Supplemental Table 1. Irreversible rate constants ( $\mathrm{k}_{\mathrm{obs}}$ ) for formation of open complexes as a function of of $[\mathrm{RNAP}]_{\text {total }}$ and $\left[\mathrm{Na}^{+}\right]$in $\mathrm{Cl}^{-}$Buffer at $25^{\circ} \mathrm{C}^{\mathrm{a}}$

| $\left[\mathrm{Na}^{+}\right]$ (M) | $\begin{gathered} \text { RNAP } \\ (\mathrm{nM}) \end{gathered}$ | $\mathrm{k}_{\text {obs }}\left(\mathrm{s}^{-1}\right)$ | $\begin{gathered} {\left[\mathrm{Na}^{+}\right]} \\ (\mathrm{M}) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { RNAP } \\ \text { (nM) } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\mathrm{k}_{\text {obs }}\left(\mathrm{s}^{-1}\right)$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 0.15 | ( | $(4.9 \pm 0.3) \times 10^{-2}$ | 0.25 | 7 | $(7.7 \pm 0.7) \times 10^{-3}$ |
|  | 5 | $(1.9 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 15.6 | $(2.7 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 56.7 | $(3.2 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 100 | $(3.2 \pm 0.2) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
| 0.17 | 5 | $(9.6 \pm 0.7) \times 10^{-2}$ | 0.27 | 7 | $(4.2 \pm 0.2) \times 10^{-3}$ |
|  | 12.9 | $(2.1 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 30 | $(2.3 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 100 | $(2.8 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
| 0.19 | 7 | $(5.7 \pm 0.7) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 25 | $(1.61 \pm 0.08) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 50 | $(2.1 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 80 | $(2.3 \pm 0.2) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 120 | $(2.3 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
| 0.21 | 7 | $(3.1 \pm 0.3) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 25 | $(8.0 \pm 0.6) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 50 | $(1.3 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 80 | $(1.63 \pm 0.09) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 129 | $(1.85 \pm 0.09) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |
| 0.23 | 1 | $(1.4 \pm 0.2) \times 10^{-3}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 2 | $(1.9 \pm 0.2) \times 10^{-3}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 3 | $(4.6 \pm 0.3) \times 10^{-3}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 5 | $(7.0 \pm 0.4) \times 10^{-3}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 10 | $(1.6 \pm 0.1) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 20 | $(3.0 \pm 0.2) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 31 | $(4.3 \pm 2.0) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 31 | $(4.3 \pm 0.3) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 43.7 | $(6.7 \pm 0.6) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 48 | $(7.0 \pm 0.6) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 59.8 | $(7.6 \pm 0.6) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 67.4 | $(8.3 \pm 0.7) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 90 | $(9.0 \pm 0.6) \times 10^{-2}$ |  |  |  |
|  | 133 | $(1.04 \pm 0.07) \times 10^{-1}$ |  |  |  |

${ }^{\text {a }}$ Concentrations of RNAP are active. Values of $\mathrm{k}_{\text {obs }}$ determined by fitting the fraction of promoter DNA bound in open complexes as a function of time to eq 1 . With the exception of 31 nM RNAP at $0.23 \mathrm{M} \mathrm{Na}^{+}, \mathrm{k}_{\text {obs }}$ was determined once for each [RNAP]; associated error is from the fitting program. Otherwise, the reported error is calculated from the standard deviation ( $\delta(\mathrm{n}-1)$ ) of multiple values of $\mathrm{k}_{\text {obs }}$. At $0.23 \mathrm{M} \mathrm{Na}^{+}$, the first seven entries for $\mathrm{k}_{\mathrm{obs}}$ were determined using manual mixing, the remaining were determined using rapid quench mixing. At 0.25 and $0.27 \mathrm{M} \mathrm{Na}^{+} \mathrm{k}_{\text {obs }}$ was determined using manual mixing.

