prefecture \( i \) is a dummy variable for the presence of a founder of a nationalist organization and \( x_i \) is the log number of missionaries from the China Inland Mission. In some specifications, we also add control variables \( W_i \) and fixed-effects \( \delta_j \) for province \( j \).

In Table 3, we estimate 2SLS regressions. The first stage equation models the effect of the (log) number of missionaries in each prefecture’s China Inland Mission station \( Z \) on the (log) number of missionary conflicts \( x_i \). We estimate the relationship between the instrument and decentralization using the following first stage model:

\[ x_i = DZ_i + DW_i + \delta_j + \epsilon_e \]  \hspace{1cm} (1)

The second stage is estimated using the following model:

\[ Y_i = \alpha + \beta x_i + \gamma W_i + \delta_j + \epsilon_e \]  \hspace{1cm} (2)

Where \( Y_i \) is the outcome and \( \beta \) is the main coefficient of interest.
C Sensitivity analysis

How sensitive are the results to omitted variable bias? Cinelli and Hazlett (2020) propose a method for measuring sensitivity to omitted variables. The basic approach is to show how much of the variance in the outcome and treatment would need to be explained by the omitted variable in order to make the result go to zero. Using this approach, we can use our substantive knowledge to benchmark the results against variables we think might have an effect on both the treatment and the outcome.

Figure A1: Sensitivity analysis as proposed by Cinelli and Hazlett (2020) for the main results. The curves show estimated effects and the red dotted line is zero. To overturn the results, an unobserved confounder would need 50 times the explanatory power of newspaper variable on both the outcome and treatment variable.
Figure A1 shows sensitivity analysis for the main OLS result. Here, we benchmark the result against the log number of newspapers per capita. An unobserved confounder would almost 20 times the explanatory power of this variable on both the outcome and treatment in order to eliminate the results.

Specifically, the bivariate model examining the correlation between the log number of missionary incidents on participation in the Tongmenghui using OLS. In order to create the benchmark estimates, I also add the log number of newspapers as a control variable.
## D Descriptive statistics

Table A2: Descriptive statistics

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<tr>
<th>Statistic</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>St. Dev.</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
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<td>Tongmenghui Members</td>
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<td>3.759</td>
<td>10.119</td>
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<td>90</td>
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<td>0.486</td>
<td>0.501</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tongmenghui Members, Log Standard</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.766</td>
<td>3.592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Nationalist Parties, Indicator</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>0.510</td>
<td>0.501</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Nationalist Parties, Log Standard</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-1.018</td>
<td>0.978</td>
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<td>China Inland Mission Numbers</td>
<td>249</td>
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<td>1.084</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>China Inland Missions, Indicator</td>
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<td>0.284</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>China Inland Missions, Log Standard</td>
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<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.288</td>
<td>5.294</td>
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<td>Anti-Missionary Conflict</td>
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<td>Imperial Exam Quota Log Standard</td>
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<td>Books About Politics, 1911 to 1920</td>
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<td>Books by Foreign Authors, 1911 to 1920, Log Standard</td>
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<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.168</td>
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<td>Newspapers in 1905</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>0.831</td>
<td>6.540</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>98</td>
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<td>Newspapers in 1905, Log Standard</td>
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<td>0.000</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.151</td>
<td>14.040</td>
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<td>Area of Prefecture</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>15,919.880</td>
<td>18,130.660</td>
<td>2,317.000</td>
<td>192,200.000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Area of Prefecture, Log Standard</td>
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<td>Distance to Railway (m), Log Standard</td>
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<td>-11.138</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population circa 1900</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>1,658,746.000</td>
<td>2,095,303.000</td>
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<td>25,309,652.000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population circa 1900, Log Standard</td>
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<td>1.000</td>
<td>-4.603</td>
<td>2.543</td>
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<tr>
<td>Confucian Temples</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>76.143</td>
<td>54.537</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>280.000</td>
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<td>Confucian Temples Per Capita</td>
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<td>Tax Per Capita 1820</td>
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<td>0.084</td>
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<td>Prefecture Difficult to Tax</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>0.138</td>
<td>0.346</td>
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<td>1.000</td>
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<td>Rice Cultivation</td>
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A11
### Full regression tables for main results

Table A3: Regression results for all coefficients, main text Table [I]

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Founder of Tongmenghui</th>
<th>Founder of any nationalist organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Size (Log)</td>
<td>0.099***</td>
<td>0.084***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
<td>(0.021)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population (Log)</td>
<td>0.190**</td>
<td>0.126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.093)</td>
<td>(0.091)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty Port</td>
<td>0.063*</td>
<td>−0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.035)</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Area (Log)</td>
<td>−0.012</td>
<td>−0.142</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.115)</td>
<td>(0.093)</td>
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<td>Coastal</td>
<td>0.181***</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Railway Distance (Log)</td>
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<td>Newspapers (Log)</td>
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<td>Exam Quota (Log)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
<td>(0.107)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
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<td>246</td>
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<tr>
<td>R²</td>
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<td>0.231</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>0.159</td>
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*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

A12
Table A4: Regression results for all coefficients, main text Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Missionary Conflicts (Log)</th>
<th>Missionary Conflicts (Indicator)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Size (Log)</td>
<td>0.264***</td>
<td>0.218***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.066)</td>
<td>(0.049)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (Log)</td>
<td>0.294***</td>
<td>0.127***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.082)</td>
<td>(0.044)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty Port</td>
<td>0.429**</td>
<td>0.379**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.188)</td>
<td>(0.183)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area (Log)</td>
<td>0.150**</td>
<td>0.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.069)</td>
<td>(0.079)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal</td>
<td>−0.284</td>
<td>−0.342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.215)</td>
<td>(0.224)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway Distance (Log)</td>
<td>−0.020</td>
<td>−0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.051)</td>
<td>(0.022)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers (Log)</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exam Quota (Log)</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>0.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.075)</td>
<td>(0.041)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>−0.703***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.061)</td>
<td>(0.121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>0.382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.324</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Table A5: Regression results for all coefficients, main text Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Founder of Founder of any Tongmenghui</th>
<th>Tongmenghui nationalist organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent variable:</strong></td>
<td>(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Size (Log)</td>
<td>0.375*** (0.111)</td>
<td>0.386*** (0.109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.305** (0.143)</td>
<td>0.429*** (0.093)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.411*** (0.093)</td>
<td>0.329*** (0.123)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.411*** (0.093)</td>
<td>0.329*** (0.123)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty Port</td>
<td>0.025 (0.108)</td>
<td>0.036 (0.107)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.042 (0.099)</td>
<td>0.029 (0.099)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area (Log)</td>
<td>0.005 (0.041)</td>
<td>−0.036 (0.038)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.003 (0.041)</td>
<td>−0.036 (0.038)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal</td>
<td>0.097 (0.142)</td>
<td>0.033 (0.140)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.181 (0.131)</td>
<td>0.108 (0.128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (Log)</td>
<td>0.138** (0.070)</td>
<td>0.133** (0.065)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway Distance (Log)</td>
<td>−0.002 (0.036)</td>
<td>0.006 (0.031)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers (Log)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.025 (0.020)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exam Quota (Log)</td>
<td>0.022 (0.051)</td>
<td>0.009 (0.050)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.486*** (0.034)</td>
<td>0.649*** (0.131)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.707*** (0.120)</td>
<td>0.510*** (0.035)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.661*** (0.125)</td>
<td>0.717*** (0.117)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak instruments</td>
<td>15.97</td>
<td>19.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>240</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>240</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>−0.142</td>
<td>0.056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.181</td>
<td>−0.198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>−0.147</td>
<td>−0.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>−0.203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>−0.027</td>
<td>0.091</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Table A6: Regression results for all coefficients, main text Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Politics Books (Log)</th>
<th>Foreign Books (Log)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Size (Log)</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td>0.087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.059)</td>
<td>(0.063)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (Log)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.142***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.051)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty Port</td>
<td>0.567***</td>
<td>0.246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.200)</td>
<td>(0.173)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area (Log)</td>
<td>0.066*</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.039)</td>
<td>(0.035)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal</td>
<td>−0.250</td>
<td>−0.173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.192)</td>
<td>(0.160)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway Distance (Log)</td>
<td></td>
<td>−0.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers (Log)</td>
<td>0.517*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.295)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exam Quota (Log)</td>
<td>0.109***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.041)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>−0.066</td>
<td>−0.408***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.043)</td>
<td>(0.080)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.331</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
F Alternative measures and specifications

Table A7: 2SLS regression. Alternative measure of explanatory variables: Missionary conflicts and missionary stations as dummy variables (1=missionary conflict/station, 0=no missionary conflict/station)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Tongmenghui dummy</th>
<th>Any nationalist group dummy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Conflicts (Dummy)</td>
<td>0.939***</td>
<td>0.892***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.219)</td>
<td>(0.284)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty Port</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.110)</td>
<td>(0.108)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area (Log)</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>−0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
<td>(0.036)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>−0.0002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.140)</td>
<td>(0.132)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (Log)</td>
<td>0.149**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.076)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway Distance (Log)</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.033)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers (Log)</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.015)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exam Quota (Log)</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.051)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>−0.038</td>
<td>0.118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.142)</td>
<td>(0.164)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak instruments</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>8.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>−0.404</td>
<td>−0.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>−0.410</td>
<td>−0.184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Table A8: 2LS regression. Alternative measure of outcome and explanatory variables: Missionary conflicts and missionary stations as dummy variables and outcome as standardized log number of nationalist party members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Tongmenghui Members (log)</th>
<th>All Nationalist members (log)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Conflicts (Dummy)</td>
<td>2.289*** (0.626)</td>
<td>2.262*** (0.868)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty Port</td>
<td>0.184 (0.274)</td>
<td>0.058 (0.268)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area (Log)</td>
<td>0.100 (0.083)</td>
<td>0.015 (0.084)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal</td>
<td>0.209 (0.290)</td>
<td>0.014 (0.283)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (Log)</td>
<td>0.196 (0.203)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway Distance (Log)</td>
<td>0.009 (0.062)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers (Log)</td>
<td>0.151*** (0.030)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exam Quota (Log)</td>
<td>−0.067 (0.105)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>−1.278*** (0.377)</td>
<td>−1.069*** (0.375)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                     | 17.4                        | 8.72                         | 8.72 | 17.4 | 8.72 | 5.12 |
| Weak instruments     | 249                         | 246                          | 240  | 249  | 246  | 240  |
| Observations         | −0.707                      | −0.285                       | −0.030 | −0.686 | −0.179 | 0.079 |
| R²                   | −0.714                      | −0.405                       | −0.150 | −0.693 | −0.290 | −0.029 |
| Adjusted R²          | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |

Note:
Table A9: OLS regression. Alternative measure of outcome variables: Outcome as log number of nationalist party members, explanatory variables as log number of missionary conflicts and missionary stations. Variables standardized.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Tongmenghui (log standardized)</th>
<th>All nationalist groups (log standardized)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary Cases (Log)</td>
<td>0.799*** (0.247)</td>
<td>0.938*** (0.251)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty Port</td>
<td>0.208 (0.233)</td>
<td>0.221 (0.226)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area (Log)</td>
<td>−0.007 (0.085)</td>
<td>−0.091 (0.078)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal</td>
<td>0.257 (0.289)</td>
<td>0.111 (0.296)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (Log)</td>
<td>0.228 (0.156)</td>
<td>0.266** (0.130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway Distance (Log)</td>
<td>−0.005 (0.059)</td>
<td>0.012 (0.063)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers (Log)</td>
<td>0.050 (0.040)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exam Quota (Log)</td>
<td>−0.008 (0.091)</td>
<td>0.017 (0.101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.000 (0.066)</td>
<td>0.248 (0.229)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak instruments</td>
<td>15.97</td>
<td>19.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>−0.187</td>
<td>0.095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>−0.192</td>
<td>0.010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Table A10: OLS Regression. Correlation between all missionary entry by 1905 and nationalist mobilization. Note that this includes many more missions than the measure in the main specifications, which focuses only on the China Inland Mission.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tongmenghui dummy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Missionaries</td>
<td>0.153*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Indicator, Stauffer Yearbook)</td>
<td>(0.080)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>0.274***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.060)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty port</td>
<td>0.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.106)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>-0.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.053)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal</td>
<td>-0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to railway</td>
<td>-0.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.029)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>0.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperial exam quota</td>
<td>-0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.053)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.426***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.067)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.282**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.352***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.111)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observations: 180 178 178 180 178 178  
R^2: 0.020 0.293 0.298 0.032 0.325 0.329  
Adjusted R^2: 0.014 0.213 0.204 0.026 0.248 0.238

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Table A11: OLS Regression. Relationship between later missionary converts and nationalist organization. These results suggest that the alternative channel of missionary conversion is unlikely to drive our results, but it cannot rule out this possibility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable: Tongmenghui founder</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christians per capita</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>0.108***</td>
<td>0.291***</td>
<td>0.292***</td>
<td>0.276***</td>
<td>0.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.047)</td>
<td>(0.041)</td>
<td>(0.068)</td>
<td>(0.066)</td>
<td>(0.063)</td>
<td>(0.047)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>0.291***</td>
<td>0.292***</td>
<td>0.276***</td>
<td>0.292***</td>
<td>0.276***</td>
<td>0.291***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.068)</td>
<td>(0.066)</td>
<td>(0.063)</td>
<td>(0.066)</td>
<td>(0.063)</td>
<td>(0.068)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty port</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>(0.107)</td>
<td>(0.111)</td>
<td>(0.103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>−0.040</td>
<td>−0.052</td>
<td>−0.038</td>
<td>(0.057)</td>
<td>(0.056)</td>
<td>(0.055)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal</td>
<td>−0.135</td>
<td>−0.113</td>
<td>−0.113</td>
<td>(0.114)</td>
<td>(0.118)</td>
<td>(0.114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to railway</td>
<td>−0.014</td>
<td>−0.020</td>
<td>−0.011</td>
<td>(0.026)</td>
<td>(0.030)</td>
<td>(0.026)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
<td>(0.018)</td>
<td>(0.014)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperial exam quota</td>
<td>−0.014</td>
<td>−0.017</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>(0.052)</td>
<td>(0.053)</td>
<td>(0.053)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conregations per capita</td>
<td>−0.026</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
<td>(0.033)</td>
<td>(0.033)</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission primary students</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>0.136***</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
<td>(0.034)</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
<td>(0.034)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.533***</td>
<td>0.427***</td>
<td>0.533***</td>
<td>0.397***</td>
<td>0.533***</td>
<td>0.327***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
<td>(0.104)</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
<td>(0.105)</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
<td>(0.109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.314</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.291</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>0.318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.222</td>
<td>−0.003</td>
<td>0.196</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Table A12: Interaction of China Inland Mission indicator variable and anti-missionary conflict indicator. Results show that missionary entry is correlated with nationalist mobilization in prefectures that also experienced anti-missionary conflict, but is not correlated in prefectures without such conflict.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Founder of</th>
<th>Founder of any</th>
<th>Province fixed-effects</th>
<th>Geographic controls</th>
<th>Social controls</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Founder of Tongmenghui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Inland Mission</td>
<td>0.195***</td>
<td>0.174***</td>
<td>0.092</td>
<td>0.211***</td>
<td>0.186***</td>
<td>0.105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.065)</td>
<td>(0.067)</td>
<td>(0.068)</td>
<td>(0.065)</td>
<td>(0.067)</td>
<td>(0.067)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Missionary Conflict</td>
<td>−0.355***</td>
<td>−0.182</td>
<td>−0.370***</td>
<td>−0.364***</td>
<td>−0.274**</td>
<td>−0.481***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.046)</td>
<td>(0.127)</td>
<td>(0.101)</td>
<td>(0.047)</td>
<td>(0.129)</td>
<td>(0.101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission X Conflict</td>
<td>0.700***</td>
<td>0.451***</td>
<td>0.570***</td>
<td>0.789***</td>
<td>0.599***</td>
<td>0.735***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.096)</td>
<td>(0.163)</td>
<td>(0.140)</td>
<td>(0.065)</td>
<td>(0.145)</td>
<td>(0.117)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.355***</td>
<td>0.301***</td>
<td>0.520***</td>
<td>0.364***</td>
<td>0.287***</td>
<td>0.505***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.046)</td>
<td>(0.106)</td>
<td>(0.109)</td>
<td>(0.047)</td>
<td>(0.104)</td>
<td>(0.106)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependent variable:**

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.355***</td>
<td>0.301***</td>
<td>0.520***</td>
<td>0.364***</td>
<td>0.287***</td>
<td>0.505***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.046)</td>
<td>(0.106)</td>
<td>(0.109)</td>
<td>(0.047)</td>
<td>(0.104)</td>
<td>(0.106)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Table A13: Effect of Protestantism on revolution after adjusting for anti-missionary conflicts: Bounding analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tongmenghui founder</th>
<th>Any revolutionary org. founder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40% below OLS estimate</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20% below OLS estimate</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10% below OLS estimate</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLS estimate</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10% above OLS estimate</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20% above OLS estimate</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40% above OLS estimate</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Province fixed-effects: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
Geographic controls: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
Social controls: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01