

Chapter 2. Dynamo at Chicago Edison: 1892–1907 Source Notes and Bibliography

Figures (TBC)

- 2.2 “ridiculously low” (Insull, quoted in McDonald 1962, pp. 66, 104)
- 2.3 Harrison Station facts (Crissey, p. 29)

Footnotes

- 1 “I arrived ... Edison himself” (Insull 1925, p. 17)
- 3 “The [Chicago] City Council ... century” (Hogan, p. 37)
- 4 two gas franchises (Platt, p. 5)
- 5 Western Edison (Hogan, pp. 16, 18–19); 1887 charter (reprinted in Chicago City Council, pp. 649–50)
- 8 Siemens & Halske (McDonald 1962, p. 62); Westinghouse (Klein, p. 403)
- 9 smaller generation stations (Crissey, pp. 28–30)
- 10 Bowker and New York Edison (Insull, 1928a, pp. 1140–41)
- 11 “business ecology” “a development ... whole” (McDonald 1962, p. 106)
- 13 See www.aeic.org/heritage.html
- 14 battery loss (Insull 1898a, p. 25)
- 16 broken engagement (“Chicago Millionaire”)
- 17 Yerkes departure (McDonald 1962, p. 96)
- 18 1897 acquisitions (Platt, p. 83)
- 19 “It is ... competition?” (Baker, pp. 66–67)
- 20 NELA formation (Insull 1910a, p. 144)
- 23 “super-slave” (Hammond 1933); turbogenerator pioneers (Hammond 1941, pp. 275–82)
- 24 customer load factors (Insull 1908a, pp. 58–59)
- 25 integration strategy (Chandler, pp. 287–89)

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- “Just imagine ... of 1881” (Insull 1912b, pp. 344–45)
- major breakthroughs; “made ... rank” (Insull 1910b, p. 148)
- “I fell ... first interview” (Insull 1934, p. 31)
- trance broken (Insull 1934, p. 56)
- Insull view of Edison (Insull, 1934, p. 19)
- “the perilous ... success” (Jonnes, p. 180)
- Edison positive, negative force (McDonald 1962, pp. 32–33, 43–44)
- “the inventor ... industry” (Insull 1912, p. 333)
- “You know ... business” (quoted in McDonald 1962, p. 53)

Hello, Chicago

- “windy city” (Hughes, p. 201)
- “lusty city” (Wasik, p. 61)
- “shock city” (Platt, p. xvii)
- “wide-open city” (Wasik, chapter IV)
- “Chicago attracted ... thirsty” (Wasik, p. 63)
- London, Berlin (Hughes, p. 201)
- “commercial New World crossroads” (Jonnes, p. 247)
- railroad center (Jonnes, p. 247)
- major industries (Hughes, p. 202; Platt, pp. 9–10)
- coal center, energy city (Platt, pp. 6–10)

smoky air (Jonnes, p. 247)
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 New York City rival (Hughes, p. 202)
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 “man ... soul” (McDonald 1962, p. 56)
 “genius ... efficiency” (Hogan, p. 6)
 “the electric city” (Platt, book title)
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Chicago Times prediction (Pratt, p. 3)
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 Cook County plants (Insull 1909, pp. 111–12)
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 Insull work on Adams (Insull 1934, p. 62)
 “pioneer ... 25 years” (Hogan, p. 132)
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 Chicago Edison capacity (Insull 1923, p. 369)
 underground transmission (Hogan, pp. 15–16)
 Great Fire of 1871 (Hogan, p. 10)

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“By 1892 ... July 1” (McDonald 1962, p. 55)
 “School of Experience” (quoted in Insull, 1934, p. 40)
 “frontier town” (Insull, quoted in Klein, p. 400)
 many New York friends (Insull 1934, p. 66)
 contract terms (Insull 1922, pp. 343–44)
 “It was all ... pay” (Insull 1934, p. 62)
 “pretty hard ... responsibilities” (Insull 1922, p. 344)
 capital expansion, new construction (Insull 1934, p. 62)
 acquisition policy (Platt, p. 74)
 “terrible shock” (Louis Ferguson, quoted in “Speeches Delivered...,” p. 21)
 secretary counteroffer (Insull 1922a, p. 344)
 stock purchase and transfer, “embarrassed ... loan” (Insull 1934, p. 65)
 “Characteristically ... efforts” (McDonald 1962, p. 58)
 cities beat out (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World's_Columbian_Exposition)
 beyond DC reach (McDonald 1962, p. 57)
 22 million (Platt, p. 59)
 “Sell ... and come” (Jonnes, p. 265)
 “White City” (Jonnes, p. 262)
 “[D]ream [C]ity” “City of Light” (Platt, p. 59)
 “the city ... utopia” (Platt, p. 61)
 “the first ... spaces,” elevated transportation, “marine ... generators” (Insull 1934, p. 71)
 searchlights, sidewalks, gondolas (Hammond 1941, pp. 213–15)

kitchen novelties (Platt, pp. 59, 64)
 “servantless” “the birth ... economics” “liberation” “modernity” (Platt, p. 64)
 “Monumental ... clean” (Platt, p. 59)
 “Thine ... gleam” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World's_Columbian_Exposition)
 Emerald City (Wasik, p. 70)
 Insull networking (Insull 1934, p. 70)
 demand for electrification (Platt, p. 65)
 GE equipment to Insull (Jonnes, p. 269; Platt, p. 62)
 Westinghouse exhibit (Jonnes, pp. 267–68)
 “cultural ... enterprises” (Platt, p. 60)
 NELA and World’s Fair (Platt, pp. 61–62)
 start times (Woolley, p. 116)
 existing, potential customers (McDonald 1962, p. 63)
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 “largely theoretical” (quoted in Klein, p. 403)
 gas competition (McDonald 1962, p. 105)
 Great Northern contract (Klein, p. 405; Platt, p. 80)
 “ridiculously low” (quoted in McDonald 1962, pp. 66, 104)
 “cut and try” (Insull 1934, p. 74)
 intuition (McDonald 1962, pp. 57–58)
 “were unwilling ... business” (Insull 1934, p. 75)
 “the first step ... companies” (Insull 1934, p. 74)
 Fort Wayne acquisition (Hogan, p. 38; McDonald 1962, p. 59)
 Chicago Arc negotiation (McDonald 1962, p. 59)
 “The relations ... of 1893” (Insull 1934, p. 76)
 reasons for merger (Insull 1922, pp. 22–23; McDonald 1962, p. 59; Platt, p. 74)
 “practical monopoly” (William Beale, quoted in Platt, p. 77)
 GE equipment agreement (Platt, p. 77)
 14 acquisitions, terms (Platt, p. 78)
 financial panic; GE problems (McDonald 1962, pp. 60–61)
 Chicago Edison stock strength (McDonald 1962, p. 61)
 “good business ... enemy,” monopoly to lower prices (McDonald 1962, p. 62)
 “Insull brought ... none” (Platt, p. 68)
 intuition of Insull (Platt, p. 61)
 “Often in ... existence” (McDonald 1962, pp. 58–59)
 “inaugurat[e] ... policy” (McDonald 1962, p. 58)
 “the greatest time” (quoted in McDonald 1962, p. 58)
 Harrison’s size and economics (Hogan, pp. 39–40; McDonald 1962, p. 58; Platt, pp. 76–77)
 Harrison expansions, substitutions (Hogan, p. 39; Platt, p. 77)
 “Insull’s first step ... economics” (McDonald 1962, p. 58)
 “no one ... economics” (Insull 1934, p. 73)
 Harrison AC/DC (Hogan, p. 29; Klein, p. 407; Platt, p. 81)
 ratemaking puzzle (McDonald 1962, pp. 66–67)
 load factor (McDonald 1962, p. 68)

actual rates (Insull 1928a, p. 1139–40; McDonald 1962, p. 65; Platt, p. 80)
 volumetric discounting (McDonald 1962, pp. 65–66)
 electric motors and power demand (Insull 1921, p. 255)
 Insull rate problem (McDonald 1962, pp. 66–67)
 “demand meter” (Klein, p. 406)
 Wright’s two-part rates (Hogan, p. 43; McDonald 1962, pp. 67–68)
 “The minimum ... safety” (Insull 1898a, p. 30)
 marginal economics breakthrough (Klein, pp. 406–407)
 “I do not think ... electricity” (quoted in Klein, p. 407)
 Ferguson, Wright implementation (Hogan, p. 43)
 “the intention ... long-hour” “short hour” “we take ... basis” (quoted in Klein, p. 411)
 “The nearer ... current” (quoted in Klein, p. 405)
 “LaSalle Street” bankers (McDonald 1962, p. 70)
 Chicago Edison dividends, share price (McDonald 1962, p. 61)
 capital request vs. approval (Insull 1934, p. 85; McDonald 1962, p. 61)
 Insull’s protest (Insull 1934, p. 85)
 “Bryan panic” (McDonald 1962, p. 70)
 avoiding Wall Street (McDonald 1962, p. 71)
 “as disarmingly ... detailed,” depreciation reserve (McDonald 1962, p. 72)
 London negotiations, outcome (Insull 1934, pp. 86–87; McDonald 1962, pp. 72–73)
 “salesmanship, Insull-style” (McDonald 1962, p. 72)
 “This transaction ... years” (Insull 1934, p. 87)
 near insolvency (*United States v. Insull*, p. 4263)
 “brilliant” “astounding”; copycats (McDonald 1962, p. 73)

Chicago, Industry Leader

“With Wright’s ... before” (Hogan, p. 44)
 Contract Department growth (Hogan, pp. 44–45)
 “general contract agents” (Hogan, p. 45)
 appliance margins (Insull 1913, p. 438)
 sales growth (Hogan, p. 50)
 beyond parlor convenience (Platt, p. 179)
 16,000 customers (Hogan, p. 54)
 U.S. citizenship (Insull 1934, p. 66)
 “The greater ... its gates” (Insull 1934, p. 84)
 opera interest (Insull 1934, pp. 105–107)
 “I could not ... time” (Insull 1934, p. 84)
 policy toward suppliers (Insull, 1934, pp. 139–40)
 forces favoring municipalization (McDonald 1962, p. 117)
 rate-reduction strategy (McDonald 1962, p. 104)
 financial disclosure (McDonald 1962, p. 114)
 salary versus performance (McDonald 1962, p. 129)
 “one of the first ... existence” (McDonald 1962, p. 114)
 public appearances (McDonald 1962, p. 114)
 “the personification... persistence” “harmoniz[ed] ... arise” (*Sunday Chronicle*)
 \$105 million (Insull 1897, p. 2)
 “with hardly ... exception” (Insull 1897, p. 3)
 “utmost permanency” “Edison system” (Insull 1897, p. 7)
 uniform accounts; lamp testing (Insull 1897, pp. 4–5)

patents (Insull 1897, p. 6)
battery problem (Insull 1897, p. 4)
16-hour days, health trips (McDonald 1962, p. 78)

A Marriage of National Note

“Americanized Englishman” “fond ... gentler sex” (“Samuel Insull’s Useful Life”)
“the life of the evening” (Insull 1934, p. 100)
Gladys Wallis description (McDonald 1962, pp. 74–76)
Shakespeare role (“Wedding of Gladys Wallis ... Monied Men”)
Wallis courtship (McDonald 1962, pp. 77–80)
“Half the chappies ... ingénues” (“Gladys Wallis to Wed”)
“Once we ... clean” (“Regret,” *Detroit Free Press*)
“She has a voice ... blossom” (“Wedding of Gladys Wallis ...”)
“the electrical ... things” (Martin)
“considerate ... ‘crowded’” (Glass)
“the many years ... pleasure” “it naturally ... vain” (Edison)
“your delay ... ordeal” (Villard)
“During ... later” (Coster)
“You ... attended you” “Your sway ... unexplainable” (Coffin)

A Political Birth (Commonwealth Edison Company)

Peabody relationship (Insull 1934, pp. 66–67)
“political” “Sometime ... Illinois” (McDonald 1962, p. 108)
“the city that coal built” (Platt, p. 6)
“a thoroughgoing ... doing” (McDonald 1962, p. 94)
People’s “gas monopoly” (Platt, p. 3)
“his ... inferno” “perhaps ... business” (McDonald 1962, p. 82)
Ogden Gas politics (Hogan, p. 52; McDonald 1962, pp. 82–83)
“ethics of graft” (McDonald 1962, p. 82)
Yerkes franchise politics (Hogan, 50–51; McDonald 1962, pp. 84–89);
Gray Wolves; Insull strategy (Hogan, pp. 51–52; McDonald 1962, pp. 88–89)
\$50,000 purchase (McDonald 1962, p. 89)
“as bizarre . . . seen” (McDonald, p. 88)
franchise-transfer problem; Billy Beale (Insull 1934, pp. 82–83; McDonald 1962, p. 91)
\$100 million need; open-ended mortgage (McDonald 1962, p. 92)
75 percent provision; no upper limit (McDonald 1962, p. 92)
first issuance (McDonald 1962, p. 93)
London market (Insull 1934, pp. 156–57)
half-billion dollars (McDonald 1962, p. 92)

A Call for Public-Utility Regulation

European, Bismarck influence (McDonald 1958, p. 243; Wasik, p. 79)
Massachusetts activism (Bradley 1996a, pp. 853–54)
“raiders” “processes ... supplied “If they ... companies” (quoted in Bradley 1996b, p. 4)
precedent for electricity regulation (Insull 1898a, p. 27; Insull 1898b, pp. 45, 47)
“municipal socialism” “acute competition” “frightens ... capital” “inevitable” “The best ...
undertaking” “In order to ... profit” “The more certain ... users” (Insull 1898a, p. 27)
municipalization strategy (McDonald 1962, p. 113)
“right” “fair” “whenever ... desirable” (Insull 1898b, p. 46)
Insull strategy with politicians (McDonald 1962, pp. 115–16)
“providing jobs ... view” (McDonald 1962, p. 116)

municipalization card, “Insull was ... varied” (McDonald 1962, p. 117)

From Chicago Edison to Commonwealth Edison

The prospects ... dazzling” “I think ... future” (Insull 1898a, p. 32)

20 percent market share (Insull 1898a, pp. 32–33)

“an intelligent ... world” (McDonald 1962, p. 108)

“mass consumption economics” (Platt, p. 119)

“the gospel of consumption” (Platt, p. 98)

“the massing of production” (Insull 1910a, p. 143)

“The Chief” (McDonald 1962, p. 105)

Selling Out Supply

salesmen skills (Platt, p. 107)

“cold indifference” “interested friendliness” (quoted in Platt, p. 100)

marketing activities (Platt, pp. 98–101)

“business getting” department (Platt, p. 156)

“A Home ... incomplete” (quoted in Platt, p. 156)

Electric City (Platt, p. 109)

Adams Street batteries (Crissey, p. 37; Platt, p. 112)

electrification of streetcars/railcars (Passer, p. 342)

self-generation power, Lake Street Elevated (Klein, p. 414; Platt, p. 120)

1898 electric vehicle efforts (Platt, p. 334n49)

“load leveling” (Mom, p. 206)

Illinois Electrical Vehicle Transportation Company (Mom, pp. 86–87)

1,000 vehicles (Mom, p. 88)

“typical long-load hour” (Mom, p. 207)

“shift ... maintenance” (Mom, p. 207)

“complement” (Mom, p. 87)

\$0.15 charges (Mom, pp. 87–88)

liquidation (Mom, p. 91)

“will sputter ... work” (quoted in Kirsch, p. 46)

Automobile Club of Chicago (*New York Times*, December 22, 1899, at <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9A05EED91530E132A25751C2A9649D94689ED7CF>)

“unprogressive” ban (“Call Automobile Ban Folly”)

“propelled ... distribution” (Kirsch, p. 90)

Walker Vehicle Company (Platt, p. 334n49)

short-haul delivery trucks (Platt, p. 361n18)

battery station failure (Platt, p. 159)

CBD isolated plants; Illinois Maintenance Company (Platt, p. 102)

“one-two ... incentives” (Platt, p. 108)

isolated-plant decline (Platt, p. 102)

elevators, motors (Platt, pp. 104–105)

horsepower growth; other power uses (Platt, p. 107)

power growth (Platt, pp. 107–108)

magazine ads (Platt, p. 156)

Electric Cottage (Platt, p. 109)

Chicago coverage (Platt, p. 148)

North side; South Side (Platt, p. 109)

falling load factor (Platt, pp. 109, 111–112)

battery backup (Insull 1909, p. 58)

Massing Production

“massing production” (quoted in McDonald 1962, p. 98n37)

“cautious experimentation” (Platt, p. 113)

early GE turbogenerator (Hammond 1941, pp. 275–79)

“the ablest ... acquaintance” (Insull 1934, p. 156)

Ferguson report (Hogan, p. 58)

Insull’s 5 MW, 70 MW (Insull 1910a, p. 136)

Westinghouse 2.5 MW unit (Wasik, p. 85)

Coffin preference (Hammond 1941, p. 279; Klein, p. 414; Platt, p. 114)

“step backward” (Insull 1912, p. 354)

risk sharing GE/Chicago Edison (Hughes, p. 211; Insull 1910a, p. 138; Klein, p. 414; Hogan, p. 58)

“staked ... for it” (Hammond 1941, p. 279)

“great experiment” (Insull 1928b, p. 5)

uneconomical Fisk units (Insull 1928b, p. 6)

Historic Fisk (Hogan, p. 57)

GE stock price (Hammond 1941, p. 282)

14-units by 1910 (Hogan, p. 60)

retrofits (Hammond 1941, pp. 283–84; Platt, p. 114)

“with the ... invested” (Insull 1910a, p. 136)

one-half cost reduction, “daring ... engineer” (Crissey, p. 19)

“The machines ... dream” (Hammond 1941, p. 283)

“the greatest ... business” (quoted in Wasik, pp. 91–92)

“a perpetual ... victory” (Hammond 1941, p. 284)

80 percent versus 40 percent conversion (Wasik, p. 84)

ten times at one-tenth (Hammond, 1941, p. 282)

less maintenance (Klein, p. 373)

coal reduction (Platt, p. 118)

air-emissions reductions (Platt, p. 115)

“I think ... conservation” (Insull 1916, p. 51)

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“from that ... the world” (Wasik, p. 86)

“the future ... arrived” (Klein, p. 373)

substation growth (Platt, p. 114)

Harrison a substation (Crissey, p. 38; Insull 1910c, p. 162)

load dispatching (Hogan, p. 65; Hughes, p. 214; Platt, pp. 114–15)

Sales Redux

“one part ... cuts” (McDonald 1962, p. 104)

“long-hour users” (Insull 1908a, p. 59)

“the avowed ... customers” (Insull 1908a, pp. 59–60)

“ridiculously . . . rates” (quoted in McDonald, pp. 66, 104)

“By 1908 ... demand” (Platt, p. 112)

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Electric City, direct mail, newspaper buys (Seymour, p. 242)

“Make ... Women,” “There is switch” (quoted in Platt, p. 156)

“opening wedge” iron sales (Platt, p. 155)

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“fantasy ... pleasure” (Platt, p. 146)

“the sign ... America” (Platt, p. 147)
suburban electricity market (Platt, pp. 170–72)
Insull suburban investment; North Shore consolidation (Platt, pp. 172–73)
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“metropolitan web of energy” (Platt, p. 173)
suburban electricity quality (Platt, pp. 172–74)
Charles Munroe (McDonald 1962, pp. 95–97)
“emerged ... as well”; “Insull ... in miniature” (McDonald 1962, p. 101)

Vertical Integration

1902 strike; 1903 integration (Platt, p. 119)
“arrange ... product” (Insull 1934, p. 69)
“The way ... delivery,” “just as much ... mills” (Insull 1934, p. 69)
“a constant supply ... year” (Insull 1934, p. 68)
Peabody joint venture (McDonald 1962, p. 108)
coal, railroad investments (Insull 1934, p. 68)
“From the time ... coal” (Insull, 1934, p. 67)
Stuyvesant Peabody (Insull, 1934, p. 67)

A New Name

premerger politics (McDonald 1962, pp. 122–24; Platt, pp. 132–34)
steady dividends (McDonald 1962, p. 103)
merger (McDonald 1962, pp. 124–26)

Fifteen Years of Progress

customer growth (Crissey, p. 25; Insull 1912a, p. 329)
generation growth (Crissey, p. 26)
“The junk pile ... asset” (Beasley)
rate reductions (McDonald 1962, p. 104)
“ridiculously low” (quoted in McDonald 1962, pp. 66, 104)
cheapest rates, European experts (Insull 1908b, p. 67)
better life (Platt, p. 143)
“Trolleys ... people” (Platt, p. 147)
“benevolent ... values” “ultimate ... progress” (Platt, p. 65)
“I am ashamed ... pain” (quoted in Collins and Gitelman, p. 60)
“The merchant of power” (Wasik, book title)
“electric city” (Platt, book title)
“networked city” “from death traps ... heartland” (Platt, p. xv)

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