# Keith Walden

# Whose Method? Culture, Commerce, and American Performer Training

The rapid acceptance in America of Stanislavsky's approach to actor training is often presented as an unexpected and unaccountable imposition of foreign culture. But Keith Walden argues that, while the 'method' may have been an innovation in acting schools, its goals and techniques were already familiar in other spheres of American life — particularly in the voluminous advice literature directed at salespeople. The similarities are not surprising, since both attempts to shape performances were inspired by the erosion of older notions of coherent, stable selfhood. Though the cultural purposes of acting and selling remained sharply different, the transgressive potential of modern theatre was dependent on a widespread belief that the roles required in ordinary work should be competently enacted. Keith Walden is a member of the History Department at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario. He is a former editor of the Canadian Historical Review and author of Becoming Modern in Toronto: the Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late-Victorian Culture.

IN A RECENT NTQ ARTICLE, Ian Watson considered both the dominance of the Stanis-lavskian system in American performer training and the recent shifts towards a more classically influenced acting style. How was it, he wondered, that the product of a foreign culture took such rapid, tenacious hold, and what accounted for the new emphasis on developing the voice and the physicality of the body?

Watson's answers point to the dynamics of culture – that comprehensive yet ephemeral web which incorporates every dimension of human endeavour, which implants the logic of the past unconsciously in the doings of the living, and yet which is open to 'improvisations' that can abruptly shift behaviour and values. He suggests that Stanislavsky's sudden popularity in America represented an example of such improvisation – though these new practices were not entirely different from those of pre-existing conservatories. The techniques of those earlier institutions, embedded in the cultural memory of the acting profession like a 'rehearsed script', have now resurfaced to provide an alternative to the shortcomings of the 'method'.<sup>1</sup>

This analysis is problematic for a number of reasons. After the all-encompassing description of culture that begins the article, Watson's interpretation of the influences on performer training is surprisingly narrow. Acting, it would seem, has been shaped only by the traditions of acting, with no effect from the broader matrix of values and beliefs. Second, while American excitement about Stanislavsky may be an example of cultural improvisation, it is not clear why this particular foreign intrusion was successful, when so many innovations have failed.

Finally, Watson seems to suggest that contemporary training techniques embody not just a distant 'echo' of nineteenth-century repertory schools, but a much more direct 'cultural memory', transported from one generation to the next in the very 'bones' of the culture. Without denying the longevity of culture, might not the interest in physicality be explained better by current influences, like the heightened attention to the body, rather than a somewhat magical efflorescence of long-recessed cultural 'genes'?

Undoubtedly, the professional genealogy of teachers is important, but for a teacher to gain a significant following the instruction must conform to a cultural logic that makes sense to students. Mentors have to be in tune not simply with the narrow preoccupations of their specialties, but with the wider currents of the times. The American appeal of Stanislavsky is a case in point. These Russian ideas caught on quickly in a foreign setting because in many ways they were not foreign at all. Stanislavsky challenged many of the orthodoxies within acting academies, but much of what he and his followers advocated meshed smoothly with developments in other areas of American life.

#### A Salesman Prepares

An example of the synchronicity comes from the business realm, arguably the very heart of American society in the early twentieth century. Thespians were not the only coaches offering advice about acting. Sales experts were just as intent on eliciting convincing performances. Consider a tale from a 1920 career guide written by Irving Allen.

Edwards, Traffic Manager for a large company, had been let go. In searching for a new job, he decided to call on two acquaintances with influential connections. At the first interview, he admitted straight out that he had been released and needed to find a new position soon. Picking up a 'negative suggestion of failure', his listener hustled him out with empty promises to scout for possible situations.

Realizing his tactical mistake, Edwards prepared more deliberately for the second encounter. This time, he arrived looking rushed, with enthusiasm in his eyes, and crispness in his voice. 'I knew you'd be glad to hear that I've left the Oil Products Company and I wanted to tell you personally,' he exclaimed, pretending to be due somewhere else. This time he was restrained from leaving with a sincere enquiry about his future:

You ask me what I'm going to do? Do you realize that in the last year I handled the traffic problems of the Oil Products Company in such a manner that their directors estimated the cash saving on shipments at \$65,000? And – against that saving, I drew a salary of exactly \$4,000. Gave 'em back way over \$15 cash for every hundred cents they paid me.

This listener was impressed. Could Edwards do him a favour and not take any job until consulting further with him? Edwards supposed he could defer his plans for a couple of days, then dashed off. As soon as he left, the executive was on the phone to some corporation heads, and as a special favour to one of them, secured Edwards's services at a starting salary of \$4,500.<sup>2</sup>

The successful salesman, Allen implied, carefully managed both visual and verbal impressions, and consciously played a role. He was not alone in offering such advice. By the early 1920s, hundreds of books on selling were in circulation, as well as articles in trade papers. All of them stressed that on sales floors, at consumers' doorsteps, in purchasing agents' offices, acting was just as necessary as on the stage.

The tone of Stanislavsky's published work was much different from that of selling experts. He wanted to illuminate the creative process for an artistic elite, and his concepts were more abstract than the practical admonitions found in sales texts. That said, his goals and techniques regarding role creation were strikingly similar to those advocated by marketing authorities.<sup>3</sup>

For Stanislavsky, the fundamental task in theatre was not to reproduce external realities in such things as props and scenery, but to transfer emotion from one mind to another. The performer struggled to communicate inner mental states to both stage partners and audience. The cornerstone of selling was also the successful transfer of emotion. The salesperson's objective was 'to penetrate the other person's mind - to change that glassy, far away look into one of keen attention'. In theatre, the challenge was to transfer the proper emotion in every performance. As Stanislavsky put it, 'You must live the part every moment that you are playing it, and every time.' Marketing experts had the same message for their readers. As Paul Nystrom put it, 'The seller must be able to perform and smile his part regardless of how many times he may have played this part before.'5

In both occupations, the need to be convincing was a primary concern. Stanislavsky was adamant that the credibility of the events of a role had to be honestly accepted if it was to be carried off. Only by justifying

internally the reasons for an action could an actor generate 'feelings that seem true in given circumstances'. Salespeople, too, had to believe what they said. 'The heart has a wonderful ability to detect counterfeits,' declared Norval Hawkins, sales guru of the Ford Motor Company. If a seller did not genuinely accept the truth of a pitch, the insincerity would 'almost surely' be detected.<sup>6</sup>

## Creating the Company Player

Quelling the performer's instinctive fear was another common problem. Stanislavsky was well aware that the inexperienced actor was prone to a deadening self-consciousness that inhibited 'delicate shadings of feeling or the spiritual life of your part'. Sales authorities, too, were thoroughly familiar with what Simon Hoover called the salesman's greatest hindrance. To overcome it, both a solid work ethic and self-motivation were needed.

William Gregory counselled salesmen to work hard by day with clients, then spend nights doing correspondence courses, studying products, and devising better approaches. Stanislavsky's cure was similar. His dictum, 'there are no accidents in art, only the fruits of long labour', complemented a training regimen based on continual practice and independent activity. Parts were to be honed outside formal rehearsal times, which were intended to clarify questions that arose from individual preparation.<sup>7</sup>

This sort of dedication was not just about personal ambition. It was a sign of group commitment, which was considered an absolute necessity in both fields. 'Collective creative effort is the root of our kind of art,' pronounced the director. Whoever marred it committed a crime not only against his comrades but also against 'the very art of which he is the servant'. Every worker in theatre, down to the ticket-taker, had to be devoted to the project, since any glitch could render an audience unreceptive.

However, performers and directors needed the most reminding that the 'poison gases of backstage back-biting' could be fatal to a production. Acquiescence to the authority of those in charge was vital for, without clear direction, the 'main motive force of the group will become paralyzed'. A weak director had to be supported all that much more.<sup>8</sup>

Parallel messages abounded in the business world. Charles Hoyt, writing in 1913, criticized the 'old kind of salesman' who worked for himself and according to his own ideas, resenting anything coming from his house except a salary. The new kind, employed by the fastest growing companies, 'works for the house and the house works for him. He welcomes every bit of help the house sends him.' When differences arose, corporate hierarchy had to prevail. 'Teamwork', as Russell Doubman stated flatly, 'demands that the salesman obey implicitly the orders which come from his superiors.' If a seller did not believe his employer was trying to do the right thing, recommended Roland Hall, he should quit.

#### **Building a Sale**

To learn how to tap the reservoirs of human emotion with consistency, to act with conviction and ease, to be a self-starter yet submit to the demands of the collective – these goals were the foundation of both Stanislavsky's method and the advice of selling experts. Not only did both sides have similar perceptions of problems, they also advocated many of the same techniques to stimulate their successful performances. Both spoke of the need to grasp the main objective and component parts of the presentation, to fully explore assigned roles, to study everyday life, to develop requisite physical attributes, and genuinely to engage with their opposites.

For Stanislavsky, the first task in approaching a role was to determine the overall theme, or 'super-objective', of the text. Since making a 'single mouthful' of a long script was impossible, it had to be divided into digestible chunks. Immersion in the segments should never obscure their overall unity, but the smaller components served like channel markers to keep the actor 'in the right creative line.'

In selling, the main objective – to convince the customer to buy – rarely needed explicit statement. Here too, the total sales process was deemed so complex that it had to be broken down into more manageable parts. There was no consensus about the number of steps involved, but at the least distinctions were made between the approach to the client, demonstration of the product, and securing the order. Paul Nystrom, at the other edge, listed ten stages, including wrapping the package and making change. However delineated, all experts insisted that successful completion of a transaction depended on the 'smooth progression without conscious interruption' from one phase to the next.<sup>10</sup>

Once the structure of the action was understood, developing the role could proceed. In theatre, the actor had to begin acquring deep familiarity with the character. For Stanislavsky, the two key requirements of this process – making the motivation credible, and fully inhabiting the dramatic situation – were closely linked. To carry conviction, the actor had to believe that the necessary actions were truthful to real life, and genuinely had to feel the appropriate emotions.

Here was a dilemma. How could performers depict situations utterly remote from their own experiences? Stanislavsky's solution involved what he called the 'magic if'. The actor had to ask herself what she would do if she were in the situation of the character. *If* was 'a lever to lift us out of everyday life onto the plane of imagination', without abandoning a sense of reality. If an action in the script did not ring true, the actor had to imagine circumstances that made it meaningful. Inhabiting a role involved fleshing out the bare bones of the text, supplying what the playwright had left out about how the character had arrived at the point of action, and what happened afterwards.11

In the other sphere, the whole genre of sales advice was permeated with a kind of 'magic if' sensibility, intended to stimulate confidence. What if sellers actually believed buyers wanted their wares? There are countless anecdotes of inventive optimists who succeeded where others failed by imagining waiting customers. Experts tried to cultivate this general sense of expectation, but they also encouraged more specific applications of the 'if' principle.

'To whom will you show this particular suit in conservative cut and quiet colour?' enquired a writer in the *Dry Goods Review*. 'Draw a picture in your mind of the man who will be your customer. . . . Plan how you will meet him, how you will create the interest in his mind that will make him want this suit.' According to this authority, time could not be better spent than by devising selling strategies for every suit in stock, 'not that you will ever use them as outlined, but the exercise of thought and judgement in making these plans will be a training beyond value.'

Similarly, product familiarity so exhaustive that any potential customer's question could be answered, was a huge asset. Salesmen sometimes resented the study necessary to sell, lamented Arthur Dunn. They did not understand that the knowledge was more for their own benefit. 'If you know your product from A to Z . . . you will be so positively charged, so fortified, so strengthened in your own mental attitude that you will be both irresistible and unconquerable.'  $^{12}$ 

Besides trying to imagine all the circumstances of a situation, success in a part also demanded close observation of the minutiae of real life. Stanislavsky wanted actors to study carefully ordinary people and things around them. The 'most necessary, important, and living emotional material' for creativity came from 'those impressions that you get from direct, personal intercourse with other human beings'. Such material was difficult to obtain because it was intangible; sometimes the meaning of facial expressions, speech, and gestures could be grasped only through intuitive feeling. The work could not be reduced to a scientific technique but with time, he felt, more and more could be learned about applying such insights to the creative process.

The message in sales was much the same. According to one trade journalist, knowledge of people was more important than knowledge of goods, precisely because it was harder to obtain. Margaret Sumner, author of *Chats on Garment Salesmanship*, believed an ability to discern the 'ruling characteristics' of clients was intuitive for

some clerks, but could also be cultivated by 'careful study and judicious application.' The more adept a worker became at picking up clues from the gender, ethnicity, carriage, and expression of a customer, the easier it was to engineer a successful outcome.<sup>13</sup>

## The Importance of the Physical

Consideration of the performer's own body was also unavoidable in both professions. Stanislavsky, distrustful of beauty in and of itself, suggested that what the actor required most was an unusually supple and responsive physical apparatus. As the instrument that conveyed inner truths, this was what determined an individual's capacity to communicate emotion. Daily workouts were essential, not just to limber up, but to activate muscles that atrophied from lack of use. Once revived, these allowed the performer 'to make new movements, to experience new sensations, to create subtle possibilities for action and expression.' 14

Perhaps the most crucial body component for Stanislavsky was the voice. He did not worry greatly about technical problems, such as poor audibility and projection, since these could be corrected through widely taught exercises. What he most valued was a capacity to express emotional intensity and range. Excellent pronunciation and elevated diction were also essential, since the clear delivery of language, in his view, released subtle inner feelings that brought out the subtext of lines. Actors needed vocal instruments that would permit fine modulations and precise shadings, and they needed to be prodded to use them consistently. Repetition of lines through rehearsals and performances often produced 'a habit of mechanical speech on the stage', devoid of any emotion. In the end, the actor's most basic tools were body and voice; both needed to be rigorously developed and maintained.<sup>15</sup>

Sales experts were also deeply impressed by the effects of physical presence. The salesgirl who 'lacks alertness and interest, slumps in her chair, rises languidly, and starts slowly toward the customer' projected a 'spirit of indifference' that was fatal to business. In contrast, the salesman with vitality was so commanding that others tended instinctively to follow his suggestions. As on the stage, what mattered was the body's expressive capacity.

John Clapp disputed claims that a stony demeanour was a business asset. Excessive impassiveness paralyzed powers of expression, and the tactic usually backfired since, 'when you do get excited, you lose control of the muscles of expression, and give yourself away all the more'. The same applied to the rest of the body. He advised developing the sensitive facial muscles, and rehearsing in front of a mirror, as actors did 'as a matter of course when studying a part'.<sup>16</sup>

Just as actors needed to focus on the voice, so did sellers, and for the same reason – to penetrate the listener's mind. The voice 'takes the flat canvas of your bare words and paints upon it a picture that by harmony of colour, skill of handling, and general effect makes the passer-by stop and look – or rather – listen,' declared Irving Allen. Like the actor, the seller should be in complete control of sound, not talking so quickly that words ran together, or so slowly that interest waned.

The sales message should never become 'a mechanical statement repeated by rote', nor should it sound artificially mannered. Words should be chosen carefully: adjectives should appeal instinctively to the senses; technical terms and hackneyed phrases should be eschewed in favour of 'strong, straightforward, specific Anglo-Saxon words'. Errors of grammar should be eliminated since they conveyed lack of intelligence, and therefore lack of understanding about the goods.

All this, the experts assured, could be learned through systematic study and practice. What really mattered, they stressed, was not what was said, but how it was said. 'It is not the *word* you want to get across to the mind of the prospect, but the *idea behind the word*, the *image* which the word is intended to help build,' explained Norval Hawkins.<sup>17</sup> Although sales experts did not use his term, they, like Stanislavsky, wanted sellers to master the subtext of presentations.

Role preparation both in acting and selling required much independent work, but

actual performance demanded genuine engagement with those standing opposite. Stanislavsky said that actors had to produce and respond to actual emotion, not simply imitate a relationship. As in ordinary conversation, thoughts and feelings had to be exchanged continuously, even if another party was speaking. Sentiments expressed had to penetrate a partner's consciousness; in every performance, the words and thoughts of the script had to be taken in afresh.

Integral to this process was Stanislavsky's notion of adaptation. If dealing with a stupid person, he explained, 'you must adjust yourself to his mentality, and find the simplest means with which to reach his mind and understanding. But if your man is shrewd, you should proceed more cautiously. . . .' Since the conditions of each presentation were unique, the actor had to be alert at all times to the dynamics of the interaction. If the emotional connection was honest, instinctive creativity in the role was the more likely to occur.<sup>18</sup>

If the actor was not simply reciting dialogue, the salesperson was not simply dispensing goods. She had to become genuinely attuned to prospects, transmitting her own thoughts to them, and absorbing their unspoken sentiments. To Nystrom, the salesman had to be something of a mind reader. 'When he approaches the customer he must attempt to sense her mood and to handle her accordingly.'

Wallace Charters found facial reactions particularly helpful in connecting with a buyer's inner consciousness. 'A frowning or troubled face will tell you she does not like what she is looking at. . . . If her eyes open and brighten, if she smiles and nods her head, her pleasure speaks more loudly than if she had used words.' Signals were always being emitted but, as with actors, sellers were sometimes too lazy or self-centred to pick them up. According to Roland Hall, the salesman's most frequent mistake was an inclination to look at things from his own viewpoint, displacing the customer with a stencil of himself.<sup>19</sup>

While the actor had to adapt from one performance and role to the next, the seller

had to adapt to the rapid succession of customers. No two buyers were alike, observed Dorothea de Schweinitz, and the same individual might act differently in another department. So the salesperson had to adjust to whoever appeared, always trying to make contact with their real emotions.

Paul Ivey would often modulate his voice according to the client, finding that 'a high, penetrating tone was effective with a thick-skinned surly customer; a smooth, oily, ingratiating tone with a pompous, conceited, positive customer; and a sad, quavering tone with an unfriendly customer who is trying to break down my price structure'. With each encounter, he became a different person.<sup>20</sup>

The need for adaptability raised an issue of great sensitivity in both fields: the relation of the performer's real self to the persona of the role. Whether in theatre or commerce, the fluidity of identity was disconcerting. Stanislavsky believed strongly that actors had to shape themselves to their roles, rather than the reverse: to love the part in yourself rather than yourself in the part. Since characterization was tied to the play, the performer was often obliged to act in ways that were utterly inconsistent with normal behaviour. While becoming someone different was unavoidable, the great master also maintained that the actor should 'never lose yourself on the stage,' a mistake that signalled the beginning of 'exaggerated false acting'. An actor could only ever play herself, albeit 'in an infinite variety of combinations'.<sup>21</sup>

#### The Plasticity of Selfhood

Stanislavsky tried to reconcile the imperatives of remaining yourself while being someone else through the technique of 'emotion memory', which involved scanning past experience for personal feelings analogous to those called for in a role. He was confident that the seeds of widely different characters were available to most individuals 'because we have in us the elements of all human characteristics, good and bad'. In the end, his explanations about melding the 'real I' and the 'dramatic I' were obscure, almost mystical. He spoke of how the actor simultaneously

played a role and observed himself, of becoming 'incarnate' in a part, of entering a state of 'I am' when stage characterization and real life seemed to fuse. In all these formulations, his desire to sustain a stable core of identity was evident.<sup>22</sup>

While salespeople's public roles were not fictional in the conventional sense, they were deliberately contrived. Sales authorities were highly conscious that customers' suspicions about feigned sincerity by sales agents could undermine the larger goal of promoting consumption. In this field, the response to the possible divide between public and private selves was an injunction to maintain a balance between personality and character. Personality, the element of selfhood that facilitated ingratiation with others, was essential to successful selling. Since its qualities things like appearance, posture, vocabulary, dress, and manners – were particularly susceptible to manipulation, they needed to be grounded with traits of character, such as honesty, self-control, hard work, and courtesy, which were harder to fake.

Just as the actor ventured into problematic territory when a part floated free from personal experience, so did the seller when personality was divorced from character. The two were really inseparable. 'Character is the anchor of your personality,' explained James Mangan. 'Without character, all your ability, all your personal gifts, may count for naught.'<sup>23</sup> Like Stanislavsky, he craved a core of identity that was consistent and enduring.

Similarities between Stanislavsky and selling authorities were not coincidental. Both reflected the arrival of a modernity in which individuals increasingly moved back and forth between social institutions with rigid, prescribed roles, and engulfing anonymity with minimal requirements for behavioural consistency. Personal identity no longer seemed coherent and unified, as Victorians had once assumed.<sup>24</sup> In a world where the plasticity of selfhood was becoming more evident, the nineteenth-century acting style based on conventionalized poses to convey standard emotional states, which presumed the consistency of identity, rang hollow. In a world where commercial success now depended on stimulating desires for consumption, the passive clerk who merely retrieved and packaged orders was outdated. New demands produced new kinds of roles, which required new kinds of role preparation.

This is not to suggest that the evolution of acting and selling roles was entirely parallel and symmetrical. Selling experts aimed at cloning a dependable workforce, submissive to the needs of employers. They wanted to mould a large number of people who would all play the same role. Deviations from the norm were rigorously disciplined. Actors, on the other hand, were expected to play many different roles and, as artists, were encouraged to be distinctive.

The audience's willingness to accept the actor as artist rested on the performer's ability to capture the complexities of human existence. If modern identity was splintered and modern consciousness layered, if society had become populated with strangers whose innermost anxieties and ambitions were always shielded, one responsibility of art was to probe these developments - to deconstruct the individual psyche, to dismantle what shielded one heart from another, to explore the implications of new social conditions. The tendency in theatre was much more to challenge accepted hierarchies of meaning and value, to question conventional pieties, to overturn complacency, to rupture the coherence of a character's front. The cultural task of selling had much more to do with entrenching hierarchies, reinforcing hegemonic assumptions, and bolstering expectations of coherence.

While their tasks were different, a necessary symbiotic relationship existed between actors' and sellers' performances. It was precisely because the latter were stable and predictable that the former were tolerated and compelling. Dramatic productions that exposed the fragility of individual identity and social cohesion were less threatening because of confidence that mundane work roles would be adequately fulfilled. The world could be disassembled in the theatre because it was securely held together outside. On the other hand, the power of industrial capitalism to impose constricting work

roles called for safety valves, like the stage, where freedom, choice, and transcendence seemed immanent.

Notwithstanding the fundamental differences between what actors and salespersons were trying to achieve, the fact remains that the goals and techniques of Stanislavsky's system of performer training were strikingly similar to those of sales experts. It is ironic that the Russian director's methods were thought to be avant-garde while those of the marketing experts were often considered conventional and trite. Nevertheless, Stanislavsky's ideas about acting were not strange innovations injected into the American milieu of the 1920s. In many ways, they were utterly familiar, not necessarily in the acting conservatories of the time, but in the broader social environment.

Stanislavsky's quick acceptance underscores the need to situate performer training in a broad historical context. It is important to consider not just the genealogy of techniques handed down from one teacher to the next, but the wider range of performances throughout society, and the circumstances that make some kinds of cultural logic more compelling than others.

#### **Notes and References**

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